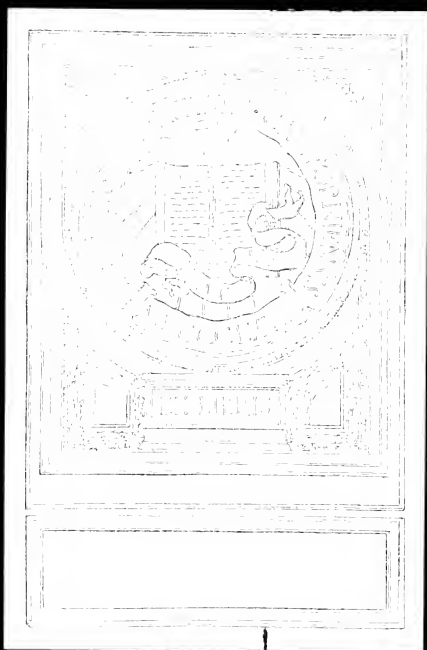


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THE ANNALS OF ENGLAND.

I HAVE read the "Annals of England" as it passed through the Press for this Edition, and am able to testify to its general accuracy and great usefulness. Without pledging myself to every date or every view that is found in it, I still believe it to be the most valuable compendium of our history that we possess, and I know that its use as a handbook in lecture has been well proved, both by my predecessor Mr. Goldwin Smith and myself.

W. STUBBS, M.A.

KETTEL HALL, OXFORD.

*October, 1875.*

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THE

ANNALS OF ENGLAND:

AN

EPITOME OF ENGLISH HISTORY,

FROM CONTEMPORARY WRITERS, THE ROLLS  
OF PARLIAMENT, AND OTHER  
PUBLIC RECORDS.

By W. E. Hall, Esq.  
of the Inner Temple, Esq.  
of the Middle Temple, Esq.  
LIBRARY EDITION.

OXFORD and LONDON:  
JAMES PARKER AND CO.

1876.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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VAST additions have been made to our knowledge of the true sources of English history since these "Annals" were compiled, and in preparing a new edition, this fact has been steadily kept in view; hence the book is an attempt to represent men and events as seen in the light of the latest discoveries among the Public Records, and in Chronicles and Histories now for the first time printed by the Government or by Literary Societies.

It may be safely asserted that the compilation of a complete and trustworthy History of our country is a work yet to be accomplished, but the throwing open of the treasures of the Public Record Office to all who are, or choose to make themselves able to use them, must sooner or later relieve English literature from this reproach. The Compiler has endeavoured to profit by the facilities now afforded to literary men, but merely as a beginner in the good work. The excellent Calendars drawn up by some of the Officers of the Record Establishment, and the annual Reports of the Deputy Keeper, are eminently suggestive of the new light that might be thrown on numberless doubtful passages of our history, if the clues thus furnished were properly followed up by writers not afraid of labour, and seeking only to discover facts.

It has been the desire of the Compiler to conduct his researches in this spirit; with what success his readers must determine. If what he has attempted should induce others to give increased attention to the study of our National Records his end will be answered.

W. E. F.

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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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SO many Histories of England already exist, that any fresh work of that class may be reasonably required to offer some new feature to establish a claim on public notice. An endeavour has been made to provide this, by devoting a larger share of attention than is usually done to the history of our island before the Norman invasion, an event which by some writers seems to be considered as almost the beginning of authentic British history. They implicitly receive the necessarily hasty and imperfect statements of Cæsar as containing all that need be known of our earlier state ; pervert a passage from Milton into an authority for dismissing the events of the six hundred years of Anglo-Saxon rule as “no more worthy of attention than the combats of crows and kites ;” and are content to see in the victors of Hastings and their iron institutions, the origin of all that is desirable in a state, and the only sources of our country’s elevation.

In this work different views have been taken of these matters, and as they are based on the statements of the most nearly contemporary writers, they will perhaps be regarded as sound. The passages from Greek and Latin writers, accumulated with so much diligence by the Editors of our only National historical work <sup>a</sup>, afford most valuable corrections or elucidations of the statements of Cæsar ; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Anglo-Saxon Laws detail with minuteness and indisputable truth the state of our Anglo-Saxon commonwealth. These have been carefully analyzed, and the following pages contain a summary of their contents ; while from Northern sources some brief notices have been drawn which may serve to correct the ordinary erroneous impressions regarding the Northmen, who had so great an influence on the fortunes of Britain for many centuries, and several of whose institutions still prevail among us.

Two highly important documents, Domesday Book and Magna Charta, will be found described as fully as the limits of the work would permit. valuable corrections of various kinds, (particularly of dates,) and some facts hitherto little known, have been derived from the Close and the

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<sup>a</sup> “*Monumenta Historica Britannica*,” of the historical publications since issued edited by Messrs. Petrie, Sharp, and Hardy. [See a notice of this work, and by the Government, pp. 570—575.]

Patent Rolls, from the Rolls of Parliament and Parliamentary Writs, but especially from the Statutes of the Realm<sup>b</sup>; and, to meet in some measure a deficiency often felt in perusing history, brief biographies have been given of many eminent persons.

The Illustrations, mainly derived from the trustworthy sources of coins, great seals, and monuments, will be found to present a tolerably complete series of the portraits, arms, and devices of each ruler, and may indicate the importance of some acquaintance with heraldry as an aid to the study of history.

The work, as its name implies, is mainly devoted to the affairs of England, but notices are given at suitable times of the course of events in Scotland and the Isles, in Wales, and in Ireland; these are necessarily brief, but being drawn from the contemporary Annals, Chronicles, and Laws of each country, they may perhaps be sufficient to shew what degree of connexion formerly existed between the long independent and often hostile States which now happily unite to form the British Empire.

*Esto perpetua!*

<sup>b</sup> Since the above was written a volume of Oxford Essays has appeared, one of which, from the pen of Mr. Froude, is "On the best Means of teaching English History;" the coincidence of its main recommendation with the plan that has been followed in this work is both remarkable and gratifying:—

"We recommend," he says, "... the study of the old Statute-book; in which, notwithstanding all that is thought and believed of the dependent position of Parliament, the true history of this English nation substantially lies buried,—a history, different indeed from any which has been

offered to us as such. Every thing of greatest consequence is to be found there. All great movements, political and religious, are treated of there; and all those questionable personal transactions which have appeared so perplexing are there. . . . We believe, for our own part, that, for a serviceable study of English History, the Statutes are as the skeleton is to the body; that in them is contained the bone and marrow of the whole matter, and around them as a sustaining and organising structure the flesh and colour of it can alone effectually gather itself."

## ERRATA.

p. 100, note <sup>s</sup>, *read* "bank."

p. 154, note <sup>t</sup>, *read* "Aug. 6."

p. 206, col. 2, l. 4, *read* "leads."

p. 251, col. 2, l. 27, *read* "James III."

p. 300, note <sup>i</sup>, *add* "Guildford" as a suffragan bishop.

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE		PAGE
DOUBLE Cromlech at Plas Newydd, in Anglesey . . . . .	1	Great Seal of William the Con- queror, 85; Arms ascribed to . .	86
British Shield, found at Little Wit- tenham, Berks. . . . .	5	Great Seal of William Rufus, 96; Arms ascribed to . . . . .	97
The Roman Wall: Mile Castle at Housesteads . . . . .	6	Arms of the Kingdom of Jeru- salem . . . . .	100
Remains of a Roman House in Bri- tain: Wheatley, Oxon . . . .	7	Great Seal of Henry I., 102; Arms ascribed to . . . . .	103
Roman Sepulchral Urns . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Henry I. and Queen Maud, from Rochester Cathedral . . . .	103
Brass Coin of Severus . . . .	9	Badge of the Templars . . . .	105
Gold Coins of Tasciovanus and of Cunobelin . . . . .	10	Cross of the Hospitallers . . . .	106
Brass Coins of Cunobelin, found at Chesterford . . . . .	11	Great Seal of Stephen, 108; Arms ascribed to . . . . .	109
Silver Coin of Claudius . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Arms of the Cinque Ports . . . .	113
Brass Coin of Hadrian . . . .	14	Arms of Geoffrey, earl of Anjou . .	114
Brass Coin of Antoninus Pius . .	<i>ib.</i>	The Escarboucle and Planta Genista .	<i>ib.</i>
Brass Coin of Commodus . . . .	15	Great Seal of Henry II. . . . .	115
Brass Coins of Caracalla and of Geta . . . . .	17	Henry II. and Eleanor of Guienne, from their Monuments at Fontev- raud . . . . .	116
Gold, Silver, and Brass Coins of Carausius . . . . .	18	Arms of William Longespee . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Gold and Brass Coins of Allectus .	19	Arms and Badge of Henry II. . . .	117
Figure of St. Alban, from a brass in St. Alban's Abbey . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Great Seal of Richard I. . . . .	126
Roman Masonry, the Jewry Wall, Leicester . . . . .	24	Arms and Badge of Richard I. . . .	127
Gold Coin attributed to Edward the Confessor . . . . .	25	Richard I., from his Monument at Fontevraud . . . . .	128
Statue of St. Cuthbert, with St. Os- wald's head . . . . .	32	Berengaria, from her Monument at Lespan . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Dedication Stone, Jarrow Church, A.D. 685 . . . . .	34	Great Seal of John . . . . .	135
Northman's Armlet . . . . .	38	John, from his Monument in Wor- cester Cathedral . . . . .	136
Arms ascribed to Egbert . . . .	40	Isabella of Angoulême, from her Monument at Fontevraud . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Ethelwulf's Ring . . . . .	41	Arms of Richard, earl of Cornwall . .	<i>ib.</i>
Edmund of East Anglia; from a painted panel of the 15th century .	44	— and Badge of John . . . . .	137
Alfred's Jewel, obverse and profile .	46	— of Robert Fitz-Walter . . . .	139
Thyra's Cup . . . . .	49	Great Seal of Henry III. . . . .	143
Arms ascribed to Edward the Con- fessor . . . . .	64	Arms of the Earl Marshal . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Saxon Sceatta . . . . .	77	— De Montfort . . . . .	144
Armour of the Norman era . . . .	84	— Edmund of Lancaster . . . .	145
		Henry III., from his Monument in Westminster Abbey . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
		Arms of Henry III. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>

	PAGE		PAGE
Arms of William de Valence, earl of Pembroke . . . . .	152	Arms of Percy, earl of Northumberland . . . . .	214
—— Mortimer . . . . .	156	Henry IV. and Joan of Navarre, from their Monument at Canterbury . . . . .	215
—— Clare, earl of Gloucester . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Arms of Henry IV. . . . .	216
—— Earl Warrenne . . . . .	159	—— Neville, earl of Westmoreland . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
—— Ferrers, earl of Derby . . . . .	160	—— Lord Bardolf . . . . .	222
Great Seal of Edward I. . . . .	164	Great Seal of Henry V. . . . .	224
Edward I., from his coins . . . . .	166	Henry V., from his Monument, Westminster Abbey . . . . .	225
Eleanor of Castile, from her Monument in Westminster Abbey . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Arms and Badges of Henry V. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Arms of Eleanor of Castile . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Great Seal of Henry VI. . . . .	230
—— Edward of Caernarvon . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Margaret of Anjou, from a window, Bodleian Library . . . . .	231
—— Edward I. . . . .	167	Arms of Beaufort, duke of Somerset . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
—— Scotland . . . . .	171	—— Henry VI. . . . .	232
—— Bigot, Earl Marshal . . . . .	173	—— Archbishop Kempe . . . . .	233
—— Bohun, earl of Hereford . . . . .	174	—— Lincoln College, Oxford . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
—— Lord Segrave . . . . .	175	John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury . . . . .	234
—— Lord St. John . . . . .	177	Arms of All Souls' College, Oxford . . . . .	236
Banner of Anthony Bek . . . . .	179	—— Douglas . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Great Seal of Edward II. . . . .	180	—— Neville, earl of Salisbury . . . . .	237
Edward II., from his Monument in Gloucester Cathedral . . . . .	181	—— Stafford, duke of Buckingham . . . . .	238
Arms of Edward II. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	—— Neville, earl of Warwick . . . . .	240
Ancient Arms of France . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	—— Magdalen College, Oxford . . . . .	241
Arms of Thomas, earl of Lancaster . . . . .	182	—— Clifford . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
—— Despenser . . . . .	184	Badges of the House of York . . . . .	243
Seal of Bohun, earl of Hereford . . . . .	185	Crest of Mortimer . . . . .	246
Great Seal of Edward III. . . . .	187	Great Seal of Edward IV. . . . .	247
Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault, from their Monuments, Westminster Abbey . . . . .	188	Arms of Woodville, Earl Rivers . . . . .	248
Edward the Black Prince, from his Tomb at Canterbury . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	—— Edward IV. . . . .	249
Arms of John of Gaunt . . . . .	189	Great Seal of Edward V. . . . .	256
—— Edward III., quartered with France . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Arms and Supporters of Edward V. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
—— Mentaute, earl of Salisbury . . . . .	193	Arms of Lord Hastings . . . . .	257
—— of New College, Oxford . . . . .	197	Great Seal of Richard III. . . . .	259
Great Seal of Richard II. . . . .	199	Arms and Badges of Richard III. . . . .	261
Arms of De Vere, earl of Oxford . . . . .	200	Arms of Howard, duke of Norfolk . . . . .	262
Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia, from Monuments, Westminster Abbey . . . . .	201	—— with the Flodden augmentation . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Arms and Badges of Richard II. . . . .	201, 202	Badges of the Tudors . . . . .	267
Arms of earl of Arundel . . . . .	202	Great Seal of Henry VII. . . . .	269
—— John of Northampton . . . . .	205	Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, from their Monument, Westminster Abbey . . . . .	270
—— De la Pole, earl of Suffolk . . . . .	206	Arms and Badge of Henry VII. . . . .	271
Badges of the House of Lancaster . . . . .	211	Great Seal of Henry VIII. . . . .	282
The Porteuillis . . . . .	212	Arms of Henry VIII. . . . .	285
Great Seal of Henry IV. . . . .	213		

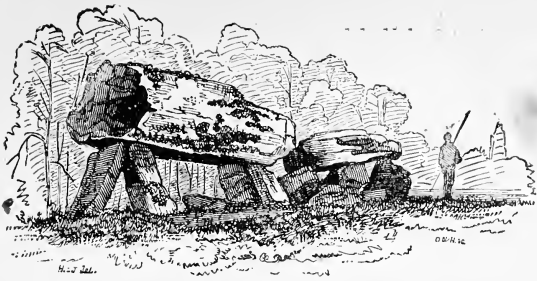
	PAGE		PAGE
Badges of Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, and Katherine Parr . . . . .	285	Great Seal of Charles I. . . . .	384
Arms of Seymour . . . . .	301	Arms of Archbishop Laud . . . . .	385
—— the Kingdom of Ireland . . . . .	307	—— Charles I. . . . .	396
—— Christ Church, Oxford . . . . .	310	Crest of Hamilton . . . . .	403
Great Seal of Edward VI. . . . .	313	Oxford Siege Piece . . . . .	425
Arms of Dudley, duke of North- umberland . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Arms of the Lord Protector Crom- well, from his Great Seal . . . . .	438
Arms and Badge of Edward VI. . . . .	315	Great Seal of Charles II. . . . .	457
Great Seal of Philip and Mary . . . . .	322	Arms of Charles II. . . . .	459
Arms of Mary before her Marriage . . . . .	324	—— Osborne, earl of Danby . . . . .	474
Badges of Mary . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Great Seal of James II. . . . .	481
Tomb of Sir Thomas Pope, in Tri- nity College Chapel . . . . .	332	Arms of James II. . . . .	484
Arms of Trinity College, Oxford . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	Great Seal of William and Mary . . . . .	494
—— St. John's College, Oxford . . . . .	333	Arms of Bentinck, earl of Portland . . . . .	495
Great Seal of Elizabeth . . . . .	335	—— William and Mary . . . . .	497
Arms of Dudley, earl of Leicester . . . . .	337	—— the earl of Marlborough . . . . .	499
Arms and Badges of Elizabeth . . . . .	339	—— Russell, earl of Orford . . . . .	506
Arms of Radcliff, earl of Sussex . . . . .	347	—— William III. . . . .	513
—— Jesus College, Oxford . . . . .	349	—— Harley, earl of Oxford . . . . .	522
—— Devereux, earl of Essex . . . . .	351	Great Seal of Anne . . . . .	525
Badges of the Stuarts . . . . .	367	Arms of Anne, before the Union . . . . .	527
Great Seal of James I. . . . .	369	Arms and Badge of Anne, after the Union . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Arms of James I. . . . .	371	Collar and Badge of the Order of the Thistle . . . . .	530
National Flag of Great Britain . . . . .	377	Arms of St. John, Viscount Boling- broke . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Arms of Wadham College . . . . .	379	—— Mordaunt, earl of Peter- borough . . . . .	532
The Baronets' Badge . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>	National Flag of Great Britain . . . . .	535
Arms of Pembroke College, Oxford . . . . .	383		

## NOTES.

	PAGE
VAGUE Knowledge of Britain . . . . .	23
Anglo-Saxon Laws and Government . . . . .	72
The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle . . . . .	79
The Cinque Ports . . . . .	112
The Siege of Acre . . . . .	133
The Jews in England . . . . .	162
The Siege of Carlaverock . . . . .	177
Character of Richard III. . . . .	265
Richard, otherwise Perkin Warbeck . . . . .	279
The Beauchamp Tower . . . . .	311
The Gunpowder Plot . . . . .	376
Puritan Ascendancy . . . . .	388
Fines for declining Knighthood . . . . .	401
The Establishment of the Ferrars at Little Gidding . . . . .	403
Piracy and the Ship-money Writs . . . . .	405
The Foreign Congregations . . . . .	408
The Universities . . . . .	431
The High Court of Justice . . . . .	436
The Silenced Church . . . . .	441
The Regicides . . . . .	460
The Act of Uniformity . . . . .	463
Louis XIV., his Ministers, Generals, and Admirals . . . . .	469
"Rabbling the Ministers" . . . . .	493
The Nonjurors . . . . .	505
The Glencoe Massacre . . . . .	507
The Darien Settlement . . . . .	518

## APPENDIX.

No. I. The Materials of English History . . . . .	545
§ I. Alphabetical List of Writers and Chronicles . . . . .	547
§ II. Government Series . . . . .	570
§ III. Societies' Series . . . . .	576
§ IV. Editors' Series . . . . .	585
§ V. Record Reports, &c. . . . .	589
No. II. Regal Table . . . . .	592
No. III. Index of Statutes . . . . .	595
No. IV. Hierarchy of the Reformation . . . . .	607
No. V. Hierarchy of the Civil War . . . . .	610
No. VI. The Scottish Hierarchy expelled in 1689 . . . . .	611



Double Cromlech at Plas Newydd, in Anglesey.

## INTRODUCTION.

THE Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, following the Venerable Bede, the earliest English writer who deserves the name of historian, commences its narrative with a brief description of Britain, and a legend of its first peopling.

"The island of Britain is eight hundred miles long, and two hundred miles broad: and here in this island are five tongues, English, British, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin. The first inhabitants of this land were Britons; they came from Armenia (Armorica, now Brittany), and first settled in the south of Britain. Then befel it that Picts came from the south, from Scythia, with long ships, not many, and first landed in North Hibernia, and they entreated the Scots that they might there abide. But they would not permit them, for they said that they could not all abide there together. And then the Scots said, 'We may nevertheless give you counsel. We know another island eastward of this, where ye may dwell, if ye will, and if any one withstand you, we will assist you, so that you may subdue it.' Then went the Picts, and subdued this land northwards; the southern part the Britons had, as we before have said. And the Picts obtained wives for themselves of the Scots, on this condition, that they should always choose their royal lineage on the woman's side; which they have held ever since. And then befel it in the course of years,

that some part of the Scots departed from Hibernia into Britain, and conquered some portion of the land. And their leader was called Reoda, from whom they are named Dalreodi<sup>a</sup>."

That Britain was inhabited in prehistoric times has been abundantly proved, by the opening of the burial-places of people to whom the use of metals was unknown, on the moors of Cleveland for instance; but it is only after the coming of the Belgæ and other tribes, in a comparatively advanced state of civilization, from the continent of Europe that the history of our island can be said to begin. This, the research of modern writers has failed to carry beyond the year 57 before the Christian era, when, as we are informed by Cæsar, Divitiacus, a Gaulish king, exercised a kind of feudal superiority not only over the north-eastern part of modern France, but also over at least a portion of Britain. Thus connected with the affairs of the Gauls, and in part, as we learn from Tacitus, of kindred race, the islanders were easily led to afford succour to them when assailed by the Romans; and this succour, added to the report of pearls and other riches to be acquired, sufficed to attract to Britain the legions of the conqueror.

In narrating his two campaigns, Cæsar asserts that he was the first to carry the arms of Rome into an unknown world, which is merely a vain-

<sup>a</sup> Properly Dal-Riada, the tribe or tribe-land of Riada. From Irish historians it appears that the chief's appellation was Carbery Riada (Carbery of the long arm), and that the settlement was made

in the region now called Argyle, a name corrupted from Airer Gaedhil, (pronounced Gaeil,) "the land of the foreigner." The date given is about A.D. 230.

glorious boast that admits of easy disproof. Four centuries before his time, Herodotus had made mention of the Cassiterides and their tin mines<sup>b</sup>; Aristotle also alludes to them<sup>c</sup>, and Polybius says that in his day (260 B.C.) writers discoursed largely on the subject.

Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, shortly after Cæsar's invasion, speak of the triangular form of the island, and give some vague idea of its size; and Ptolemy, early in the second century of the Christian era, furnishes a table of the positions of many of its promontories and rivers, and of its tribes and cities; to which Marcianus Heracleota, in the third, adds further particulars of the "Pretannic islands," Ibernia (Ireland) and Albion. He describes the first as containing "sixteen nations, eleven celebrated towns, fifteen principal rivers, five remarkable promontories, six distinguished islands;" and the latter,—which he says is by far the greater, not contracted like other islands, but drawn out and extended over a great part of the northern ocean, with two particularly extensive isthmuses, one greater than the other, in the form of feet, of which the lesser stretches out towards Aquitania,—has "thirty-three nations, fifty-nine celebrated towns, forty noble rivers, fourteen lofty promontories, one notable chersonesus, five spacious bays, three commodious harbours. The whole circumnavigation of the island of Albion is not more than 28,604, nor less than 20,526 stadia<sup>d</sup>." At a later, but un-

certain date, the Itinerary of Antoninus supplies detailed information as to the topography of Britain, to which some addition may be made from the Peutingerian Table, a document probably belonging to the fourth century, though only known to us from a transcript of much later date.

The generally received ideas of the state of Britain at the time of its invasion by the Romans, are almost exclusively derived from the statements of Julius Cæsar, and it should excite no surprise to learn that many of them are erroneous, when it is remembered that Cæsar's stay here was but brief, and that only a very small part of the country fell under his own observation. His account is shortly, that the people on the coast where he landed much resembled the Gauls, though they had no coinage, but used instead brass or iron rings as money; and that the rest of the natives, who were reputed aborigines, were mere savages, clad in skins, and dyeing their bodies with woad, which gave them a terrible appearance; they had vast herds of cattle and lived on milk and flesh, not cultivating corn; they wore long hair, but no beards; and they dwelt together in parties of ten or twelve, who had wives in common<sup>e</sup>. Some of these statements are confirmed by Dio Cassius, (as preserved to us by Xiphilinus<sup>f</sup>), and Herodian<sup>g</sup>, when speaking of the subdued tribes in the time of Severus; but others are quite contrary to fact. The coins of many British rulers exist<sup>h</sup>,

<sup>b</sup> The name is often confined to the Scilly isles, but in this instance and others it probably includes also much of the modern counties of Cornwall and Devon.

<sup>c</sup> De Mundo, c. 3; but the genuineness of this work has been questioned. See Dr. Smith's Classical Dict., art. "Aristotle."

<sup>d</sup> Equal to 3,178 and 2,280 English miles.

<sup>e</sup> This custom, which is probably to be regarded as a pure invention of Cæsar's informants, is not mentioned by Diodorus.

<sup>f</sup> Xiphilinus was a Greek monk of the eleventh century, who has left an epitome of several of the lost books of the Roman History of Dio Cassius, written early in the third century.

<sup>g</sup> Herodian lived about A.D. 230, and wrote a valuable History of his own times.

<sup>h</sup> The opinion of the learned Editors of the *Monumenta* on this point is thus stated (p. cli.): "The French numismatists have claimed as Gallic the coins which are called British, though they have not made out any title to their appropriation. It has been broadly stated that the Britons were too barbarous to need a coinage; but if that were the case, surely the Gauls could have had just as little need of a metallic currency, as they were at that time little, if at all, more advanced in civilization

than their British neighbours. It is absurd to suppose that one only of two nations, so nearly allied to each other in religion and manners as were the Gauls and Britons, and carrying on together an extensive commerce, should have known the use of money. It may therefore be assumed, that if the Gauls had a metallic currency before the time of Julius Cæsar's invasion of this island, which to a certainty they had, so also had the Britons..... It must be remembered that there are extant coins peculiar to this island; or rather, coins have been discovered here unlike any which are found in any other country, such as those, for instance, which have inscriptions on tablets. There is undoubtedly a great resemblance between some of the British and Gallic coins; both are thick and dished, and appear to have been rudely formed after the model of the Grecian coins..... Camden was the first who claimed and established a coinage for the inhabitants of his country; he has assigned about eighteen different types to Cunobelin, Boadicea, Caractacus, &c.; but there are as many as seventy-two other types still extant." Many of these are figured in Evans' "Coins of the Ancient Britons," and that writer considers that a British gold coinage existed at least a century before the invasion of Cæsar.



some of which are of gold, and bear an ear of corn on the reverse, thus testifying both knowledge and esteem of agriculture, (see coins of Tasciovanus and Cunobelin, pp. 10, 11,) and Diodorus Siculus says, "They who dwell near the promontory of Britain which is called Belerium (now the Land's end,) are singularly fond of strangers, and from their intercourse with foreign merchants, civilized in their habits." Strabo too says, "The Cassiterides are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics reaching to the feet, and girt about the breast, walking with staves, and bearded like goats." Cæsar describes the inland regions as producing tin, and the maritime, iron; but other writers more accurately tell us that tin was produced near the sea shore, that it was skilfully worked and fused by the natives, and by them conveyed in waggons in great abundance, to "a certain island named Ictis, lying off Britain; for a singular circumstance happens with respect to the neighbouring islands lying between Europe and Britain; for at the high tides, the intervening passage being flooded, they seem islands; but at the low tides, the sea retreating and leaving much space dry, they appear peninsulas;" a statement of Diodorus Siculus, which is usually considered to identify Ictis as the Mount St. Michael, in Cornwall, of our own day. Beside tin, lead and skins are mentioned as exchanged with foreign merchants for earthenware, glass beads, salt, and brazen vessels. To British exports were afterwards added slaves and fierce hunting dogs, and in the fourth century, if not before, wheat in large quantity.

Tacitus, in narrating the campaigns of Agricola, informs us that the natives of Britain were of several distinct races, as evidenced by their differences of personal appearance. The height and the yellow locks of the people on the north-east coast shewed their German origin, while the shorter stature and swarthy complexion of those in the west rendered it probable that they were a colony from Iberia. To all, the praise of desperate valour is due; Cæsar acknowledges that their horsemen and charioteers contended vigorously with him; and to the last period of Roman occupation, there were numerous tribes that had never been sub-

dued. Xiphilinus describes (from their contemporary, Dio Cassius) the state of these about the close of the second century of the Christian era.

"The Mæatæ and the Caledonians inhabit mountains wild and waterless, and plains desert and marshy, having neither walls nor cities nor tilth, but living by pasturage, by the chase, and on certain berries; for of their fish, though abundant and inexhaustible, they never taste. They live in tents naked and bare-footed, having wives in common, and rearing the whole of their progeny. Their state is chiefly democratical, and they are above all things delighted by pillage; they fight from chariots, having small swift horses; they fight also on foot, are very fleet when running, and most resolute when compelled to stand; their arms consist of a shield and a short spear, having a brazen knob at the extremity of the shaft, that when shaken it may terrify the enemy by its noise; they use daggers also; they are capable of enduring hunger, thirst, and hardships of every description; for when plunged in the marshes they abide there many days with their heads only out of water; and in the woods they subsist on bark and roots; they prepare for all emergencies a certain kind of food, of which if they eat only so much as the size of a bean they neither hunger nor thirst. Such then is the island of Britannia, and such the inhabitants of that part of it which is hostile to us."

Herodian gives a very similar account, and adds, "They encircle their loins and necks with iron, deeming this an ornament and mark of opulence, in like manner as other barbarians esteem gold. They puncture their bodies with pictured forms of every sort of animals, on which account they wear no clothing, lest they should hide the figures on their body."

The kingly form of government prevailed among the Britons before the coming of Cæsar,—and it was continued long after, though in subordination to the Roman governors,—but the most influential persons among them were the Druids. These men, Cæsar informs us, were the depositories of all the learning of the Britons, and they had numerous schools where they taught "many things respecting the stars and their motion,

respecting the extent of the world and of our earth, respecting the nature of things, respecting the power and the majesty of the immortal gods." These doctrines were supposed to have originated in Britain, and in Cæsar's time those Gauls who wished to study them visited our island for the purpose.

But the Druids were not merely teachers. On the contrary, they were rulers, who imposed ordinances on all classes, and enforced them by terrible penalties; they were the arbiters of peace and war; they had sacred groves and rude stone temples, in which they offered human sacrifices; and so powerful was their influence over their countrymen, that the Romans forsook their usual policy of leaving untouched the superstitions and priesthoods of conquered nations, and laboured zealously to destroy both the priests and the altars of Britain. Tacitus gives a lively account of the assault for this purpose on the stronghold of Druidism (A.D. 61).

Suetonius "prepared to fall upon Mona (Anglesey<sup>1</sup>), a country powerful in inhabitants, and a common place of refuge to the revolters and fugitives; he built, for that end, boats with broad flat bottoms, the easier to approach a shore full of shallows and uncertain landings; in these the foot were embarked; the horse followed, partly by fording, partly by swimming.

"On the opposite shore stood the enemy's army, in thick array compact with men and arms; amongst them were women running frantically every where, to and fro, representing the wild manner and transports of furies; dismally clad in funeral apparel, with their hair dishevelled and torches in their hands; round the host also appeared their priests the Druids, with their hands lifted up to heaven, uttering direful imprecations, and invoking celestial vengeance; insomuch, that at the amazing novelty of the spectacle, the spirit of the Roman soldiers was struck with dismay; and, as if all their limbs had been benumbed, they stood motionless, their bodies exposed, like

fixed marks, to wounds and darts; till, by the repeated exhortations of the general, as well as by mutual incitements from one another, they were at last roused to shake off the scandalous terror inspired by a band of raving women and fanatic priests; and thus advancing their ensigns, they discomfited all that resisted, and involved them in their own fires."

The aboriginal Britons are described as dwelling in slight cabins of reeds and wattles, and in some instances in caverns in the earth, many sets of which, arranged with some degree of symmetry, antiquaries have recognized, in various parts of the country; but Cæsar tells us that the maritime tribes had buildings in the fashion of the Gauls, that is, of wood, of a circular figure, and thatched. They had, however, public edifices for the purposes of religion, of which we have an example in the stupendous fabric of Stonehenge<sup>j</sup>. Such of their towns as came under his observation were clusters of huts erected on a cleared portion of the forests which covered the greater part of the island, and they were invariably surrounded by a rampart constructed of felled trees strongly interlaced and wattled, and a deep foss, which together constituted a fortification that we may believe even the veteran legionaries often found it difficult to storm. The site of the modern city of London, with the river Thames in front, the river Fleet on the west, and an almost impenetrable forest in the rear, may be taken as a fair specimen of the nature of the locality usually selected for the residence of a British chief.

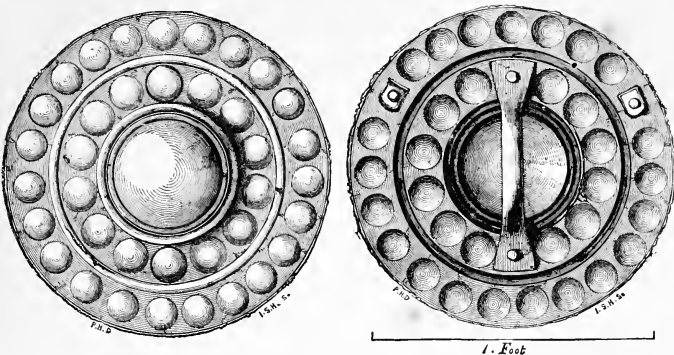
At the time that the Roman supremacy had its greatest extent, we distinguish the two great districts of Britannia Superior and Inferior (in a general way, England and Wales, and Scotland) divided into the five provinces of Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia Cæsariensis, Maxima Cæsariensis, and Valentia.

1. *Britannia Prima* contained the country south of the Thames and the

<sup>i</sup> The name Mona is often given to the Isle of Man, but it is certain that Anglesey is meant in this instance.

<sup>j</sup> The cromlechs which are found in various parts of our island were formerly regarded as temples,

but recent investigation has convinced the generality of antiquaries that they are in reality sepulchral monuments. One of the finest examples is the double cromlech at Plas Newydd, in Anglesey, figured at the head of this Introduction.



British Shield, found at Little Wittenham, Berks.

Severn. and, proceeding westward, we find tribes known to us by their Romanized names of the Cantii, Regni, Belgæ, Atrebatæ, Durotriges, and Dumnonii.

2. *Britannia Secunda* may be called Wales, and contained the Silures in the south and south-east, the Demetæ on the western coast, and the Ordovices in the north.

3. *Flavia Cesariensis*, the country between the Thames, the Severn and the Humber, contained the Trinobantes in the south, north of them the Catycephlani and Icenii, and in the central and western parts the Dobuni, Coritavi, and Cornavii.

4. *Maxima Cesariensis*, between the Humber and the Tyne, contained the Parisii on the Yorkshire coast, and the Brigantes, who occupied the rest of the north of England.

5. *Valentia*, between the Tyne and the Frith of Forth, was occupied by the Ottadeni on the east coast, the Gadeni in the centre, and the Selgovæ, Novantæ, and Damnii to the west and north. This province contained the Roman walls known as, (1) the Wall of Agricola (or of Lollius

Urbicus, or Antoninus, from its restorers), which was the most northern, and (2) the Wall of Hadrian, to the south; this last being re-edified in the third century, or rather replaced by a wall of stone, the new structure is commonly spoken of as (3) the Wall of Severus<sup>k</sup>. A wall, or rather chain of forts, also existed in the central part of the country, stretching from the Nen to the Severn; few traces of this remain, but of the other walls most of the stations have been identified, and many portions are still in a good state of preservation.

Beside these walls strong fortresses were erected in many places, particularly on the coast, of which the remains at Burgh castle, in Suffolk, Reculver, Richborough and Lympne, in Kent, and near Pevensey, in Sussex (probably Anderida), are especially interesting.

Our early historians mention four great roads by which South Britain was traversed, and these have usually been considered the work of its conquerors, but recent research has led to the conclusion that the Romans only kept in repair, and perhaps im-

<sup>k</sup> This Wall has been closely investigated by antiquaries, and its whole course satisfactorily traced. From the researches of Dr. Collingwood Bruce in particular, we learn that the Wall was about 73 miles long and probably 20 feet high. It had a

deep ditch on its northern front, and on its southern side a triple rampart of earth and stones, with foss, ran parallel to it, at a distance generally of 60 or 80 yards. The included space was traversed by a military road along which were disposed nearly

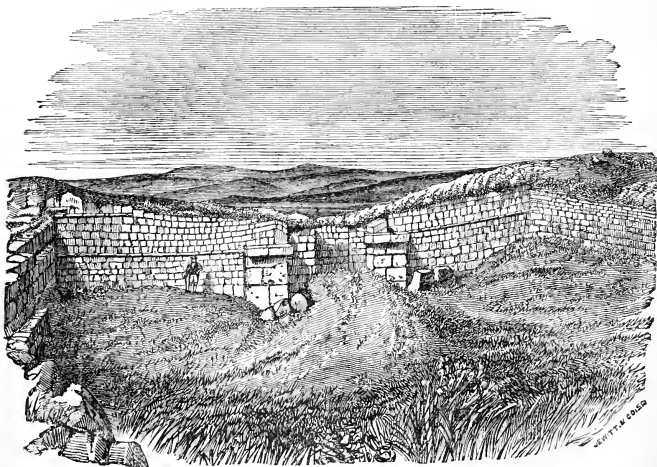
proved, the roads which they found in use on their settlement in the island. These great roads, under their modern names, are, the Watling Street, the Hermin Street, the Foss Way, and the Ikenild Street<sup>1</sup>, and along their course, or in their immediate vicinity, are found the principal towns which, in pursuance of their usual policy, the Romans either founded or re-edified, and to which, according to the privileges bestowed, the various names were given of colonies, municipalities, stipendiary, and Latian cities<sup>m</sup>.

Many other Roman roads exist, one

of which stretches beyond the Wall of Agricola to the foot of the Grampians, and a Roman camp is found near the mouth of the Spey, on the Murray Frith, which may probably be taken as the most advanced post of the Imperial rule. The names of several tribes beyond the Roman limits occur in Ptolemy and other writers, but before the time of Severus they appear to have been all merged in the general appellations of Caledonians and Mæatæ, as these in their turn in after days are known only as Picts and Scots.

twenty Stationes (permanent camps), linked together by Castella (see engraving) at less than a Roman mile distant, and these connected by watch-towers, ("little more than stone sentry-boxes," says Dr. Bruce,) within hail of each other. Even in its

present state the Wall is one of the most remarkable works in Europe, and it furnishes a proof of the difficulty with which the Romans maintained their position in the north of England. It is in fact one vast intrenched camp from end to end,



The Roman Wall: Mile Castle at Housesteads.

and seems to have been intended as much to meet a rising of the tribes to the south as to guard against an invasion from the north.

<sup>1</sup> The courses usually ascribed to these highways are, the Watling Street from Kent to Cardigan Bay; the Hermin Street from St. David's to Southampton; the Foss Way from Cornwall to Lincoln; and the Ikenild Street from St. David's to Tynemouth. There appears reason for supposing that these statements are incorrect, and that the Watling Street extended from Kent to the Frith of Forth; the Hermin Street from the Sussex coast to the Humber; the Foss Way from Cornwall to Lincolnshire; and the Ikenild Street from Caister to Dorchester.

<sup>m</sup> There have been identified among the colonies (using modern names), Bath, Cambridge, Caerleon, Chester, Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln, London, and Richborough; among the municipia, St. Alban's and York; among the Latian cities, Carlisle, Cirencester, Dumbarton, Old Sarum; and among the stipendiariae, Canterbury, Dorchester, Exeter, Leicester, Rochester, and Winchester. A much longer list is given in "*De Situ Britanniae*," a book ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, but that this is a forgery of the last century, has been conclusively shewn by Mr. Mayor, in his preface to Richard's genuine work, "*Speculum Historiale*."

The towns, and forts, and roads, already enumerated, are, however, very far from being the only traces of Roman occupation that remain in our country. Camps, occupying well-chosen positions, occur in numbers which attest the difficulty with which the subjugation of the island was accomplished; while the remains of stately buildings, ornamented with baths, tessellated pavements, fresco paintings and statuary, and articles of personal ornament, which are discovered almost every time that the earth is disturbed

to any considerable depth, prove the eventual wide diffusion of the elegant and luxurious mode of life which it was the aim of the conquerors to introduce<sup>a</sup>.

Roman glass and pottery, in great variety, and frequently of most elegant shape, abounds, but the most valuable are the sepulchral urns, which betoken the neighbourhood of towns of which perhaps no other traces now remain. A few specimens are here engraved, which were discovered at Felmingham, in Suffolk<sup>o</sup>.



Roman Sepulchral Urns.

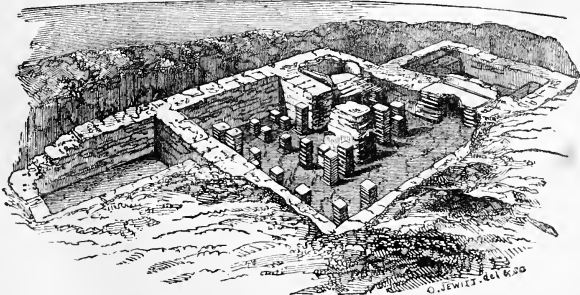
When first conquered, Britain was considered so important, that it was made a province of the Roman empire, and was governed by an officer of high rank, who was called the *proprætor*, and *vicegerent* of the emperor. The five departments, as they may be

termed, (*Britannia Prima*, &c.,) had each a president, and there was a large establishment of subordinates, the names and offices of many of whom have been preserved to us by inscriptions. Afterwards, but at a date that is somewhat uncertain, Bri-

<sup>a</sup> Upwards of one hundred Roman villas have been discovered, mainly in the south and west of England. Many of them contain pavements of extreme beauty, as those at Bignor, in Sussex, and at Woodchester, near Stroud, in Gloucestershire.

The subjoined cut shews the hypocaust of a Roman dwelling.

<sup>o</sup> In the neighbourhood is Brampton, the Roman remains of which occasioned Sir Thomas Browne to write his *Hydriotaphia*, or *Urn Burial*.



Remains of a Roman House in Britain: Wheatley, Oxen.

tain was reduced to a dependence on the prefect of Gaul, and the resident governor was then termed only vicar (or lieutenant). In pursuance of their ordinary policy, which made each conquered nation assist in keeping down the rest, the Romans sent the British youth in large numbers to garrison distant countries, and brought to Britain Gauls, Germans, Spaniards, Thracians and others as auxiliaries to the two (sometimes three) legions, that were deemed necessary to hold it. The ordinary amount of their military force is estimated at 30,000 foot and 6,000 horse, and they had a reserve in the veterans on whom they bestowed lands instead of pensions, and who with their families formed the bulk of the population in the towns that were styled colonies.

Independently of a rather doubtful passage in Gildas, there seems sufficient ground for the belief that the light of Christianity was diffused in our island as early as the apostolic age. Clement of Rome says that St. Paul carried the Gospel to the extreme bounds of the West, a phrase used by other writers where Britain is unquestionably intended; St. Peter, St. Joseph of Arimathea<sup>p</sup>, Aristobulus, and others, are also named, but with less probability, as agents in the conversion of Britain. The British Church is often spoken of by writers of the third and succeeding centuries; although, from the destruction of documents, no list of sees can be given on anything more

than conjecture, and no names of British prelates have come down to us preceding those of the signers of the decrees of the council of Arles (A.D. 314). The Christian population of Britain, evidently numerous at the time of the Diocletian persecution, appears to have steadily increased, and when the Romans withdrew from the island they left behind them a people professing the truths of the Gospel, but corrupting them by the rash and dangerous speculations of the Pelagian and other heresies, and soon to be driven into the more remote quarters of the country, where their faith, purified by affliction, shone more brightly than it had done in the days of their prosperity. They were visited by many holy persons from Ireland, (which had early received the Gospel, and had as yet escaped the ravages of the northern nations,) such as St. Piran, St. Ia, St. Gwythian, and others, who, inflamed by missionary zeal, in the fifth and sixth centuries, proceeded to the coast of Cornwall, and have left numerous memorials of their labours, not only in the names of villages, but in the sculptured crosses and humble oratories still found there<sup>q</sup>. To this period, prior to the coming of Augustine, also belongs the origin of the Welsh sees<sup>r</sup>, which, as they gathered the scattered sheep to the fold, may be regarded as the living representatives of the Churches planted among us in the very earliest age of Christianity.

<sup>p</sup> This was fully believed in the middle ages; and we find that Edward III. granted a licence dated June 10, 1345, allowing John Blome, of London, to search for the body of St. Joseph in the abbey of Glastonbury, about which, it says, he had received a divine revelation. The result is not recorded.

<sup>q</sup> One of the most interesting of these is the church of St. Piran, near St. Ives, which, after being for ages buried in the sand, (hence the name of the hamlet, Perran-zabuloe,) was brought to light

by its removal in 1835. It is of very small size (about 30 feet by 16) and simple architecture.

<sup>r</sup> Caerleon is by some writers said to have been founded in the Roman period, and Llandaff to have been established by King Lucius; but these are mere traditions, and the succession of bishops cannot be traced higher than to Dubritius, who apparently held both sees, and is said to have died A.D. 522. Kentigern of St. Asaph and Daniel of Bangor, the first bishops there, lived somewhat later.



Brass Coin of Severus.

## THE ROMAN ERA.

B.C. 57.—A.D. 418.

B.C. 57.

DIVITIACUS, king of the Suessones (in north-eastern Gaul), has the supremacy in Britain.

B.C. 56.

The Veneti<sup>a</sup> obtain assistance from the Britons against the Romans.

B.C. 55.

Caius Julius Cæsar prepares for an expedition into Britain.

The Britons, hearing of his preparations, dispatch ambassadors to Cæsar, who sends them back accompanied by Commius, king of the Atrebat<sup>b</sup>.

Commius, counselling submission, is imprisoned by the Britons.

Caius Volusenus is sent to the coast of Britain to announce the coming of Cæsar and procure information, but returns on the fifth day without having ventured to land.

Cæsar sails from Gessoriacum (now Boulogne), at midnight of August 26, and effects a landing after a severe contest near the South Foreland, August 27. His force consisted of the 7th and 10th legions, about 10,000 men; a body of horse was to have followed, but was delayed by bad weather.

Ambassadors come from the Britons to Cæsar and a peace is concluded, August 30.

The Roman fleet greatly damaged by the high tides, on the same night.

The foraging parties of the Romans are assailed, and their camp unsuccessfully attacked by the Britons.

Cæsar, after losing many men in action with the Britons, accepts a promise of hostages, and retires to Gaul about September 20.

Cæsar having sent an account of his expedition to Rome, a twenty days' festival is in consequence decreed.

Two only of the British states send the promised hostages.

Cæsar would appear to have retired somewhat precipitately from the island, as Niphilinus, in recording the speech which Dio Cassius ascribes to Boudicca (Boudicea) makes her speak of their ancestors having "driven far away that Julius Cæsar."

B.C. 54.

Cæsar builds a fleet of light vessels, which he employs in a second invasion of Britain.

Sails from Itius Portus (near Wissant) in May, having been detained 23 days by bad weather, and lands unopposed in Britain. His army now comprised 25,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and required a fleet of 800 ships for its transport.

Cassivellaunus, as generalissimo of the Britons, collects a force to oppose the Romans.

The Roman fleet damaged by a storm.

A party of the Romans defeated, and the tribune Laberius killed near

<sup>a</sup> The Veneti inhabited the southern coast of Gallia Celtica, in the modern department of Morbihan.

<sup>b</sup> The Atrebat<sup>b</sup> inhabited northern Gaul, in

Artois, and the modern department Pas de Calais, on their subjection by the Romans, Commius was appointed their King. There was also a tribe of Atrebat<sup>b</sup> in the south of Britain.

the river Stour, in Kent. The Britons harass Cæsar's march.

Cæsar crosses the Tamesis (Thames).

"Cæsar attempting to pass a large river of Britain," says Polyænus, "Casolaulus, king of the Britons, obstructed him with many horsemen and chariots. Cæsar had in his train a very large elephant, an animal hitherto unseen by the Britons. Having armed him with scales of iron, and put a large tower upon him, and placed therein archers and slingers, he ordered them to enter the stream. The Britons were amazed on beholding a beast till then unseen, and of an extraordinary nature. As to the horses what need we write of them, since even among the Greeks horses flee at seeing an elephant though without harness; but thus towered and armed, and casting darts and slinging, they could not endure even to look upon the sight: the Britons therefore fled with their horses and chariots. Thus the Romans passed the river without molestation, having terrified the enemy by a single animal."

The tribes of the eastern and central parts of Britain come to terms with Cæsar<sup>d</sup>.

Cæsar takes the capital of Cassivellaunus, (afterwards Verulamium, now St. Alban's).

Cassivellaunus incites the tribes in Cantium (Kent) to attack the Roman camp.

Cassivellaunus is defeated, and surrenders.

Cæsar returns to Gaul before the end of September.

B.C. 51.

Commius, the former dependant of Cæsar, having taken arms against the Romans and been defeated, flees for refuge to Britain.

B.C. 44.

Cæsar is slain in the Senate-house, March 15. Octavianus, his nephew, succeeds to his power, and, after a time, takes the style of Augustus and Emperor.

The written history of Britain ceases with the second withdrawal of Cæsar, and only recommences with the preparations of Augustus for a fresh invasion about 20 years after; but the want is partially supplied by the information afforded by coins that have been discovered. From these we learn the names of several British princes in the interval, of whom the one with the widest rule appears to have been Tasciovanus. He governed the central and the eastern districts; and it is conjectured that his son was Cunobelin, whose capital occupied the site on which was afterwards planted the Roman colony of Camulodunum (Colchester).

The coins of these rulers are of gold, and both in their devices and style of



Gold Coins of Tasciovanus and of Cunobelin.

art evidence a degree of civilization very unlike what might be expected if Cæsar's description of Britain were considered to apply to the whole country, instead of being restricted to the small part that fell under his personal observation. Some brass coins of Cu-

nobelin, found in Essex, are also subjoined.

B.C. 34.

Augustus proceeds to Gaul with the view of invading Britain, but is stopped by a revolt of some of the Gaulish tribes.

<sup>c</sup> A Greek author of the second century, who wrote a book on "Stratagems in War."

<sup>d</sup> These were the Trinobantes, Cenimagni, Ancalites, Bibroci, Segontiaci, and Cassi, dwelling in the district from the Thames to the Wash, and

westward as far as Hampshire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire. The Trinobantes, whose king Immanantius had been killed by Cassivellaunus, were the first to abandon the confederacy.





Brass Coins of Cunobelin, found at Chesterford.

B.C. 26.

Augustus having resumed his preparations, the Britons send him ambassadors and tribute.

A.D. 1.

The received commencement of the Christian era<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 14.

Augustus dies, August 19. He is succeeded by Tiberius.

A.D. 16.

Some Roman soldiers, shipwrecked on the shore of Britain, are protected and sent back by the chiefs.

A.D. 32.

Our Lord is crucified.

A.D. 37.

Death of Tiberius, March 26. Caligula succeeds.

A.D. 40.

Caligula, prevailed on by a fugitive Briton<sup>f</sup>, prepares to invade the island, but proceeds no further than the coast of Gaul.

"Caius, arriving at the ocean," says Dio Cassius, "as though intending to war in Britain, and drawing up all his troops along the beach, went on board a trireme, and having launched out a little distance from the land, returned again. And shortly after this, sitting on a lofty throne, and giving a signal to the soldiers as if for battle, and exciting them by his trumpeters, he then suddenly ordered them to gather up sea shells. And having taken such booty, for it would seem that he wanted spoils for the pomp of triumphal honours, he was as highly elated as though he had subdued the very ocean, gave considerable largesses to his soldiers, and car-



Silver Coin of Claudius.

A.D. 47.

Aulus Plautius and Vespasian reduce the southern part of Britain, and obtain tribute from the more distant tribes<sup>g</sup>.

The Picts are subdued.

Apocryphal date of the martyrdom of Simon Zelotes in Britain<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 50.

Ostorius Scapula extends the con-

ried these shells to Rome that he might exhibit his spoils to the citizens."

A.D. 41.

Caligula is assassinated, January 24. Claudius succeeds.

A.D. 43.

Bericus, a fugitive whose surrender had been demanded, persuades Claudius to undertake the conquest of Britain.

Aulus Plautius invades the island, and defeats the Britons.

Vespasian (afterwards emperor) sent to Britain.

Claudius visits the island, captures the principal town of Cunobelin, (afterwards Camulodunum, now Colchester, in Essex,) and after sixteen days' residence in Britain returns to Rome.

A.D. 44.

Claudius celebrates the "conquest of Britain" by a triumph at Rome, and, with his son, assumes the surname of Britannicus.



<sup>e</sup> According to the ordinary computation. Usher and other writers place the birth of Our Lord four years earlier.

<sup>f</sup> This man's name is variously given: Adminius, son of Cinobellinus, king of Britain, by Suetonius, and Minocynbellinus, son of the king of the Britons, by Paulus Orosius, a much later writer.

<sup>g</sup> The Orcades were among the number, according to Eutropius (a comparatively late writer), but Tacitus asserts on the contrary that they were first discovered and subjugated by Agricola. See A.D. 84.

<sup>h</sup> Given in the spurious *Synopsis* of Dorotheus, a 6th century production.

quests of his predecessors, builds a chain of forts between the rivers Nen and Severn, ravages both the west and the north<sup>1</sup>, and defeats Caractacus, the king of the Silures<sup>k</sup>.

Caractacus is treacherously delivered up to the Romans, but being sent to the emperor is by him set at liberty.

Ostorius is unsuccessful against the Silures, and dies.

Valens and a Roman legion defeated by the Silures.

A.D. 51.

Aulus Didius sent to command in Britain.

Venusius, at the head of the Brigantes, maintains the war.

A.D. 54.

Claudius dies, Oct. 13. Nero succeeds.

A.D. 57.

Veranius succeeds Aulus Didius as proprætor, but dies shortly after.

A.D. 58.

Suetonius Paulinus sent to govern Britain; Agricola serves under him.

A.D. 61.

The Britons, oppressed by Catus Decianus, the procurator, and by Seneca<sup>1</sup>, revolt.

Boudicca, the widow of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, heads the Britons.

Xiphilinus, after recounting certain prodigies by which he says this event was heralded, adds, "She, however, who chiefly excited and urged them to fight against the Romans was Boudicca, who was deemed worthy to command them, and who led them in every battle; a Briton of royal race, and breathing more than female spirit. Having collected, therefore, an army to the number of about 120,000, she, after the Roman custom, ascended a tribunal made of marshy earth. She was of the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance, and harsh of voice: having a profusion

of yellow hair which fell down to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar; she had on a parti-coloured floating vest drawn close about her bosom, and over this she wore a thick mantle connected by a clasp. Such was her usual dress; but at this time she also bore a spear, that thus she might appear more formidable to all, and she spake after this manner," &c. The speech, beside being imaginary, is too long for quotation. "Having thus harangued, Boudicca led her army against the Romans, who were at that time without a chief, because Paulinus, then commander, was warring against Mona."

Verulamium, Camulodunum, and other Roman posts, captured, and a great slaughter made of the Romans and their allies.

Suetonius reduces Mona (Anglesey)<sup>m</sup>, but is recalled by the news of the revolt.

Londinium (London), already, according to Tacitus "famed for the vast conflux of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty," destroyed by the Britons.

Petilius Cerealis and the Ninth Legion routed.

Catus Decianus escapes to Gaul.

The Britons are defeated with terrible slaughter near Londinium by Suetonius.

Boudicca dies<sup>n</sup>, and the Britons abandon the contest.

A.D. 62.

Suetonius recalled, and succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus.

A.D. 65.

Trebellius Maximus is proprætor in Britain.

Apocryphal date of St. Peter's visit to Britain<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 67.

Aristobulus, one of the seventy disciples, said to have died in Britain<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The country of the Cangii and the Brigantes, now Somersetshire and Yorkshire, and the more northern counties.

<sup>k</sup> The people of South Wales, Herefordshire, and Monmouthshire. Caractacus is believed to have been a son of Cunobelin, driven out from Essex by the Romans, and then chosen as their leader by the Silures. Welsh tradition, however, claims him for a Silurian, and ascribes to his father Bran the introduction of Christianity into Britain, he having been carried prisoner with his son to Rome, and there converted by the preaching of St. Paul.

<sup>l</sup> "Seneca, having lent them, against their will,

a thousand myriads of money in expectation of interest, suddenly and violently called in his loan." (Xiphilinus.) There seems little doubt that this was Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher, who was put to death by Nero in the year following this revolt.

<sup>m</sup> See p. 4.

<sup>n</sup> She committed suicide according to Tacitus; but according to Dio Cassius she died a natural death, and was interred with great funereal splendour.

<sup>o</sup> According to Simeon Metaphrastes, 10th cent.

<sup>p</sup> Synopsis Dorothei, 6th cent.

A.D. 68.

Nero put to death, June 9. He is succeeded by Galba.

A.D. 69.

Galba is killed, January 16. Otho succeeds, and Vitellius also is chosen emperor; great dissension among the Roman legions in Britain in consequence.

Venusius again heads the Britons. Trebellius Maximus, the Roman lieutenant, abandons his post.

Vettius Bolanus sent as lieutenant to Britain by Vitellius.

Agricola succeeds to the military command.

Vespasian becomes emperor.

A.D. 70.

Petilius Cerealis, lieutenant in Britain; Agricola serves under him, and the Fourteenth Legion is designated the "Conquerors of Britain."

A.D. 75.

Julius Frontinus, *proprætor* in Britain.

A.D. 78.

Agricola appointed to the command. In his first campaign he conquers Mona.

A.D. 79.

Vespasian dies, June 24. He is succeeded by Titus.

Agricola's second campaign. He overruns the whole country, and induces many of the chiefs to give hostages and to allow their sons to receive a Roman education.

"To the end," says Tacitus, "that these people, thus wild and dispersed over the country, and thence easily instigated to war, might by a taste of pleasures be reconciled to inactivity and repose, he first privately exhorted them, then publicly assisted them, to build temples, houses, and places of assembling. Upon such as were willing and assiduous in these pursuits he heaped commendations, and reproofs upon the lifeless and slow; so that a competition for this distinction and honour had all the force of necessity. He was already taking care to have the sons of their chiefs taught the liberal sciences, preferring the natural capacity of the Britons to the studied acquirements of the Gauls; and such was his success, that they who had lately scorned to learn the Roman lan-

guage, were become fond of acquiring the Roman eloquence. Thus they began to honour our apparel, and the use of the Roman gown grew frequent among them. By degrees they proceeded to the incitements and charms of vice and dissoluteness, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous baths, and all the stimulations and elegance of banqueting. Nay, all this innovation was by the inexperienced styled politeness and humanity, when it was indeed part of their bondage."

A.D. 80.

Agricola's third campaign, in which he advances as far as Tava (the Frith of Tay).

A.D. 81.

Agricola's fourth campaign. He builds a chain of forts between Clota and Bodotria (the Friths of Clyde and Forth).

Titus dies, September 13, and is succeeded by Domitian.

A.D. 82.

Agricola's fifth campaign, in which he visits the north-western coast of Britain: a fugitive chief from Ierne (Ireland) is received by him.

"Agricola," says Tacitus, "placed forces in that part of Britain which fronts Ireland, more from future views than from any present fear. In truth, Ireland, as it lies just between Britain and Spain, and is capable of an easy communication with the coast of Gaul, would have proved of infinite use in linking together these limbs of the empire. In size it is inferior to Britain, but surpasses the islands in our sea. In soil and climate, as also in the temper and manners of the natives, it varies little from Britain. Its ports and landings are better known, through the frequency of commerce and merchants."

A.D. 83.

Agricola's sixth campaign, beyond the Frith of Forth.

The Caledonians attack the Romans, but are defeated.

A cohort of Germans, attempting to desert, sail round the extremity of the island, are wrecked, and sold into slavery.

A.D. 84.

Agricola's seventh campaign, in

which he defeats the Caledonians under Galgacus.

The Horesti<sup>1</sup> obliged to give hostages.

Agricola sails round Britain, and discovers the Orcades, according to Tacitus.

A triumph is decreed to Agricola, who resigns his command.

A.D. 85.

Sallustius Lucullus, proprætor in Britain, killed by order of Domitian.

A.D. 86.

Arviragus heads a revolt against the Romans.

A.D. 96.

Domitian is killed, September 18. Nerva succeeds.

A.D. 98.

Nerva dies, January 21. He is succeeded by Trajan.

A.D. 106.

Neratius Marcellus præfect in Britain.

A.D. 117.

Trajan dies about August 10. Hadrian succeeds.

The Britons endeavour to throw off the Roman yoke.

A.D. 120.

Hadrian visits Britain.

A.D. 121.

Hadrian builds a wall from Tinna to Ituna (the Tyne and Solway Frith), to separate the Roman province from



Brass Coin of Hadrian.

the unsubdued tribes<sup>2</sup>; now known as the Picts' Wall.

A.D. 124.

Aulus Platorius Nepos, proprætor.

A.D. 130.

Mænius Agrippa, præfect of the fleet on the British shore.

A.D. 133.

Licinius Italicus, proprætor.

A.D. 138.

Hadrian dies, July 10. He is succeeded by Antoninus.



Brass Coin of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>1</sup> A tribe on the north of the Frith of Tay.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 5.

The Brigantes despoiled of great part of their land.

A.D. 139.

Lollius Urbicus, proprætor, constructs a rampart between the Forth and Clyde, on the site of the forts of Agricola; now known as Graham's Dyke\*.

A.D. 140.

Valerius Pansa, proconsul; Scius Saturninus, præfect of the fleet.

A.D. 161.

Antoninus dies, March 7. He is succeeded by Marcus Aurelius, who takes for his colleague Lucius Verus.

A.D. 162.

Calphurnius Agricola, in consequence of a threatened revolt, is sent to Britain as lieutenant.



Brass Coin of Commodus.

A.D. 185.

The troops in Britain rise in mutiny, and Perennis, prætorian præfect, is slain, as the enemy of the soldiers.

A.D. 187.

Helvius Pertinax quells the revolt.

A.D. 192.

Clodius Albinus, the commander of the Roman forces in Britain, is suspected by the emperor, and a successor named.

Death of Commodus, December 31.

A.D. 193.

Severus becomes emperor, after the deaths of Pertinax and Didius; he

A.D. 169.

Lucius Verus dies, about the end of the year.

A.D. 178 (circa).

Lucius, king of the Britons†, sends an embassy to Pope Eleutherus on religious affairs.

A.D. 180.

Marcus Aurelius dies, March 17; is succeeded by Commodus.

A.D. 181.

The northern Britons pass the rampart, and kill a Roman general. They are defeated by Ulpius Marcellus, sent by Commodus against them.

A.D. 183.

Ulpius Marcellus concludes the war.

A.D. 184.

Commodus takes in consequence the title of Britannicus.

confers the title of Cæsar on Albinus, who has possession of Britain.

Albinus is proclaimed emperor in Gaul.

A.D. 196.

Virius Lupus, proprætor.

A.D. 197.

Albinus, who had crossed into Gaul, is defeated and killed by Severus, near Lugdunum (Lyons).

The account given by Herodian of this, the first recorded battle fought by a British army on the continent, may be interesting.

"When the army of Severus had arrived in Gaul, there was some skirmishing in different places; but the

\* Also called the Wall of Antoninus, in honour of the reigning emperor.

† This title is given him by Nennius, who also informs us that his native name was Lever-maur (Great Light). Nennius ascribes the transaction to the year 164, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to 167. Archbishop Ussher has collected from various sources no fewer than twenty-three different

dates, ranging from 137 to 199, to which it has been referred; that given in the text is the one esteemed the most probable, but some writers consider the whole apocryphal. Lucius is traditionally said to have founded several bishops' sees, as at London and Llandaff. A brass plate in the church of St. Peter, Cornhill, London, professes to point out his place of sepulture.

decisive battle was near Lugdunum, a great and opulent city, in which having shut himself up, Albinus remained, but sent forth his forces to the fight. A severe conflict ensuing, the fate of victory on either side for a long time continued dubious; for the Britons yield nothing either in courage or sanguinary spirit to the Illyrians. Such noble armies, therefore, encountering, the overthrow of neither was easy; and, as some of the historians of that time who write for truth's sake and not for favour relate, that division of Albinus's army to which Severus with his army was opposed, had greatly the advantage; insomuch that he was put to flight, fell from his horse, and threw off his imperial robe to conceal himself.

"The Britons now pursuing, and shouting as though already victorious, they say that Lætus, one of Severus's commanders, came in sight with the army he commanded fresh and untouched from not having yet been in action. . . . Severus's party took courage, placed him on his horse, and again clad him in his imperial robe. Albinus's troops supposing themselves already victorious, and, in consequence, having their ranks somewhat disordered, when this noble and fresh army fell suddenly upon them, gave way after but little resistance. A desperate rout ensuing, the soldiers of Severus pursued, and slew them until they threw themselves into the city. The number of the slain and captive on either side is differently recorded, as the inclination of the several historians of those times dictated.

"Severus's army having plundered and burnt the city Lugdunum, and captured Albinus, they cut off his head, and brought it to Severus. . . . Such was the end of Albinus, who for a little time had partaken of honours which led to his own destruction."

A.D. 201.

Virius Lupus purchases peace from the Meatæ\*, who had joined the Caledonians.

A.D. 204.

Southern Britain, now considered as

conquered, is by the emperor's order divided into two provinces; Virius Lupus being still proprætor.

A.D. 205 or 206.

Alfenus Sencio appointed proprætor.

A.D. 207.

The wall of Severus in progress of construction†.

An insurrection of the Britons. The proprætor requests further forces or the presence of the emperor.

A.D. 208.

Severus repairs to Britain.

A.D. 209.

Severus, leaving Geta, his younger son, in the southern part of Britain, advances into Caledonia, refuses all treaty with the natives, and subdues them‡, not, however, without severe loss to his army.

"Severus," says Xiphilinus, "advanced into Caledonia, and in traversing the country underwent indescribable labour in cutting down woods, levelling hills, making marshes passable, and constructing bridges over rivers: for he fought not a single battle, nor did he see any army in array. The enemy moreover threw sheep and oxen in our track, on purpose that the soldiers might seize them, and thus being enticed farther onward, might be worn out by their sufferings. From the waters too they suffered dreadfully, and ambuscades were laid for them when dispersed. And if no longer able to proceed they were dispatched by their very comrades lest they should be taken: so that by this means 50,000 of them perished."

A.D. 210.

The wall of Severus finished.

Severus assumes the surname of Britannicus.

Caracalla, the emperor's son, attempts his father's life.

A.D. 211.

Death of Severus at Eboracum (York), February 4. His sons Caracalla and Geta succeed him.

\* The Meatæ occupied the country in the immediate neighbourhood of the Wall of Antoninus. See A.D. 139.

† This, which was merely a strengthening of the Wall of Hadrian, is an evidence of the unconquered

spirit of the Britons, and is not to be taken as indicating any advance of the Roman power, which on the contrary was giving way, as is shewn by the conduct of Virius Lupus, A.D. 201.

‡ See Coin, p. 9.



Brass Coin of Caracalla.

Caracalla appoints Papianus præfect of Britain, makes a treaty with the natives, and leaves the island.

Very slight mention is made of Bri-

tain by historians for a period of more than 60 years after this time. The names of a few of its governors (given hereafter) have been preserved to us



Brass Coin of Geta.

by inscriptions, but nothing is certainly known of the part taken by them, or by the legions in Britain, in the struggles which for the greater part of the time convulsed almost every other part of the empire, where aspirants to the purple rose and fell in rapid succession. It is probable that the governors were in reality almost independent; and it is not till the year 276 that any act of sovereignty over Britain is ascribed to a Roman emperor.

A.D. 212.

Geta is put to death, February 17.

A.D. 217.

Caracalla assassinated, April 8. Macrinus succeeds.

A.D. 218.

Macrinus killed, June 8. He is succeeded by Heliogabalus.

A.D. 219.

M. D. Junius, proprætor.

A.D. 221.

Marius Valerianus, proprætor.

A.D. 222.

Heliogabalus killed, March 11. Alexander Severus succeeds.

A.D. 235.

Alexander Severus assassinated, March 19. Maximinus succeeds.

A.D. 238.

Claudius Paulinus, proprætor. Maximinus assassinated, in March. Gordian the Younger succeeds.

A.D. 240.

Gn. Lucilianus, proprætor.

A.D. 244.

Gordian assassinated, in March. Philip succeeds, and takes his son as colleague.

A.D. 249.

Philip and his son slain in October. Decius proclaimed emperor.

A.D. 251.

Decius dies, in November. He is succeeded by Gallus Hostilianus.

A.D. 252.

Volusianus associated to the empire.

A.D. 253.

Gallus and Volusianus slain, in May. Valerian and Gallienus emperors.

A.D. 255.

Desticius Juba, proprætor.

A.D. 260.

Valerian being taken by Sapor, Gallienus becomes sole emperor.

A.D. 267.

Gallienus assassinated, March 20. Claudius becomes emperor.

A.D. 270.

Claudius dies of the plague, in May.  
Aurelian succeeds.

A.D. 273.

Constantius Chlorus (afterwards emperor) marries Helena, a British princess\*. Their son Constantine is born† Feb. 27, 274.

A.D. 275.

Aurelian assassinated, in January.  
Tacitus succeeds.

A.D. 276.

Tacitus assassinated, in April. His brother Florianus holds the empire for 83 days, ruling in Britain among other countries.

Florianus is killed, in July. Probus succeeds.

A revolt in Britain quelled by Victorinus, a Moor.

A.D. 277.

Probus having conquered the Burgundians and Vandals, settles colonies of them in the eastern part of Britain.

A.D. 282.

Probus is slain, in November. He is succeeded by Carus, who associates his sons Carinus and Numerianus, assigning Britain to the former.

A.D. 283.

Carus dies, in December.

A.D. 284.

Numerianus is killed, in September.  
Diocletian chosen emperor.

A.D. 285.

Carinus is killed.

A.D. 286.

Maximian is associated in the empire with Diocletian.

The Franks and Saxons infest the coast of Gaul. Carausius, a Menapiian‡, to whom the command of a fleet against them had been intrusted, being suspected of conniving

at their ravages, is ordered to be put to death. He retires to Britain, taking the fleet with him, and assumes the purple.



Gold Coin of Carausius.

A.D. 287.

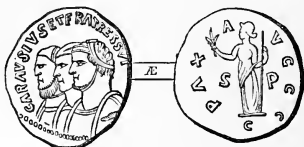
Maximian prepares a fleet and army for the reduction of Britain.



Silver Coin of Carausius\*.

A.D. 289.

Carausius repulses Maximian, who is obliged to make peace with him.



Brass Coin of Carausius, representing his association with Diocletian and Maximian.

A.D. 292.

Diocletian associates Constantius and Maximinus with him in the empire.

Constantius, who now rules over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, divorces Helena.

Constantius reduces Gessoriacum, which belonged to Carausius.

\* She is said by Henry of Huntingdon to have been the daughter of Coel, whom he styles king of Colecestre (Colchester); William of Malmesbury, on what ground is unknown, asserts that she was a tender of cattle (stabularia).

† His birth is placed by many early writers in Britain; but it really occurred at Naissus, in Mœsia.

‡ The Menapii inhabited the country on the south of the Scheldt, in the modern kingdom of Belgium.

\* These coins of Carausius are interesting; particularly the one which shews by its proud inscription, "Romano renova," the lofty hopes that the possession of Britain inspired.



A.D. 294.

Carausius is slain by his admiral Allectus, who assumes the purple in Britain.



Gold Coin of Allectus.

A.D. 296.

Constantius, passing in a mist by the British fleet, lands in Britain and burns his ships.



Brass Coin of Allectus.

Defeats and kills Allectus, and recovers Britain for the empire.

A.D. 304.

Alban<sup>b</sup> and other Christians suffer martyrdom. According to Bede 17,000 Christians are martyred in one month in different parts of the empire<sup>c</sup>.

A.D. 305.

By the abdication of Diocletian and

<sup>b</sup> Alban, according to the legend, was a pagan resident of Verulam, who charitably gave shelter to a Christian priest, named Amphibalus, and was converted by him. Amphibalus having escaped by Alban's assistance, the latter was seized, and refusing to renounce his faith, was scourged and beheaded. On the spot where he suffered martyrdom "a church built of wonderful workmanship" afterwards arose, to which a monastic institution was added by Offa about 787, the abbot of which afterwards received from Pope Adrian IV. precedence over all others, on account of its patron saint being regarded the proto-martyr of England. The saint



Maximian<sup>d</sup>, Constantius and Galerius become emperors.

Constantius chiefly resides in Britain, and makes a successful expedition against the Caledonians.

A.D. 306.

Constantius dies at Eboracum, July 25; is buried at Cair Segint (probably near Caernarvon), according to Nennius.

Constantine, his son, being in Britain, is proclaimed emperor.

Maxentius, son of Maximian, takes the title of Augustus at Rome.

A.D. 307.

Licinius, brother-in-law of Constantine, is declared emperor.

A.D. 312.

Constantine marches against Maxentius, having with him levies from Britain.

Death of Maxentius.

A.D. 313.

Constantine embraces Christianity<sup>e</sup>. Leads an army against the Britons beyond the wall of Severus, and subdues them.

A.D. 314.

Certain British bishops are present at the council at Arles<sup>f</sup>.

A.D. 319.

Pacatianus, proprætor.

A.D. 325.

The council of Nice, at which British bishops are believed to have been present.

A.D. 332.

Constantine makes a new division of the empire, which assigns Britain, Gaul, and Iberia to one præfect.

is thus depicted on the brass of Abbot Delamere (who died 1396) in St. Alban's Abbey.

<sup>c</sup> This was in the tenth persecution, under Diocletian and Maximian; the former persecutions are not mentioned as extending to Britain, nor is there any certain evidence that that of Diocletian did so.

<sup>d</sup> Maximian survived until 310, and Diocletian till 316.

<sup>e</sup> Bede states that Constantine was baptized at Rome by Pope Sylvester, but other writers assert that he only received baptism a short time before his death, in 337.

<sup>f</sup> From the signatures to the canons it appears that they were Eborius of York, Restitutius of London, and Adelfius "de civitate Colonia Londinensium," which is probably a mistake for "Legionensium" (Caerleon).

A.D. 337.

Constantine dies. In the division of the empire, his son Constantine receives Britain, Gaul, and Iberia.

A.D. 340.

Constans acquires possession of Britain, on the death of Constantine the Younger.

A.D. 343.

Constans visits Britain, and restores tranquillity there.

A.D. 350.

Magnentius, whose father was a Briton, kills Constans, and possesses himself of part of his dominions.

The army in Britain favour Magnentius.

A.D. 353.

Magnentius is defeated and killed by Constantius, who thus secures the whole empire.

Martinus, præfect in Britain, kills himself, having failed to stab Paulus, who had been sent to inquire into his conduct in the time of Magnentius.

A.D. 357.

Julian, nephew of the emperor, builds 800 vessels of small size to import corn from Britain for the supply of the Roman garrisons in Germany.

A.D. 359.

Julian builds warehouses for the corn received from Britain.

The council of Ariminum (Rimini), at which several bishops from Britain are present.

A.D. 360.

Alypius, vicar (or lieutenant) in Britain.

The Scots and Picts invade Roman Britain.

Lupicinus is despatched to oppose them.

A.D. 361.

Constantius dies. Julian, surnamed the Apostate, succeeds.

A.D. 362.

Julian reforms the fiscal abuses of the præfects in Britain.

A.D. 363.

Julian is killed, June 26. Jovian succeeds.

A.D. 364.

Jovian dies, Feb. 17. He is suc-

ceeded by Valentinian, who associates with himself his brother Valens.

Roman Britain harassed by the Saxons by sea, and the Picts and Scots by land.

A.D. 367.

Revolt in Britain, in which Fullofaudes and Nectaridus, the commanders of the army and fleet, are slain.

Severus sent by the emperor into Britain, but soon recalled. Jovinus appointed præfect, who sends Prover-tuides thither before him.

Theodosius appointed to the command in Britain.

The Picts at this time divided into two tribes, the Dicalidonæ and Vecturiones.

A.D. 368.

Theodosius routs the Picts and Scots, and establishes peace.

Valentinus, brother-in-law of Maximinus, having been banished to Britain, conspires against Theodosius. Is detected, and put to death.

Theodosius restores the cities and fortifies the borders; he recovers the country between the walls of Severus and Agricola, and forms it into a province called Valentia, in honour of the emperor. Is recalled.

A.D. 372.

Fresh disturbances in Britain; Fraomarius is sent thither by Valentinian.

A.D. 375.

Valentinian dies, November 17. He is succeeded by his sons Gratian and Valentinian the younger. Gratian has Gaul, Iberia and Britain.

A.D. 379.

Theodosius (son of the pacificator of Britain) is associated in the empire by Gratian.

A.D. 382.

Clemens Maximus repels the Picts and Scots who had made incursions on Britain.

A.D. 383.

The army in Britain revolt, and make Maximus emperor, who passing into Gaul, puts Gratian to death, August 23.

A.D. 384.

Maximus fixes his seat of government at Treveri (Treves).

A.D. 387.  
Maximus, with a large army of Britons and Gauls, invades Italy, and expels Valentinian.

A.D. 388.  
Maximus defeated and killed in Italy, and his son Victor in Gaul.

The Britons of the army of Maximus establish themselves in Armorica (Britanny).

A.D. 392.  
Valentinian killed by Arbogastes, a Gaul, May 15.

A.D. 393.  
Chrysanthus, vicar (or lieutenant) of Britain.

A.D. 394.  
Ninias, a Briton educated at Rome, is ordained to the bishopric of the Southern Picts by Pope Siricius.

A.D. 395.  
Theodosius dies, January 17. His sons Arcadius and Honorius succeed, and the Roman empire is henceforth divided into the Eastern and Western.

A.D. 396.  
The Britons, harassed by the Picts and Scots, apply to Honorius, the emperor of the West, for aid.

A legion is despatched to their assistance by Stilicho, the general of Honorius, and the invaders are repulsed.

A.D. 400.  
The wall of Severus repaired.

Pelagius, a Briton, begins to spread his heretical doctrines about this time<sup>g</sup>.

A.D. 402.  
The Roman legion being withdrawn, the Picts and Scots resume their inroads.

A.D. 403.  
The Goths invade Italy.

A.D. 407.  
The Vandals penetrate into Gaul, and threaten Britain.

The army in Britain revolts, and declares Marcus emperor.

Marcus is killed, and Gratian, a native of Britain, assumes the purple.

Gratian is deposed and killed, four months after his elevation.

Constantine usurps the empire in Britain, and collecting a fleet and army invades Gaul and Iberia.

A.D. 408.  
Sarus, despatched against Constantine, besieges him in Valentia, but is himself obliged to flee into Italy.

Constantine makes his son Constans Cæsar.

Honorius recognises Constantine as his partner in the empire.

Arcadius dies, and is succeeded by his son Theodosius II.

A.D. 409.  
Gerontius, a Briton, revolts against Constantine.

The Britons arm themselves against the invading barbarians, and also expel the Roman magistrates.

A.D. 410.  
Rome captured and sacked by the Goths, under Alaric, August 24, in the 1163rd year of its foundation<sup>h</sup>.

Honorius writes letters to the British cities absolving them from their allegiance, and urging them to provide for their own security.

A.D. 411.  
Gerontius kills Constans Cæsar, and causes Maximus to be elected emperor.

Constantius, the general of Honorius, defeats and kills Constantine and his son Julian.

Gerontius is killed by his own soldiers, and Maximus deprived of the purple.

EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

Julius Cæsar completes the conquest of Gaul . . . . .	B.C. 51	The Roman Empire established by Octavianus (Augustus) . . .	B.C. 31
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<sup>g</sup> He denied the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of grace, and asserted that man could attain to perfection. Nearly thirty councils were called, at all of which his opinions were condemned. His chief disciple was Celestius, an Irishman.

<sup>h</sup> This is according to the Dionysian computation.

Bede says the 1164th year, and the Saxon Chronicle "about the 1110th." Some authorities assign the year 409, others 410, on which Muratori remarks, "It is strange that the precise year of so great a catastrophe should be so uncertain."

	A.D.		A.D.
Jerusalem taken by the Romans . . . . .	70	The Franks commence the conquest of Gaul . . . . .	354
The Emperor Hadrian makes the Euphrates the limit of the Roman Empire . . . . .	117	The Goths cross the Danube, and make war on the Roman Empire . . . . .	377
The Persian Empire founded by Ardasher . . . . .	226	The Vandals establish themselves in Gaul . . . . .	406
Constantinople made the capital of the Eastern Empire . . . . .	324	The Gothic kingdom of Spain founded . . . . .	414

## BRITAIN INDEPENDENT.

A.D. 418.

"This year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and some they hid in the earth, so that no one has since been able to find them; and some they carried with them into Gaul<sup>1</sup>."

With this passage from the Saxon Chronicle the authentic history of Britain ceases for a period of nearly sixty years. In the interval are usually placed certain events mentioned in the writings of Gildas and Nennius, but nothing is to be drawn from their statements that can be reduced to chronological accuracy; for the first gives no dates, and the few found in the latter are contradictory. Though some, perhaps several, of the events may be true, it is impossible to assign dates to the reputed marriage of Guorthigirn (Vortigern) to the daughter of Hengist; the murder of the British nobles; the numerous battles said to have been fought with various success by Guorthemir (Vortimer) and Ambrosius against the invaders; the death of Horsa, or the foundation of the first Saxon kingdom.

By comparing, however, these statements with the few scattered notices to be found in Zosimus and other writers of the period, we learn that, the Roman power being finally withdrawn, the British cities formed themselves into a varying number of independent states, usually at war with each other, but occasionally united by some common danger into a confederacy, with an elective chieftain whose

power lasted no longer than the emergency. Such a ruler probably was Vortigern, who,—pressed at once by the northern tribes and the sea rovers, and by rivals for power, of whom one named Ambrosius, of Roman extraction, was the most formidable,—bears the reproach of having called in the aid of the Saxons against both his foreign and domestic foes. Recent inquirers have attempted to shew that the well-known names of Hengist and Horsa<sup>k</sup>, ascribed to their leaders, are not proper names, but rather titles of honour, (signifying war-horse and mare,) bestowed on many daring leaders of bands, and that the first employment of mercenaries, who soon leagued with the enemy, and at length became numerous enough to rule the country they were hired to guard, should be placed at least as early as the year 429, or twenty years before the era usually assigned.

It seems hopeless to attempt to identify the sites of the numerous battles that ensued, or to assign satisfactory dates to them; indeed, the whole sum of our knowledge on the matter may be said to be comprised in the statement of the Saxon Chronicle under the year 473: "Hengest and Æsc fought against the Welsh (Walas or Wealas), and took spoils innumerable; and the Welsh fled from the Angles (Englan) like fire."

Several applications for aid are stated by Nennius to have been made to the Romans, particularly one addressed to "Ætius thrice consul<sup>l</sup>," which is

<sup>1</sup> Passages thus marked, during the Saxon Era, unless some other work is cited, are taken from the English version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, published in the *Monumenta*; and although I have found it necessary, especially in the poetical portions, slightly to condense, I have the authority of the

surviving Editor of that invaluable work for saying that the sense of the original has been carefully preserved.

<sup>k</sup> In the original, Hengst or Hengest, and Horsa.  
<sup>l</sup> Therefore, if made at all, between the years 446 and 454, when he was consul for the fourth time.

couched in most abject terms, and is known in history by the title of the "groans of the Britons;" some succour seems occasionally to have been afforded, but it had no permanent effect on the contest.

In addition to the miseries of war the Britons suffered at this time from religious dissensions, until the spread of the Pelagian heresy induced them to apply to the bishops of Gaul for spiritual aid. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, twice visited the island for the purpose (probably in 428 and 446), and on one occasion he also gave them military assistance, by leading a body of newly baptized Britons against their enemies, and gaining a victory known as the "Hallelujah," from the cry with which his converts fell upon their heathen foes.

Meantime the western division of the mighty empire of Rome, of which Britain had so long formed a part, was falling into utter ruin. Rome was abandoned by the emperors (A.D. 404), who, surrounded by barbarian mercenaries, sought ignoble safety amid the marshes of Ravenna, where they

were in reality little more than puppets in the hands of their ministers. Iberia was occupied by the Vandals as early as 410; Gaul was about the same time partitioned among the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Germans, and the Roman settlers, and ere long became a Frankish kingdom (A.D. 418). The movements of the various German tribes in Germany itself, and the encroachments of barbarian races, drove the Goths and other nations into Italy, where they took firm root, and it is a Gothic historian<sup>m</sup> who relates how, after the death of Valentinian III., Rome was in the course of twenty years occupied by eight "tyrants" in succession. The last of them, contemptuously styled Augustulus, was in 476 deposed by Odoacer, the captain of the Herulian guard, who, despising the empty name of emperor, governed the country for a while with wisdom and success under the modest title of Patrician, until he in his turn was defeated and soon after treacherously slain by Theodoric, the founder of the Gothic dynasty in Italy (A.D. 493).

#### NOTE.

##### VAGUE KNOWLEDGE OF BRITAIN.

CONSIDERING the light estimation in which all the countries that they termed barbarous were held by the Greeks and Romans, it is not surprising to find even their best writers abounding in fables and idle fancies, when mentioning a region so remote as Britain. They speak of the country of "the painted Britons," "the horrid Britons," as adjoining Thule, the region of enchantments; and both Strabo and Diodorus Siculus gravely affirm that men live in the neighbouring isle of Ierne with difficulty on account of the cold, and are cannibals. But perhaps the most remarkable instance of how little was really known of Britain after ages of Roman occupation is to be found in the following passage from Procopius, who lived in the sixth century, was a man of action, an extensive traveller, and a senator, yet felt it necessary, "lest he should be charged with ignorance," though evidently not a believer himself, to mix with his History of the

Gothic War<sup>n</sup> so wild a fiction as the following:—

"In the northern ocean lies the island Brittia, not far from the continent, but as much as 200 stadia, right opposite to the outlets of the Rhine, and is between Britannia and the island Thule. For Britannia lies somewhere towards the setting sun, at the extremity of the country of the Spaniards, distant from the continent not less than 4,000 stadia. . . . .

"In this isle of Brittia, men of ancient time built a long wall, cutting off a great portion of it: for the soil, and the men, and all other things are not alike on both sides: for on the eastern side of the wall there is a wholesomeness of air in conformity with the seasons, moderately warm in summer, and cool in winter. Men inhabit here, living much as other men. The trees with their appropriate fruits flourish in season, and their corn-lands are as productive as others, and the district appears sufficiently fertilized by streams. But on the western side all is different, inasmuch indeed that it would be impossible for a man to live there even half an hour. Vipers and serpents innumerable, with all other kinds of wild beasts, infest that place; and what is most strange, the natives affirm that if any one, passing the wall, should proceed to the other side, he would die immediately, unable to endure the unwholesomeness

<sup>m</sup> Jornandes, bishop of Ravenna, in the sixth century.

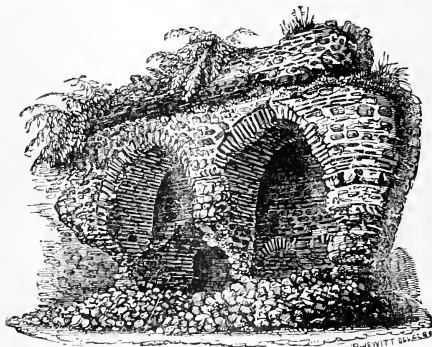
<sup>n</sup> De Bell. Gothic., lib. iv. c. 20.

of the atmosphere. Death also attacking such beasts as go thither, forthwith destroys them. But as I have arrived at this point of my history, it is incumbent on me to record a tradition very nearly allied to fable, which has never appeared to me true in all respects, though constantly spread abroad by men without number, who assert that themselves have been agents in the transactions, and also hearers of the words. I must not, however, pass it by altogether unnoticed, lest when thus writing concerning the island of Brittia I should bring upon myself an imputation of ignorance of certain circumstances perpetually happening there.

"They say then that the souls of men departed are always conducted to this place; but in what manner I will explain immediately, having frequently heard it from men of that region relating it most seriously, although I would rather ascribe their asseverations to a certain dreamy faculty which possesses them. On the coast of the land over against this island Brittia, in the ocean, are many villages, inhabited by men employed in fishing and in agriculture; who for the sake of merchandize pass over to this island. In other respects they are subject to the Franks, but they never render them tribute; this burden, as they relate, having been of old remitted to them for a certain service, which I shall immediately describe. The inhabitants declare that the conducting of souls devolves on them in turn. Such of them, therefore, as on the ensuing night are to go on this occupation in their turn of service, retiring to their dwellings as soon as it grows dark, compose themselves to sleep, awaiting the conductor of the expedition. All at once, at night, they perceive that their doors are shaken, and they hear a certain indistinct voice summoning them to their work. Without delay arising from their beds they proceed to the shore, not under-

standing the necessity which thus constrains them, yet nevertheless compelled by its influence. And here they perceive vessels in readiness, wholly void of men, not, however, their own, but certain strange vessels, in which embarking they lay hold on the oars, and feel their burden made heavier by a multitude of passengers, the boats being sunk to the gunwale and rowlock, and floating scarce a finger above the water. They see not a single person, but having rowed for one hour only, they arrive at Brittia: whereas when they navigate their own vessels, not making use of sails, but rowing, they arrive there with difficulty even in a night and a day. Having reached the island and been released from their burden, they depart immediately, the boats quickly becoming light, suddenly emerging from the stream, and sinking in the water no deeper than the keel. These people see no human being, either while navigating with them, nor when released from the ship. But they say that they hear a certain voice there, which seems to announce to such as receive them the names of all who have crossed over with them, describing the dignities which they formerly possessed, and calling them over by their hereditary titles. And also if women happen to cross over with them, they call over the names of the husbands with whom they lived."

In spite of the historian's distinction in this passage of Brittia and Britain, he afterwards mentions many circumstances which shew conclusively they are in reality one and the same, and that it is Britain which he speaks of, as the place of disembodied spirits.



Roman Masonry, Jewry Wall, Leicester.



Gold Coin attributed to Edward the Confessor.

## THE SAXON ERA.

FROM THE FIFTH TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

THE original country of the Saxons cannot be regarded as fully ascertained. A tale accepted as authentic by Witi-kind of Corbie, in the tenth century, represents them as arriving in ships, and settling themselves by force among the Thuringians, in the time of the emperor Vespasian, and from the idolatrous estimation in which they are known to have held the war-horse, it has been conjectured that they probably came from the country eastward of the Baltic, that form of paganism prevailing in those regions even to comparatively recent times. The first direct mention of them, however, is that by Ptolemy, who, before the close of the second century, speaks of the tribes on the shore and the islands at the mouth of the Elbe, as Saxons, and pirates.

Of the form of government prevailing at that time among them, we know little more than that, as with other barbarous nations, it was based on their idolatry. Their chiefs claimed descent from Woden, the god of war<sup>a</sup>, and they had many other deities, the names of some of whom are still preserved in our English tongue, little altered, in those of the days of the week. War being the only honourable occupation, each chief habitually set forth to plunder the richer nations which had fallen under the Roman sway; and although when they first appeared on the coasts of the provinces their vessels were mere boats, and their arms were rude and scanty

in supply, their daring courage compensated these disadvantages.

Each chief appears to have been wholly independent, acknowledging no superior, but we may fairly conclude from what is recorded of other nations, that confederacies were formed among them under some distinguished leader when any rich prize was in prospect; and thus, and by the junction of other tribes whom the Romans had not been able fully to subdue, as well as by actual colonization in many quarters, the Saxons so extended themselves that their name became, before the close of the third century, a general one for the sea rovers of the North, without implying any national affinity, being, according to one theory, derived from the long knife ("seax") which at first formed their principal weapon. Soon, however, either from the spoils of the vanquished or their own industry, or both, they were provided also with long spears and ponderous battle-axes, and their vessels, now denominated chiuks, or war-ships, were of sufficient size to convey a body of several hundred men each. Such a number of hardy pirates suddenly landing in countries disarmed by the jealous policy of their rulers, had little to fear from the comparatively unwarlike provincials, and what had been at first a mere plundering incursion often gave birth to a fixed settlement, which steadily grew in importance as the Roman power declined; and it is the opinion of many writers that scat-

<sup>a</sup> A chief of priestly as well as warlike character, styled Sigge Fridulfson, came from the region near the Caspian sea into the north of Europe, probably not long before the Christian era. The Northern

Sagas describe him as the wisest and best of men, and he was after death confounded with their deity by the rude natives, grateful for some degree of civilization imparted.

tered bodies of Saxons were thus established on various parts of our coast long before the period usually assigned for the first coming of their nation to Britain.

There is abundant evidence that these people rapidly extended themselves along the coast of the German ocean as far as the Rhine, and before the year 300 their ravages had become so frequent and so formidable that the whole district from the Elbe to the British channel was known as the Saxon Shore, and officers were appointed both in Britain and in Gaul to whom the task of guarding the seaboard of the Roman possessions was assigned. One of the earliest of these maritime prefects (who afterwards bore the title of Counts of the Sea Shore or Saxon Shore) was Carausius, who took advantage of the fleet entrusted to him for the purpose of his office to establish himself as an independent ruler in Britain<sup>b</sup>.

Meantime the Saxons pursued their ravages with little check, and spread such terror of their name that the emperor Julian and the historian Procopius, equally with Ammianus Marcellinus and Zosimus, speak of them as more fierce and formidable than any other of the barbarous nations. By land as well as by sea they appeared irresistible. When they had ravaged the coast, they ascended the rivers; when their chiuks, or their smaller vessels, could penetrate no farther, they were abandoned, and the rovers, seizing on such horses as they could find, pushed fearlessly into the interior, as a mixed force of horse and foot, and wasted with fire and sword every district they approached, until at length some river was reached, descending which with such rude barks as they could hastily construct, they again launched on the ocean, to pursue another career of devastation.

"We have not," says Sidonius Apollinaris, a Gaulish bishop of the fifth century, "a more cruel and more dangerous enemy than the Saxons: they overcome all who have the courage to oppose them; they surprise all who are so imprudent as not to be prepared for their attack. When they pursue,

they infallibly overtake; when they are pursued, their escape is certain. They despise danger; they are inured to shipwreck; they are eager to purchase booty with the peril of their lives. Tempests, which to others are so dreadful, to them are subjects of joy; the storm is their protection when they are pressed by the enemy, and a cover for their operations when they meditate an attack. Before they quit their own shores, they devote to the altars of their gods the tenth part of the principal captives; and when they are on the point of returning, the lots are cast with an affectation of equity, and the impious vow is fulfilled."

This picture, in which fear and hatred are alike apparent, might be suspected of exaggeration, but its main features are fully justified by the whole tenor of the Icelandic Sagas, the earliest accounts on the side of the ravagers that have come down to us; for though immediately relating to the Northmen of the eighth and succeeding centuries, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that they are also fairly applicable to their Saxon precursors. In these writings we find it constantly affirmed, that "the gods are with the strongest;" that human sacrifices are absolutely necessary to gain and preserve their favour; that war is the only fitting occupation of free men; and that the only desirable death is that on the field of battle, or its substitute suicide<sup>c</sup>. Those who fell by the sword were thus marked out as the especial favourites of their fierce divinities, and were alone admitted to the hall of Woden (Valhalla), where their time passed in alternate fighting and feasting; whilst for cowards (for such seem to have existed among them) and those who died a natural death, were reserved all the pains of Nifheim (literally, Evil Home), a shadowy region of torment.

Men holding such ideas would naturally be at least as regardless of the lives of others as of their own, and being also, after their barbarous fashion, devout, they thought they did their gods service by wreaking especial vengeance on the most sacred objects of the Christian communities that they

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 286.

<sup>c</sup> Sigge, or Woden, their great exemplar, was

supposed to have killed himself when he found the infirmities of age coming on.



invaded. Hence the destruction of churches and murder of priests which the Saxon Chronicle relates as part of every ravage committed by the Northmen, and which had been before practised by the Saxons themselves, as Gildas informs us, whose testimony may in this case well be believed, for if they had not been actuated by a fierce hatred of Christianity, their reception of its saving doctrines, we may presume, would not have been so long delayed as it actually was.

Yet these people had even in their rudest state qualities which shew that

they deserve a more favourable judgment than is often formed of them. Their free spirit, their active, adventurous character, the lofty sense of personal honour shewn in their earliest codes of laws<sup>d</sup>, and above all, that base of true civilization, their high estimate of woman, are noble features in themselves, but doubly interesting to us as shewing that our country owes her proud place among the nations mainly to the development of the feelings, the principles, and the institutes of our Saxon forefathers.

### THE HEPTARCHY<sup>e</sup>.

WHEN the acquisitions of the Anglo-Saxon invaders assumed something of a settled form, they are found to bear the following relation to the old Roman provinces.

The Jutish kingdom of Kent, and the South Saxon kingdom, may be represented by the modern counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex; while Wessex occupied the remainder of the tract between the Channel and the Thames (*Britannia Prima*), having, however, for a very long period an unconquered British population beyond the Tamar (the West-Welsh).

Immediately north-east of the Thames lay the small East Saxon state (Essex), but the Anglian kingdoms occupied the rest of the east coast and

the interior (*Flavia Cæsariensis*), the East Angles holding Suffolk and Norfolk, the Mid Angles or Mercians extending from the Thames to the Humber, and from the fen districts to the Severn; while the two Northumbrian kingdoms (also Anglian) occupied *Maxima Cæsariensis* and *Valentia*, or North England and South Scotland, but were bounded by independent British tribes in Cumberland and Strathclyde.

Westward of Mercia extended Wales (*Britannia Secunda*), divided into many small states, the independence of a part of which survived for more than 200 years the overthrow of the Saxon power.

### SCOTLAND.

THE whole country north of the Forth and west of the Solway was in the sixth century occupied by the two great tribes of the Picts and the Scots<sup>f</sup>. The former, representing the aborigines, occupied the plains between the Forth and the Grampians; the latter, who were settlers from Ireland, and still maintained a close union with that country<sup>g</sup>, were scattered over the west and the north, among the islands and mountains.

Christianity had been introduced among the Southern Picts by the labours of Ninias, late in the fourth century<sup>h</sup>; but the Scots received it from their kindred in Ireland, probably early in the following age. The Scottish teachers were indefatigable in spreading the Gospel. Not only did they impart its light to their heathen countrymen, but, with true missionary zeal, they laboured alike among the fugitive Britons of the west<sup>i</sup>, and the triumphant Saxons of

<sup>d</sup> See section on Anglo-Saxon Laws.

<sup>e</sup> The number of independent states founded by the invaders was at least nine, if not ten; but as the small Mid Saxon kingdom (now Middlesex) very soon ceased to exist, and the two Northumbrian states of Bernicia and Deira were frequently governed by one ruler, it is customary, though not strictly correct, to speak of the whole as the Heptarchy.

<sup>f</sup> See p. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Two great invasions of Caledonia from Ireland are mentioned in the Irish Annals; one, in the middle of the third century, led by Carbrí Riada (the Reoda of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle — see p. 1), and another in the early part of the sixth, to support the earlier colony, then threatened by the Picts.

<sup>h</sup> See A.D. 394.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 8.

the north. The see of Lindisfarne (the mother church of Durham) was founded by Aidan, one of their number (A.D. 635), and was ruled by Scottish prelates until the middle of the seventh century, when the Roman system obtained the supremacy, mainly through the influence and address of Wilfrid<sup>j</sup>.

Little is accurately known of the relations between the Picts and the Northumbrians, but it would seem to have been much like what prevailed in South Britain with the Saxons and

the Britons. The Northumbrian kings frequently ravaged the districts of the Picts, who were at the same time pressed on by the Scots. At length the Picts were entirely subdued, (some writers say extirpated, but this is doubtless an exaggeration,) and early in the ninth century they disappear from history. Though the Scots then became supreme, nearly three centuries elapsed ere they gave their name, and something like its present limits, to the ancient Scottish monarchy.

## IRELAND.

THIS country, which was not attacked by the Romans<sup>k</sup>, also escaped the ravages of the Saxons at their first coming, and long afforded a refuge to the distressed Britons. Christianity had been introduced probably in the fourth century, and in the following one it was very generally diffused by the preaching of St. Patrick. Dathi, the last pagan king, is said to have died A.D. 428. By the close of that age, churches and monasteries<sup>l</sup> abounded, and, without crediting all that national writers of comparatively recent date have affirmed, we may well believe that, until the arrival of the Ostmen, the island enjoyed a much greater share of peace and civilization than fell to the lot of the states of the Heptarchy.

A.D. 455.

The kingdom of KENT said to be founded<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 477.

Ella and his three sons land on the south coast and commence the foundation of the South Saxon kingdom (SUSSEX).

A.D. 488.

Esc, son of Hengist, succeeds him as king of Kent.

A.D. 491.

Ella storms and destroys Andredsceter, (probably the Roman Anderida, near Pevensey<sup>n</sup>), and assumes the title of king.

A.D. 492.

Ella is chosen Bretwalda.

## THE BRETWALDAS.

BEDE<sup>o</sup> enumerates seven early Saxon chiefs, who, he states, in succession ruled all Britain south of the Humber; "Ella, king of the South Saxons," says the Saxon Chronicle, "was the first who had thus much dominion," and it mentions that their title was that of "Bretwalda." Various theories have been suggested as to the power im-

plied by the term, but it is most probable that this differed at different times<sup>p</sup>. Ella, the first who bore the title, was a chief of warlike renown in his own country, and it is most likely that he was chosen as the leader of the rest when it was found that the Britons made a more stubborn defence than had been expected; it is in this

<sup>j</sup> See A.D. 664.

<sup>k</sup> See A.D. 82.

<sup>l</sup> "The lands given by the piety of St. Patrick's converts for the foundation of these establishments, often conveyed the rights of chieftainship, and so secured the allegiance of the clan. . . . This was the real cause of the great extension of the monastic life in Ireland. . . . Every such society became a school for the education of the clergy." Todd's "St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," p. 506.

<sup>m</sup> This date is probably too late by 20 years.

<sup>n</sup> Some writers believe that the Andredsceter

destroyed by Ella was a British settlement, in the forest of Andred, near Newenden, in Kent.

<sup>o</sup> A priest of Jarrow, in Northumberland, who flourished in the eighth century, and is usually known as the Venerable Bede, and the Father of English History. His Ecclesiastical History was translated from the Latin by King Alfred, and it apparently furnished the basis of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

<sup>p</sup> The term is often understood to mean "wielder of the strength of Britain," but seems rather to imply "the widely-ruling chief."

sense, for military purposes, that the others are said to have been under his sovereignty; he was their war-king against the common enemy. This idea is supported by the statement of Nennius, that the Saxons when pressed by the Britons drew kings from Germany to rule over them in Britain. Afterwards the title was assumed by Ceawlin, and others, and it then implied a sort of honorary or imperial supremacy both in peace and war over their fellow kings; but it is remarkable that it was not taken by any of the Mercian rulers, though they were unquestionably the most potent princes of the Heptarchy.

Bede's list comprises Ella of Sussex, Ceawlin of Wessex, Ethelbert of Kent, Redwald of East Anglia, and Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy of Northumbria.

The appellation Bretwalda was revived by Egbert, as a glorious ancient title, but it does not appear to have been bestowed on any of his successors.

A.D. 495.

Cerdic and his son Cynric establish themselves in the west.

A.D. 501.

Port<sup>a</sup> and his sons Bieda and Mægla land on the south coast.

A.D. 514.

Stuf and Wihtgar, the nephews of Cerdic, land in Britain.

A.D. 516.

The see of Bangor said to be founded<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 519.

Cerdic and Cynric defeat the Britons at Cerdic's ford (probably Charford, on the Avon, Hampshire), and

establish the West Saxon kingdom (WESSEX).

To this period belongs whatever may be real of the achievements ascribed to the famous Arthur. Caradoc of Llancarvan mentions him as a petty prince in Somersetshire, whilst Nennius attributes to him triumphs over the Saxons in every quarter of the island; but it is only in Geoffrey of Monmouth<sup>c</sup> that we read of his conquests abroad, which are so extravagant as to have caused some doubt as to his actual existence. It seems, however, not improbable that he gained a victory over the Saxons at Caer Badon (Bath, or Badbury) in 520, and that he met his death in the field at Camelon in 542.

A.D. 526.

Erkenwin founds the East Saxon kingdom (ESSEX).

Uffa lands on the east coast<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 530.

The isle of Wight conquered by the West Saxons, and granted to Stuf and Wihtgar.

A.D. 534.

Cerdic dies, and is succeeded by Cynric.

A.D. 544.

Death of Wihtgar.

A.D. 547.

Ida founds the kingdom of NORTHUMBRIA.

A.D. 550 (circa).

Kentigern, a Scot, founds a bishop's see at St. Asaph.

A.D. 560.

Ceawlin (Bretwalda) succeeds in Wessex.

Ella succeeds in the southern part of Northumbria<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> His memory was traditionally preserved in the name of the great naval arsenal, Portsmouth, (Port's mouth, or haven).

<sup>b</sup> Dubritius, styled the first archbishop of Wales, is supposed to have lived about this time, and to have held the see of Llandaff, as well as that of Caerleon (now St. David's). He resigned both, and retired to Bardsey island, where he died. He was commemorated in the old English Calendar on November 14.

<sup>c</sup> One of the latest investigators of English history, Dr. Lappenberg, treats Geoffrey with more consideration than he usually meets with. "We will venture," he says, "to express a hope of one day seeing what is historical in Geoffrey of Monmouth separated from that which is fabulous; the

latter honoured as a pleasing relic of the times of old, and the rest exalted into useful matter for the national history."

<sup>d</sup> The conquests of this chief laid the foundation of the kingdom of East Anglia, but the title of king was not assumed till 571, by another leader of the same name.

<sup>e</sup> The conquests of Ida extended from the Humber to the Frith of Forth, but on his death they were divided into the two states of Deira and Bernicia. Ella, the son of Yffa, a Saxon prince, seized on the former, and only the latter, which lay between the Tweed and the Frith of Forth, remained to Adda, the son of Ida. His nephew Ethelfrith, however, recovered Deira in 593.

A.D. 565.

Columba, a priest from Ireland, converts the Northern Picts, and builds a monastery in Hii<sup>v</sup>.

Ethelbert (Bretwalda) succeeds in Kent<sup>z</sup>.

A.D. 568.

The West Saxons make war on Ethelbert, and drive him into Kent.

A.D. 571.

The kingdom of EAST ANGLIA founded.

A.D. 575 (circa).

Ethelbert marries Bertha, a Christian princess; Luidhard, a Gallic bishop, accompanies her.

A.D. 577.

Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath captured by the West Saxons.

A.D. 584.

Cutha, the brother of Ceawlin, killed in battle at Frethern (near Stroud, in Gloucestershire): "and Ceawlin took many towns, and spoils innumerable; and wrathful he thence returned to his own."

Crida founds the kingdom of MERCIA.

A.D. 588.

Death of Ella of Northumbria. He is succeeded by Ethelfrith of Bernicia<sup>y</sup>.

A.D. 591.

Ceawlin defeated at Woddesbeorg (Woodborough, or Wanborough, in Wiltshire), by his brother Ceol, and driven from his kingdom.

A.D. 593.

Ceawlin and his brother Cwichelm, and Crida of Mercia, killed.

Ethelfrith of Bernicia succeeds to the whole of Northumbria.

A.D. 597.

Augustine, the prior of a Roman monastery, despatched by Pope Gregory the Great to attempt the con-

version of the Saxons, arrives with a few companions in Kent. Ethelbert receives them with kindness, and is baptised on Whitsunday, June 2.

Ceolwulf succeeds in Wessex. "He fought and contended incessantly against either the Angles, or the Welsh, or the Picts, or the Scots."

A.D. 599.

Redwald (Bretwalda) succeeds in East Anglia.

A.D. 600 (circa).

Ethelbert of Kent issues the earliest collection of laws now remaining to us<sup>z</sup>.

A.D. 602.

Augustine fixes his archiepiscopal seat at Canterbury.

A.D. 603.

The Scots invade Northumbria, but are defeated at Deggastan (probably Dalston, near Carlisle).

Augustine holds two conferences with the British bishops; they decline communion with him<sup>z</sup>.

A.D. 604.

The East Saxons converted by Melitus. The sees of London and Rochester established.

Death of Augustine, May 26.

A.D. 611.

Ceolwulf of Wessex dies. Cynegils, his nephew, succeeds.

A.D. 613.

"Ethelfrith of Northumbria led his army to Chester, and there slew numberless Welshmen<sup>b</sup>; and so was fulfilled the prophecy of Augustine, wherein he saith, 'If the Welsh will not be at peace with us, they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons.' There also were slain 200 priests, who came to pray for the army of the Welsh; their 'ealdor' was called Brocmail, who with some fifty escaped thence<sup>c</sup>."

<sup>v</sup> Now Iona, one of the Inner Hebrides.

<sup>z</sup> Ethelbert's kingdom was originally larger than the modern county of the same name, but it was afterwards limited by the West Saxons. His accession is sometimes ascribed to the year 560, but this would appear to be a mistake, as he was then only eight years of age.

<sup>y</sup> Ella left a child, Edwin, only three years old, who, after many years of exile, became the first Christian king of Northumbria.

<sup>z</sup> See section on Anglo-Saxon Laws.

<sup>a</sup> The dates 599, 601, 602, 604 have also been assigned for these conferences, but that in the text is considered the best supported. The place is believed to have been Aust, on the Severn.

<sup>b</sup> The place was Bangor on Dee, near Wrexham, and 12 miles from Chester.

<sup>c</sup> One MS. of the Saxon Chronicle places this battle in 605; the Cambrian Annals and the Annals of Tigernach in 613. The "prophecy" (or rather, denunciation) was uttered at the second conference of Augustine with the British bishops.

A.D. 614.

Cynegils defeats the Britons at Beandune (Bampton, in Devonshire).

A.D. 616.

Death of Ethelbert of Kent, February 24<sup>d</sup>.

Eadbald succeeds him, and after some lapse of time is baptized.

A.D. 617.

Ethelfrith of Northumbria killed by Redwald of East Anglia. Edwin, son of Ella (Bretwalda), succeeds, "and subdues all Britain, the Kentish-men excepted<sup>e</sup>."

A.D. 619.

Death of Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, Feb. 2.

A.D. 624.

Death of Mellitus, archbishop of Canterbury, April 24.

A.D. 625.

Edwin marries Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert of Kent<sup>f</sup>. She is accompanied by Paulinus, who is ordained bishop of the Northumbrians<sup>g</sup>, July 21.

A.D. 626.

Eanfleda, daughter of Edwin, is baptized by Paulinus, at Pentecost, June 8.

Edwin wars successfully against the West Saxons.

A.D. 627.

"King Edwin and his people are baptized by Paulinus on Easter-Day," April 12. "This was done at York, where he first ordered a church to be built of wood, which was consecrated in the name of St. Peter. There the king gave Paulinus a bishop's see, and there he afterwards commanded a larger church to be built of stone."

Penda succeeds in Mercia.

A.D. 628.

Battle between the West Saxons and Mercians, at Cirencester.

A.D. 632.

Eorpwald, king of East Anglia, is baptized.

A.D. 633.

Edwin is killed in battle by Penda of Mercia, and his ally Cadwallader, a British chief, at Hatfield chase, in Yorkshire, October 14<sup>b</sup>.

Paulinus retires to Kent, with Edwin's queen and daughter<sup>i</sup>.

A.D. 634.

Osric, a cousin of Edwin, succeeds in Deira, and Eanfrith, the son of Ethelfrith, in Bernicia, but both are soon expelled by Oswald (Bretwalda), another son of Ethelfrith, who reigns over the whole of Northumbria.

Aidan, a Scot, establishes a bishop's see at Lindisfarne<sup>k</sup>, under his protection.

Birinus<sup>l</sup> commences the conversion of the West Saxons.

A.D. 635.

Cynegils of Wessex is baptized by Birinus; as is Cwichelm, his son, in the following year.

A.D. 636.

Felix preaches to the East Angles.

A.D. 639.

Cuthred of Wessex, son of Cwichelm, baptized by Birinus.

A.D. 640.

Death of Eadbald of Kent. "He overthrew all idolatry in his kingdom, and was the first of the English kings who established the Easter fast."

Ercombert succeeds in Kent.

<sup>d</sup> Ethelbert was commemorated in the old English Church on the 24th of February. Ethelbert of East Anglia, killed by Offa (see A.D. 792), was also sainted, and commemorated on the 20th May. Several churches exist dedicated to the memory of one or the other of these kings.

<sup>e</sup> The conquest of the Picts and of the Mevanian isles (Man and Anglesey) is also ascribed to him; but if subdued, the Picts recovered their independence soon after.

<sup>f</sup> She was his second wife; his first was Quen-burga of Mercia.

<sup>g</sup> A bishop's see had existed in the time of the Romans at York, but the names of only three of the holders have been preserved, and those are of very little authority.

<sup>b</sup> Edwin was canonized, and was commemorated on the 4th October in the ancient English Church. A church exists at Coniscliffe, in the county of Durham, dedicated to him.

<sup>i</sup> Eadbald gave his park of Lyminge near Folkestone to his sister, who there founded a nunnery, in which she died, and where her grave is still pointed out. Paulinus was made bishop of Rochester, and died A.D. 644.

<sup>k</sup> Since called Holy Island. It is on the coast of Northumberland, not far from Bamborough Castle.

<sup>l</sup> He was a Benedictine monk, and became the first bishop of the West Saxons; his episcopal seat was at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire.

## WALES.

ABOUT this time <sup>m</sup> Dynwal Moelmud, a descendant of the British settlers in Armorica <sup>n</sup>, is said, in the Welsh triads, to have come from that country, and having established his authority west of the Tamar and the Severn, to have been recognised as "king of the Cymry." He is described as "the best legislator that ever appeared, and the best in securing privilege and protection both to native and alien, lest any one should act wrongly and unlawfully." The laws ascribed to him, which are avowedly the basis of the legislation of Howel Dda, some three centuries later, minutely define the rights and duties of each class of the community, and exhibit the plan of an enlightened and orderly government such as it is historically certain never prevailed, either in Armorica or Britain. Their origin is indicated by the fact that the supreme dignity and privileges of the bardic order are dwelt on at length, and it seems probable that what we now possess is a mere poetic paraphrase, in which some traces of laws that had existed prior to the time of Howel Dda are preserved among a mass of fanciful rules, of which neither the age nor the authority can be satisfactorily determined.

<sup>m</sup> This is the era assigned by Mr. Aneurin Owen; earlier writers place him far before the Christian era.

<sup>n</sup> See A.D. 383.

<sup>o</sup> Perhaps near Winwick, in Lancashire, but more probably near Oswestry, in Shropshire. Oswald, who had been baptized in his youth, while an exile in Scotland, was esteemed a saint and martyr, and commemorated in the early English Church on the 5th of August. "His sanctity and his miracles were afterwards manifested in various ways beyond his island, and his hands are at Bamborough uncorrupted." His head being taken from the stake on which it had been fixed, was kept as a relic for a while, and then placed in the arms of St. Cuthbert, the bishop of Lindisfarne, which is commemorated by a sculpture in Durham cathedral. Nearly sixty churches are to be found in England dedicated to St. Oswald, but some probably belong to the bishop of Worcester of the same name in the tenth century.



St. Cuthbert, with St. Oswald's head.

A.D. 642.

Oswald of Northumberland killed by Penda, at Maserfield <sup>o</sup>, Aug. 5. Oswy, his brother, succeeds in Bernicia; and afterwards marries Eanfleda, the daughter of Edwin.

A.D. 643.

Cenwalch, son of Cyneigils, succeeds in Wessex, and commences the minster at Winchester; it is finished in 648.

A.D. 644.

Death of Paulinus, Oct. 10. Oswine succeeds in Deira.

A.D. 645.

Penda drives Cenwalch from the kingdom of Wessex.

A.D. 646.

Cenwalch of Wessex is baptized.

A.D. 651.

Oswine of Deira is slain by Oswy of Bernicia, August 20. Adelwald succeeds.

Death of Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, Aug. 31. Finan, his successor, builds a church "in the Scottish mode," of wood.

A.D. 653.

Conversion of the Middle Angles or Mercians, commenced.

A.D. 654.

King Anna, of East Anglia, slain.

Death of Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, Sept. 30.

A.D. 655.

Penda is defeated and killed at Winwidfield, (probably Winmoor, near Leeds) by Oswy of Northumberland (Bretwalda). "Thirty men of royal race fell with him, and some of them were kings."

Peada, son of Penda, succeeds in Mercia, under the auspices of Oswy. By their joint exertions, the Mercians become Christians <sup>p</sup>.

Oswy and Peada in concert begin to build the abbey of Medeshamstede

<sup>p</sup> The conversion of the people made little progress whilst Penda reigned, but in 656 Diuma was consecrated bishop of Mercia; he was a Scottish priest brought in by Oswy, and died in 658.

(afterwards Peterborough) "to the glory of God and the honour of St. Peter<sup>1</sup>."

Oswy unites Deira to Bernicia, on the death of Adelwald.

A.D. 657.

Peada of Mercia is killed at Easter. Wulfhere, his brother, succeeds.

A.D. 658.

Cenwalch defeats the Britons at Penn.

A.D. 661.

Wulfhere of Mercia ravages Wessex and the isle of Wight. "And Eoppa, the mass-priest (chaplain), by the command of Wilferth<sup>2</sup> and King Wulfhere, first of men brought baptism to the people of Wight."

A.D. 664.

Egbert succeeds in Kent.

A great pestilence in Britain.

A synod held at Streoneshealh (now Whitby), at which Wilfrid advocates the Roman Easter; Colman, the Scottish bishop, retires.

Wilfrid is appointed to the see of York.

A.D. 667.

Wigheard, a priest, sent to Rome by Kings Oswy and Egbert, to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. He died soon after his arrival, and Theodore of Tarsus was ordained in his stead, March 26, 668.

A.D. 668.

Theodore arrives in Britain. He is enthroned at Canterbury, May 27, 669.

A.D. 670.

Death of Oswy of Northumbria, Feb. 15. Egfrid, his son, succeeds.

A.D. 672.

Death of Cenwalch of Wessex; Sexburga, his queen, reigns for a year after him.

A.D. 673.

Egbert of Kent dies, in July.

The synod of Hertford held, Sept. 24, at which canons are made for the English Church. Winfrid, bishop of Mercia, is deposed, probably for resisting the division of his vast diocese<sup>3</sup>.

Bishops' sees established at Domnoc (Dunwich) and Elmham, in East Anglia.

A.D. 674.

Escwin, a kinsman of Cenwalch, succeeds in Wessex.

A.D. 675.

Death of Wulfhere of Mercia; Ethelred succeeds.

A.D. 676.

Escwin of Wessex dies; Centwine, son of Cynegils, succeeds.

Ethelred of Mercia ravages Kent.

A.D. 677.

Egfrid takes Lincoln from the Mercians.

A.D. 678.

Wilfrid driven from his bishopric<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A very long and questionable account of this transaction is to be found in a copy of the Saxon Chronicle, which appears to have belonged to the abbey of Peterborough; in the same manuscript there are several other notices of Medeshamstede, or Burh, and charters are cited, some of which are of doubtful authority.

<sup>2</sup> Or Wilfrid, then abbot of Ripon, afterwards the well-known archbishop of York. See A.D. 678.

<sup>3</sup> The project, however, was only gradually carried out. Sexwulf, abbot of Peterborough, who succeeded Winfrid, agreed to the partition, contenting himself with Lichfield, the capital of Mercia, and sees were founded at Hereford in 676, at Lindishe in 678, and at Worcester and Leicester in 680. The see of Leicester was removed to Dorchester (near Oxford) about 200 years after, and Lindishe was absorbed by the united sees about 956. The first Norman bishop, Remigius, removed the see to Lincoln (probably in 1078), where it still continues. Lindishe is believed to be represented by Stow in Lindsey, Lincolnshire, where a church with traces of Saxon architecture remains.

<sup>4</sup> Wilfrid, the introducer of the practice of carrying appeals to Rome, born about 630, was educated at the court of Northumbria, and, adopting the

priestly profession, went to Rome in 654, and on his return became tutor to the son of Oswy; he received from his royal patron the monastery of Ripon, and having at the synod of Whitby powerfully supported the Roman views, he was appointed to the archbishopric of York, which had remained unoccupied since the withdrawal of Paulinus. He then passed over into Gaul, to Ægilbert, bishop of Paris (formerly bishop of the West Saxons); but during his absence Chad was appointed to York, and Wilfrid, on his return, after assuming the power to appoint priests and deacons in Kent, in the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, before the arrival of Theodore, found himself obliged to retire to Ripon. In 669, however, Chad resigned York to him, and Wilfrid held it till 678, but having given offence by his pompous style of living, he was then driven out, and his vast diocese, which comprised the whole Northumbrian kingdom, was divided into the dioceses of York, Lindisfarne, and Hexham. Wilfrid now appealed to Rome, (passing the winter among the pagans of Friesland on his journey), and obtained a papal decree in his favour, but it was disregarded; he then visited the heathen South Saxons, and converted them. At length, in 687, a portion of his diocese was restored.

A.D. 679.

Battle near the Trent between the Mercians and Northumbrians; Elfwine, brother of Egfrid, is killed. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, mediates a peace.

A.D. 680.

A synod at Heathfield (Hatfield, in Hertfordshire), Sept. 17, against the Monothelites; at which also the division of the Mercian diocese was probably completed.

A.D. 680 (circa).

A code regulating legal proceedings, issued by Lothaire and Edric in Kent<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 681.

The Picts subject to the Northumbrians, and Trumwine appointed their bishop.

Wilfrid converts the South Saxons.

A.D. 682.

Centwine of Wessex has much success against the Britons.

A.D. 684.

The Northumbrians ravage the east-

ern part of Ireland; "and miserably they plundered and burned the churches of God."

A.D. 685.

Egfrid of Northumbria is killed, May 20, in war against the Picts, who in part recover their lands. Aldfrith, his brother, succeeds.

A.D. 686.

Ceadwalla of Wessex, and his brother Mul<sup>a</sup>, ravage Kent.

A.D. 687.

Lothaire of Kent is killed, Feb.

Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, dies, March 20<sup>b</sup>.

Mul with twelve comrades is burned in his quarters in Kent, and Ceadwalla again ravages the country.

A.D. 688.

Ceadwalla goes to Rome, is baptized by the name of Peter, and dies seven days after, April 20. Ina, a distant kinsman, succeeds in Wessex.

A.D. 690.

Benedict Biscop dies<sup>c</sup>, Feb.

and he was established at Hexham, but was again driven out in 691, and spent several years in Mercia. In 702 or 703 he again repaired to Rome, obtained another decree in his favour in 705, and passed the few remaining years of his life as bishop of Hexham; dying at Oundle, in 709, he was buried in the monastery of Ripon. Being afterwards canonized, he became a popular saint in the north of England, where about thirty churches are still found dedicated to his memory.

<sup>a</sup> See section on Anglo-Saxon Laws.

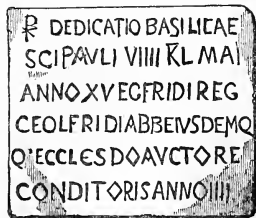
<sup>b</sup> The meaning is doubtful, but Mr. Kemble, the eminent Saxon scholar, takes it to imply that he was of mixed blood, a "mule"—i.e. having a British mother.

<sup>c</sup> Cuthbert, originally a shepherd boy, became a monk of Melrose, then prior of Lindisfarne, and afterwards long led the life of a hermit on an islet on the Northumbrian coast. In 685 he was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne, but he resigned the see soon after, and again retired to his hermitage, where he died March 20th, 687. His remains were buried at Lindisfarne, whence, in consequence of the ravages of the Northmen, they were removed in 875, and after various wanderings they found a resting-place on the hill where now stands the cathedral of Durham. In 1104 they were solemnly translated to the present edifice, being, it is affirmed, found uncorrupt, and the splendid shrine that was raised over them continued to attract its crowds of pilgrims until its destruction in the year 1537. The body, still unchanged it is said, was after the lapse of five years re-interred on the site of the shrine, and now reposes under a plain blue marble slab in the chapel of the Nine Altars, as was ascertained by an antiquarian examination made in the year 1827. Dry bones only, swathed in a number of richly embroidered garments, were found on the latter occasion, instead of the perfect body said to have been seen by former explorers; the coffin also contained

a golden cross and some other articles whose connexion with the saint is uncertain.

St. Cuthbert was an exceedingly popular saint in the north of England, and miracles without number were ascribed to him, so that he was commonly known by the name of the Wonder-worker; his festival was celebrated on the 20th of March. More than sixty churches exist dedicated to him; he was indeed regarded as the patron of the North, and the banner of St. Cuthbert (of red velvet embroidered with green silk and gold, and inclosing relics,) was borne not only at solemn ceremonies (as before Richard III. at York) but also to war, at least as late as the battle of Flodden field.

<sup>d</sup> Benedict, the founder of the celebrated monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, was a Northum-



Dedication Stone, Jarrow Church, A.D. 685.

brian noble, who at an early age devoted himself and all his possessions to the service of the Church.



Theodore of Tarsus dies, Sept. 29. Berhtwald succeeds in 692 in the see of Canterbury. "Before this the bishops had been Romans<sup>a</sup>, but from this time they were English."

A.D. 692.

Two kings, Wihtred and Webheard or Suaebhard, reign in Kent.

A.D. 694.

The Kentish men compound with Ina of Wessex for the death of Mul<sup>b</sup>.

Wihtred becomes sole king in Kent, and at the council of Baccancelde (Bapchild) he grants a charter securing many immunities to the churches and monasteries of his kingdom.

A.D. 696.

Wihtred of Kent forbids idolatry, and Sunday labour<sup>c</sup>.

A.D. 697.

Ostrith, queen of Ethelred of Mercia, and sister of Egfrid of Northumbria, is slain by the Mercians.

A.D. 699.

The Picts revolt, and kill Beorht, their caldorman.

A.D. 704.

Ethelred of Mercia becomes a monk. Coenréd succeeds, before June 13.

A.D. 705.

Aldfrith of Northumbria dies, Dec. 14. Osred his son succeeds.

The West Saxon diocese divided into the two sees of Winchester and Sherborne.

A.D. 709.

Coenréd of Mercia retires to Rome, and dies there. Ceolréd succeeds.

Offa of East Anglia goes to Rome.

Death of Wilfrid, at Oundle<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 710.

Ina of Wessex defeats the Britons.

A.D. 715.

War between Wessex and Mercia.

A.D. 716.

Osred of Northumbria slain. Cenréd succeeds.

Ceolréd of Mercia dies. Ethelbald succeeds.

Egbert, a priest, "converted the monks in the island of Hii (Iona) to right<sup>e</sup>, so that they observed Easter duly, and the ecclesiastical tonsure."

A.D. 721.

Ina of Wessex kills Cynewulf the atheling<sup>f</sup>.

Three victories of the Britons over the Saxons, in Cornwall and in Glamorganshire, recorded in the Chronicle of the Prince of Wales.

A.D. 722.

Ina drives out Aldbriht the atheling, who finds refuge in Sussex. Ina, in consequence, makes war on the South Saxons.

A.D. 725.

Death of Wihtred of Kent, April 23. Eadbert succeeds.

Ina defeats the South Saxons, and kills Aldbriht the atheling.

A.D. 728.

Ina dies at Rome. Ethelheard succeeds in Wessex.

A.D. 729.

Egbert the priest dies in Iona, April 25.

Osric of Northumbria dies, May 9. Ceolwulf succeeds.

A.D. 735.

Death of the Venerable Bede, May 26.

He made several journeys abroad, and brought back with him not only books and pictures and relics, but workmen in stone and in glass, so that the edifices that he raised, and over which he presided, surpassed anything that had before been accomplished in church architecture in Britain. He also brought with him John the Precentor, to instruct his community in the Roman mode of celebrating divine service, and he himself became the tutor of Bede. He was formerly commemorated in the English Church on the 12th of January, and many churches exist dedicated to St. Benedict, but whether Benedict Biscop or Benedict of Nursia is meant, in any particular case, it seems impossible to decide, though we may well believe that the eminent Northumbrian was not neglected in his own country.

<sup>a</sup> So says the Saxon Chronicle; but this is an

error, as Frithona, a native, who took the name of Deusdedit, held the see from 655 to 664.

<sup>b</sup> The various MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle differ as to the amount of this composition, some naming 30 pounds, others 30,000, without saying what. Mr. Kemble considers 30,000 scats, equal to 120 pounds, the real sum, such being the wergild, or money compensation, for the death of a royal person.

<sup>c</sup> See section on Anglo-Saxon Laws.

<sup>d</sup> The exact date is somewhat uncertain; April 24 is given by one authority, October 12 by another.

<sup>e</sup> See A.D. 565.

<sup>f</sup> A general title for members of the royal race, like "prince of the blood" in modern times.

A.D. 737.

Queen Frythogith of Wessex goes to Rome.

Ceolwulf of Northumbria receives the tonsure. Eadbert, his cousin, succeeds.

Ethelbald of Mercia ravages Northumbria.

A.D. 739 or 740.

Ethelheard of Wessex dies. Cuthred succeeds.

A.D. 741.

The minster at York burnt, April 23.

A.D. 743.

The Mercians and West Saxons make a joint attack on the Welsh.

A.D. 746.

Selred of Mercia is slain.

A.D. 747.

The synod of Cloveshoo<sup>g</sup> held, early in September.

A.D. 748.

Eadbert of Kent dies. Ethelbert II. succeeds.

Cynric, the atheling of Wessex, is slain.

A.D. 749<sup>h</sup>.

Aelfwald of East Anglia dies.

A.D. 752.

Cuthred of Wessex defeats Ethelbald of Mercia at Burford.

A.D. 753.

Cuthred also defeats the Welsh.

A.D. 754 or 755.

Cuthred of Mercia dies. Sigebert succeeds.

Canterbury burnt.

A.D. 755.

Sigebert is deprived of the whole of his kingdom except Hampshire, by his kinsman Cynewulf and the witan.

A.D. 757.

Ethelbald of Mercia is killed. Offa II. succeeds, driving out Beornred who had "obtained the kingdom, and held it a little while and unhappily."

A.D. 758.

Eadbert of Northumbria becomes a monk. Oswulf succeeds.

Oswulf of Northumbria is slain by his household, July 25.

A.D. 759.

Ethelwald (also styled Moll<sup>i</sup>) after a time succeeds in Northumbria.

A.D. 760.

Ethelbert II. of Kent dies.

A.D. 761.

Ethelwald kills Oswine, one of his great men, at Edwin's cliff<sup>k</sup>, Aug. 6.

Ceolwulf of Northumbria, who had received the tonsure, dies.

A.D. 765.

Ethelwald resigns the crown of Northumbria. Alchred succeeds.

A.D. 768.

Eadbert of Northumbria, who had become a monk, dies Aug. 20.

"The Easter of the Britons was altered by the command of Elbot, a man of God<sup>l</sup>."

A.D. 771.

Offa of Mercia makes war on Kent.

A.D. 774.

Alchred of Northumbria expelled by his subjects. Ethelred, son of Ethelwald, succeeds.

The Kentish men defeated by Offa at Otford.

A.D. 776.

South Wales ravaged by Offa.

A.D. 777.

Offa makes war on Wessex, and defeats Cynewulf at Bensington, in Oxfordshire.

A.D. 779.

Alfwold expels Ethelred from Northumbria, and reigns in his stead.

"In the summer the Welsh devastated the territory of Offa, and Offa caused a dike to be made as a boundary between him and Wales, to enable him the more easily to withstand the attack of his enemies<sup>m</sup>; and that is

<sup>g</sup> The place is unknown, but it was somewhere under Mercian influence, and probably near London.

<sup>h</sup> From about A.D. 750 to 850, there is a difference generally of two or three years between the chronology of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and that of Simeon of Durham. The latter appearing to agree better with existing charters, has been preferred. The points in question will be foundably discussed in the Introduction to "Monumenta," and

in the Preface to the Master of the Rolls' edition of "Hoveden."

<sup>i</sup> See A.D. 687.

<sup>k</sup> Perhaps Edwinstowe, in Nottinghamshire, but more probably Edinburgh.

<sup>l</sup> Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. That is, made conformable to the Roman usage.

<sup>m</sup> Some modern writers represent the dike as made to secure a tract of land that Offa had conquered from the Welsh, and so a mark of his power.

called Offa's dike from that time to this day. And it extends from one sea to the other, from the south near Bristol towards the north above Flint, between the monastery of Basingwerk and Coleshill<sup>a</sup>."

A.D. 786.

Cynwulf of Wessex is killed at Merantun (Merdon, in Hampshire,) by the brother of Sigebert<sup>o</sup>, Cyneheard, who is himself killed shortly after. Brihtic, the son of Cynwulf, succeeds, and drives his kinsman Egbert, the rightful heir, into exile.

A.D. 787.

A synod held at Calchythe<sup>p</sup>, when Lichfield is raised to the dignity of an archbishopric.

Brihtic of Wessex marries Edburga, daughter of Offa of Mercia.

The Northmen commence their ravages in England<sup>q</sup>.

A synod held at Pincanheale, in Northumbria, (probably Finchale, near Durham), September 2.

A.D. 788.

Alfwold of Northumbria is slain, Sept. 24. Osred, son of Alchred, succeeds.

A.D. 790.

Osred of Northumbria driven out; Ethelred resumes the government.

A.D. 791.

Alfwold's sons put to death.

A.D. 792.

Ethelbert of East Anglia slain, and his dominions seized by Offa of Mercia.

Osred, attempting to regain the Northumbrian crown, is slain, Sept. 14.

## THE NORTHMEN.

A.D. 794.

THE church at Lindisfarne destroyed by the Northmen, Jan. 8.

"The heathens ravaged among the Northumbrians, and plundered Egfrid's monastery at Donemouth (Jarrow), and there one of their leaders was slain, and also some of their ships were wrecked by a tempest, and many of them were there drowned, and some came on shore alive, and they were soon slain at the river's mouth."

These acts of mutual atrocity were the commencement of the deadly struggle which convulsed England for the remainder of the Saxon rule; a struggle, however, which is often misunderstood. There seems no good reason for supposing that the Northmen committed greater devastation than the heathen Saxons had done three cen-

turies before; but as Anglo-Saxon literature survived the tempest, whilst the British generally speaking did not, a more detailed account of the Northmen's excesses has come down to us. Indeed, an inference directly contrary to the received opinion has been drawn by a distinguished Danish writer, from the fact that very many of the rovers not only embraced Christianity in England, but laboured to diffuse its light on their return to their own countries<sup>r</sup>.

The contemporary accounts of the appearance, the arms, and equipments of the men who now began so signally to influence the fortunes of England<sup>s</sup> are but few, and antiquaries are by no means agreed in their interpretation of them. Anglo-Saxon MSS. abound with illuminations in which figures of armed men appear, but it is often not

<sup>a</sup> Chronicle of the Princes of Wales.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 755.

<sup>p</sup> Where this was is somewhat uncertain; Chalk, in Kent, and Culcheth, in Lancashire, have been named, but it is considered most probable that Chelsea was the place.

<sup>q</sup> The expression in the Saxon Chronicle is merely, "in his (Brihtic's) days first came three ships of Northmen, out of Hæretha-land" (Western Norway), but as the event is mentioned under the year 787, writers are generally agreed in assigning it to that date.

<sup>r</sup> Among them may be mentioned Hacon, who had dwelt in the court of Athelstan, and who returning to Norway laboured unsuccessfully to introduce Christianity, but was killed in 960; and

Anlaf Tryggvesson, who applied himself to the same end with more zeal than discretion, and also lost his life in the attempt. Anlaf's great counsellor was Thangbrand, who, calling himself a Christian priest, went about with a shield on which was embossed a representation of the crucifixion, and repaid the taunts of the idolaters by killing several of their number. He sold his shield to Anlaf, by whom it was regarded as a kind of talisman, and also imparted some knowledge of Christianity to that king before his expedition to England in the year 994.

<sup>s</sup> They also established themselves in Ireland, and in the Orkneys, Shetlands, Hebrides, and Man, but their frequent attempts on the mainland of Scotland were less successful, though they gained a footing in Caithness and Sutherland.

clear whether Saxons or Northmen are meant, and the reference sometimes made to the Bayeux tapestry is beside the question, the work being centuries too late. The Irish Chronicles (much nearer in point of time than the Icelandic Sagas) contain many notices of the invaders, and speak of those who came to Ireland as consisting of two distinct classes, Finngalls (Fair strangers, Swedes and Norwegians), and Dubhgalls (Dark strangers, Danes), the latter being the latest to arrive, and then establishing a superiority over their precursors. The reference is probably to the different complexions of the peoples, but this is not certain.

There are to be found in most of our early writers passages which shew that the Northmen were supposed to owe much of their success to the superiority of their weapons, and such would appear really to have been the case<sup>1</sup>. It was, in heathen times especially, a very common custom to bury his arms with the warrior; and as numberless graves have been opened of which the nation and era can from various circumstances be accurately ascertained, we thus get unimpeachable evidence as to the arms of the vikings.

In England the vikings' tombs are with difficulty to be distinguished from those of their opponents, but they are readily recognised in Ireland. Confining our attention to recent discoveries in the latter country, we learn

that the vikings carried heavy axes, spears and swords of large size, as well as daggers, bows and arrows; the swords are furnished with a guard, often inlaid with gold, and sometimes have runic inscriptions; shields too are found of wood strengthened with an iron boss, often ornamented with lines curved and curiously interlaced, but of defensive armour there appears little trace<sup>2</sup>. It is stated in the Sagas that the chiefs had coats of chain-mail sewn on leather, and helmets with nose-pieces; the common men seem to have been protected only by pieces of hide sewn on their ordinary coarse clothing.

The ships of the vikings were probably at first not at all superior to those of the early Saxons, but before the time that the Northmen established their sway in England they were possessed of vessels in which certainly Iceland and Greenland, and probably the American continent, could be reached in safety. Their kings, too, if we could trust the glowing descriptions of the Sagas, had their Long Snakes and Dragons adorned with carving, and magnificently ornamented with gilded masts, embroidered sails, and purple cordage; but it is probable that this rather represents the royal vessels of more southern nations some three centuries later, than any thing that was seen in the North before the abandonment of the vikings' expeditions.

## IRELAND.

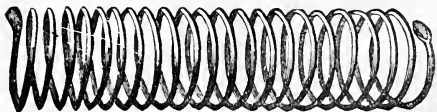
A.D. 795.

THE "black pagans," repulsed from South Wales, sail to Ireland, and destroy Rechreyn<sup>3</sup>.

This is the first recorded hostile visit of the Northmen to Ireland, but it is probable that their merchants had established themselves in the country

<sup>1</sup> Nowhere, perhaps, is this more strongly expressed than in the "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," an Irish MS. of the eleventh century, translated by the late Dr. Todd, and published among the "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland" under the care of the Master of the Rolls.

<sup>2</sup> In tombs in Denmark are also found bronze armlets of a spiral form a foot long, which appear strong enough to resist a sword cut, and are believed to have been worn coiled round the arm for that purpose.



Northman's Armlet.

<sup>3</sup> Lambay, an island near Dublin, and not Raghlin, on the north-east coast, as usually supposed. This correction is due to Dr. Reeves, whose "Life

of Adamnan" clears up many doubtful points of early Irish history and topography.

before. Certain it is, that many Ostman<sup>y</sup> settlements existed along the coast a few years after, which seem to have been independent of each other, and sometimes hostile<sup>z</sup>, but the natives, from the inferiority of their arms, were unable to expel them. After a time, Anlaf the White, a Dane, who arrived with a powerful fleet at Dublin, was acknowledged as chief by all the Ostmen. He so firmly established their power, that from that period to the time of the English conquest, not only from Irish authorities, but by their coins, a constant succession of Danish kings can be traced in Dublin, and for a great part of the time also in Waterford, Cork, and Limerick. They eventually became Christian, and had bishops of their own, who received consecration at Canterbury<sup>a</sup>, while the native Irish prelates acknowledged the supremacy of the archbishop of Armagh.

The Ostman settlements are still the most important and commercial cities of Ireland, and indeed they would seem to have been selected quite as much with mercantile as political views. Each "kingdom" appears to have consisted in reality of but a single strongly fortified town and a small surrounding district, and its power was chiefly maritime; but from being better furnished with ships and arms, and more skilled in their use, its people possessed a preponderating influence over the adjacent country somewhat similar to that of

European colonies in the East in more recent times.

A.D. 796.

Edbert, surnamed Præn<sup>b</sup>, becomes king in Kent.

Ethelred of Northumbria is killed by Wada and others, April 19. Eardwulf succeeds to the kingdom, May 14<sup>c</sup>; is crowned at York, May 26.

Offa of Mercia dies, July 29. Egferth, his successor, dies shortly after. Cynulf becomes king.

A.D. 797.

Siric, tributary king of East Anglia, goes to Rome.

A.D. 798.

Cynulf ravages Kent; he takes Præn prisoner, and mutilates him.

Wada, having rebelled against Eardwulf, is defeated and put to flight at Hwealleage or Billinghamoth (Whalley, in Lancashire,) April 2.

London burnt.

Man and the Hebrides ravaged by the Northmen.

A.D. 800.

The Empire of the West re-established by the coronation of Charlemagne, Dec. 25.

A.D. 802.

Brihtric of Wessex dies<sup>d</sup>; Egbert is chosen to succeed him.

## EGBERT.

EGBERT, the fourth in descent from Ingils, brother of Ina, and the son of Ealhmund, sub-king of Kent, being banished by Brihtric, sought refuge at the court of Charlemagne, and was in his company at Rome when the French king received the dignity of

emperor of the West. On the death of Brihtric Egbert was recalled to Wessex, and ascended the throne. He warred successfully with the Britons, and thus increased the power of his kingdom while the other Saxon states were falling into ruin from their

<sup>y</sup> Ostman, or Eastman, probably as coming from the opposite coasts of England and Scotland, rather than direct from the North.

<sup>z</sup> An Irish Chronicle mentions, under the year 852, that the Dark strangers came to Dublin, destroyed the colony of the Fair strangers, and carried many of them into captivity.

<sup>a</sup> Patrick was consecrated to Dublin in 1074 by Lanfranc, as was his successor Donagh in 1085. The consecrations of Samuel of Dublin (1096), Malchus of Waterford (1096), Gregory of Dublin (1121), and Patrick of Limerick (1140), all took

place at Canterbury before the invasion of Ireland by De Clare and his associates.

<sup>b</sup> A priest. He had been ordained, but being of the royal blood, was chosen to succeed on the death of Ealhmund, whose son Egbert had been driven into exile by Brihtric.

<sup>c</sup> In the interval, Osbald, a noble, had usurped the throne, but after a reign of 27 days he was driven out, and obliged to submit to the tonsure.

<sup>d</sup> He was poisoned by his wife Edburga. She retired first to France, then to Italy, and died miserably at Pavia.

ceaseless dissensions. At length in 821\* he commenced a formal course of conquest, which in the course of eight years made him sole monarch, when he granted Kent to his son Ethelwulf, but allowed the more remote states of Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria to be ruled by tributary kings.

This change being accomplished in the year 827, the ancient title of "Bretwalda" seems to have been revived, but Egbert dates the years of his *ducatus* from 816. He married Redburga, a lady whose parentage is not ascertained, and left by her, — Ethelwulf, his successor in the monarchy; Athelstan, who is styled king of Kent; and Ethelbald. Egbert died most probably in the year 839, but different MSS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle ascribe the length of 36, 37, and 38 years to his reign.



Arms ascribed to Egbert.

The arms in the margin, "Azure, a cross patonce or," have been ascribed to Egbert; but it is now generally agreed that any thing resembling personal heraldic bearings was unknown till the twelfth century.

A.D. 802.

The Hwiccas<sup>f</sup>, a people of Mercia, invade Wessex, but are defeated by the men of Wiltshire at Kempsford.

A.D. 807.

Cuthred of Kent dies.

A.D. 808.

Eardwulf of Northumbria, driven from his kingdom, retires to the court of Charlemagne.

The Northmen plunder Hii, and murder the monks. They repair to Ireland the next year, and advance far inland, plundering the churches and monasteries.

A.D. 815.

"Egbert laid waste West Wales (Devon and Cornwall) from eastward to westward."

A.D. 817.

The English school<sup>g</sup> at Rome burnt.

A.D. 821.

Cenwulf of Mercia dies. Ceolwulf succeeds.

A.D. 823.

Ceolwulf of Mercia deprived of his kingdom. Beornwulf succeeds.

A.D. 825.

Egbert defeats Beornwulf of Mercia at Ellendune (near Wilton).

Ethelwulf, son of Egbert, drives Baldred of Kent beyond the Thames.

A.D. 826.

"The men of Kent, and the men of Surrey, and the South Saxons and the East Saxons, submitted to Egbert; for formerly they had been unjustly forced from him. And the same year the king of the East Angles and the people sought the alliance and protection of King Egbert for dread of the Mercians; and the same year the East Angles slew Beornwulf, king of Mercia."

A.D. 828.

Ludeca of Mercia is slain. Wiglaf succeeds.

"King Egbert conquered the kingdom of the Mercians, and all that was south of the Humber; and he was the eighth king who was Bretwalda . . . And Egbert led an army to Dore (near Dronfield, Derbyshire,) against the Northumbrians, and there they offered him obedience and allegiance, and with that they separated."

A.D. 830.

Wiglaf re-obtains Mercia, as a tributary to Egbert.

Egbert makes war successfully on the North Welsh.

A Northman, called Turgesius (probably Thorkill), comes to Ireland. He

\* According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 819; but there seems reason to believe that there is an error of two or three years in some of its entries about this time.

<sup>f</sup> Inhabiting the modern counties of Gloucester and Monmouth.

<sup>g</sup> This served not only as a school, but as a place of entertainment for the English pilgrims; it was situate near St. Peter's, but had its own church, dedicated to St. Mary.

conquers both the natives and the Strangers, and establishes himself at Armagh<sup>b</sup>, where he endeavours to introduce paganism.

A.D. 832.

The Northmen ravage Shepey.

A.D. 836.

The Northmen defeat Egbert at Carrum (Charmouth in Dorsetshire).

A.D. 837.

The Northmen unite with the West Welsh (the Britons in Cornwall and Devon), but are defeated at Hengest-down, in Cornwall, by Egbert.

A.D. 838 (circa).

The Northmen establish themselves in Dublin.

A.D. 839.

Egbert dies. Ethelwulf succeeds.

## ETHELWULF.

ETHELWULF is said, though on very doubtful authority, to have been designed for the Church, but at his father's death he succeeded to the kingdom, and granted the administration of the southern and eastern portions to his brother Athelstan. Ethelwulf's reign is chiefly remarkable for the ceaseless ravages of the Northmen, and his own journey to Rome, and

Oslac, of the stem of Cerdic, he left four sons, who all became kings, and two daughters. His second marriage, and the coronation of his young queen, Judith, gave deep offence to his subjects, and he was obliged to cede the greater part of his dominions to his eldest son. Ethelwulf died shortly after, and was buried at Winchester<sup>1</sup>.



Ethelwulf's Ring.

liberal benefactions to the Church. By his first wife, Osburga, the daughter of

A.D. 839.

Athelstan, brother of Ethelwulf, rules the country of Sussex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex.

"This year there was great slaughter at London, and at Cwantawic (probably Canterbury) and Rochester."

The Northmen defeated at Southampton; they are successful at Portland.

A.D. 840.

Wiglaf of Mercia dies. Beorhtwulf succeeds.

Kent, East Anglia, and Lincolnshire ravaged by the Northmen.

Ethelwulf defeated at Carrum (Charmouth) by the Northmen.

## SCOTLAND AND WALES.

ABOUT the time that the states of the Heptarchy were brought under one head by Egbert, similar changes were effected among the other nations of the island. The Scots closed a long struggle by the total subjugation of the Picts, and thus laid the foundation of

the North British monarchy. The lands occupied by the unconquered Britons beyond the Severn and the Wye had long been in a state of anarchy, there being as many kings as districts, but in the year 840, Roderic (afterwards known as the Great), the

<sup>b</sup> Armagh was then, as it is now, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> In the medal room of the British Museum is preserved an interesting memento of this king. It

is a gold ring bearing his name, and having the cavities filled with a bluish-black enamel. It was found in a cart-rut in the parish of Laverstock, in Hampshire, and its weight is 11 dwts. 14 grains.

descendant of the last chief rulers of the northern and eastern districts, succeeded to power, and marrying the heiress of the south he brought the whole country under his hand. He, however, undid his own work by again dividing it among his three sons, giving Gwynneth (North Wales) to Anarawd, Dynevor (South Wales) to Cadel, and Powys (the eastern portion, then extending far into what is now reckoned England) to Mervin<sup>k</sup>. Roderic ordained that Gwynneth should be the paramount state, to which the others should pay tribute, but this arrangement did not long endure. Mervin being killed by the Northmen, Powys was seized by the ruler of Dynevor, and that state, under Howel Dda, about 910 became the chief kingdom.

A.D. 842 (circa).

The Scots, under Kenneth II., subdue the Picts.

A.D. 845.

The Northmen defeated at the mouth of the Parret by the bishop Ealstan of Sherborne and Osric the caldorman.

Turgesius is killed in Ireland.

A.D. 851.

The Northmen defeated in Devonshire; Athelstan also defeats them at sea, near Sandwich.

"This year the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Thanet."

"And the same year came 350 ships to the mouth of the Thames, and the crews landed and took Canterbury and London by storm, and put to flight Beorhtwulf, king of the Mercians, with his army, and then went south over the Thames into Surrey; and there King Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald, with the army of the West Saxons, fought against them at Ockley, and

there made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army that we have heard tell of unto the present day, and there got the victory."

Athelstan of Kent dies.

Anlaf<sup>l</sup> the White attempts in vain to levy tribute on the Northmen in Ireland.

A.D. 852.

Beorhtwulf of Mercia dies; Burgred succeeds.

A.D. 853 or 854.

Ethelwulf assists the Mercians against the North Welsh.

The Northmen in Thanet unsuccessfully attacked by Ealhere and Huda, the caldormen of Kent and Surrey, who are both killed.

Burgred marries Athelswith, the daughter of Ethelwulf.

A.D. 855.

"This year the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Shepey."

"King Ethelwulf gave by charter the tenth part of his land throughout his realm for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation<sup>m</sup>. And the same year he went to Rome in great state, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned homewards."

A.D. 856.

Ethelwulf marries Judith, daughter of Charles, king of the Franks (Charles the Bald), Oct. 1.

Anlaf establishes his supremacy, and is styled king of Dublin.

A.D. 857.

Ethelwulf parts his kingdom with his son.

A.D. 858.

Ethelwulf dies, January 13, and is buried at Winchester.

<sup>k</sup> These princes and their successors are often styled in the Welsh Chronicles, from the names of their capitals, the kings of Aberfraw (in Anglesey), of Cardigan, and of Mathraval (near Meivod, in Montgomeryshire), in the same way as their contemporaries, the English kings, are called the kings of London. The South Wales state was the largest; but the greater part of its territory was held by the lords of Dyved (Pembroke), Morganwg (Glamorgan) and Gwent (the district on the Severn and Wye), who were only nominal dependents on the king of Cardigan.

<sup>l</sup> The same name as Olaf or Olaus. It was very common in the North, and for that reason

great confusion has hitherto prevailed concerning several of the Northman invaders of Britain and Ireland. The researches of the Rev. Dr. Todd, in his translation of the Wars of the Gael, have however thrown much light on the subject, and Anlafs who lived a century apart from each other need no longer be confounded.

<sup>m</sup> This grant, which is only to be taken as a proof of the personal piety of Ethelwulf, in bestowing a tenth of his private estate on the Church, is often incorrectly spoken of as if it were the origin of tithes in England. See notice of Anglo-Saxon Laws, p. 72.



## ETHELBALD AND ETHELBERT.

THE two elder sons of Ethelwulf shared his dominions between them. Ethelbald, who only survived two years, is chiefly remarkable for his incestuous marriage with Judith, his father's widow, by whom, however, he left no issue. Ethelbert contended vigorously with the Northmen until his death in 866, and left two sons: Ethelwald, who afterwards by leaguings with the invaders made himself for a short time king in Northumbria<sup>a</sup>; and Adhelm, of the events of whose life no record has been preserved.

A.D. 858.

Ethelbald succeeds in Wessex, and Ethelbert in the rest of Ethelwulf's dominions.

A.D. 860.

Ethelbald dies, and is buried at Sherborne; "and Ethelbert succeeded to all the realm of his brother, and he held it in godly concord and in great tranquillity."

The Northmen storm Winchester, but are shortly after defeated.

A.D. 864.

The Northmen again winter in Thanet.

A.D. 865.

Kent ravaged by the Northmen.  
Anlaf ravages the west of Scotland.

A.D. 866.

Ethelbert dies early in the year and is buried at Sherborne. Ethelred succeeds.

## ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, the third son of Ethelwulf, succeeded, to the prejudice of his brother's children, but this was not contrary to the practice of early ages in regard to minors. He fought nine battles with various success against the Northmen, and died shortly after Easter, 871. His brother Alfred was appointed to succeed him, as he left only young children, from one of whom Ethelwerd the historian traced his descent.

A.D. 866.

Anlaf joins the Northmen in East Anglia; they make a truce with the people, and obtain horses from them.

A.D. 867.

The Northmen pass from East Anglia, and capture York. The Northumbrians, who had expelled Osbert and chosen a king, Ella, not of the

royal blood, attempt to drive them from York, but are defeated. Osbert and Ella are both slain, and a truce is made.

A.D. 868.

The Northmen pass into Mercia, and possess themselves of Nottingham, where they are ineffectually besieged by Ethelred and his brother Alfred; the Mercians at length make a truce with them.

Anlaf returns to Ireland, and burns Armagh.

A.D. 869.

The Northmen retire to York, and remain there during the year.

A.D. 870.

The Northmen pass again into East Anglia, and take up their winter quarters at Thetford.

"And the same winter King Edmund<sup>o</sup> fought against them, and the

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 901, 904, 905.

<sup>o</sup> The tributary king of East Anglia. He began his reign over the East Angles in 855, and is described by Simeon of Durham as a just and holy man. Having been defeated by the pagans, and captured, he was offered his life on condition of apostacy, but firmly refusing, he was first cruelly scourged, then pierced with arrows, and his head

being stricken off was cast into a thicket. Hence he was revered as a saint and martyr, and is still retained in the Church Calendar. The ancient service contains the following legend of the discovery of his remains. A party of his friends having ventured in search of them, "they went seeking all together, and constantly calling, as is the wont of those who oft go into woods, . . .

Danes got the victory and slew the king, [Nov. 20,] and subdued all the land, and destroyed all the minsters which they came to. The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Ingwair and Ubba. At that same time they came to Medeshamstede (Peterborough), and burned and beat it down, slew abbot and monks, and all that they found there; and that place, which before was full rich, they reduced to nothing."

Ethelred, archbishop of Canterbury, endeavours to expel the secular priests from his cathedral.

Anlaf again invades Scotland, where he captures Alclud (Dumbarton).

A.D. 871.

The Northmen pass into Wessex. They are defeated at Englefield, but

gain the victory three days later at Reading. They are defeated four days after at Ashdown, in Berkshire, and fourteen days after are victorious at Basing. "About two months after this, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought against the army at Meretun (probably Marden, Wiltshire) and they were in two bodies, and they put both to flight, and during a great part of the day were victorious, and there was great slaughter on either hand; but the Danes had possession of the place of carnage; and there Bishop Heahmund (of Sherborne) was slain, and many good men."

Ethelred, being mortally wounded in the battle, dies, "over Easter," and is buried at Wimborne. His brother Alfred succeeds.

## ALFRED THE GREAT.

ALFRED, the fourth son of Ethelwulf, was born at Wantage, in Berkshire, in 849. In his fifth year he was sent to Rome, and was there "consecrated king" by the Pope, and again visited that city in company with his father in the year 855. In 868 he married Elswitha, the daughter of Ethelred, an East Anglian chief, and for the next three years he was actively engaged in seconding the efforts of his brother Ethelred against the North-

men. In 871 his brother's death placed him on the throne,—his young nephews being passed over—and he continued the contest with various fortune for seven years, when the overpowering force of the enemy compelled him to withdraw to the isle of Athelney, where he passed the early months of 878. Soon issuing from his retreat, he defeated the Northmen, and at length concluded a peace by which their most powerful chief became in fact king of the eastern part of the country, but also adopted Christianity, and swore to assist in the defence of the land against all new assailants; an engagement which was but indifferently observed. The main body of the spoilers, however, withdrew, and although he had to repel another attack in 885, Alfred now found leisure not only for valuable literary labours<sup>a</sup>, but to re-

'Where art thou, comrade?' and to them answered the head, 'Here, here, here.' They all were answered as often as any of them called, until they all came through the calling to it. There lay the gray wolf that guarded the head, and with his two feet had the head embraced, greedy and hungry, and for God durst not taste the head, and held it against wild beasts. Then were they astonished at the wolf's guardianship, and carried the holy head home with them, thanking the Almighty for all His wonders. But the wolf followed forth with the head until they came to the town, as if he were tame, and after that turned into the woods again." The remains were interred at the place, since called in consequence, Bury St. Edmund's, and many churches still exist dedicated to St. Edmund, king and martyr.



Edmund of East Anglia; from a painted panel of the 15th century.

<sup>p</sup> As he met his death from idolaters, King Ethelred was considered a martyr, and was canonized. His commemoration in the ancient English Church was on April 22, which is therefore most probably the day of his death, though Florence of Worcester says April 23. A church at Norwich is still found dedicated to him.

<sup>a</sup> Among these may be mentioned, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, the Geography of Orosius, Boetius on the Consolations of Philosophy, Pope Gregory's Pastoral, and some portions at least of the Holy Scriptures. His works, however, are rather of the nature of paraphrases than translations, as he did not scruple to abridge, add to, or alter, as he found occasion. To him, with the assistance of Archbishop Plegmund, is also ascribed, with much probability, the beginning of the systematic compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

pair the ravages of war, and to form or remodel those admirable political institutions for which his name is still revered\*.

The year 893 witnessed a fresh return of the Northmen, but they were vigorously withstood, and at length expelled. To secure his coasts the king now constructed ships better able to cope with those of the enemy than any that had been before seen in England, and he is thus regarded as the founder of the royal navy. Alfred's few remaining years were apparently passed in tranquillity, and he died on the 26th October, 901.

Beside other children, who require no particular mention, Alfred left,—Edward, his successor; Ethelfleda, who as "lady of the Mercians" acted a conspicuous part; Elfrida, married to Baldwin II. count of Flanders; and Ethelgiva, who became abbess of Shaftesbury.

#### A.D. 871.

Alfred defeated by the Northmen at Wilton. Nine other battles are fought in the country south of the Thames, in which the invaders appear to have been victorious, as the West Saxons make peace with them.

Anlaf returns to Ireland with many captives. He is killed the next year.

#### A.D. 872.

The Northmen take up their winter quarters in London; the Mercians make peace with them.

Cameleac consecrated bishop of Llandaff by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

We see from this that the spiritual supremacy of England extended at this period at least over the south-eastern part of Wales (Gwent), and it is probable that political power accompanied it, as when this bishop was captured by the Northmen, he was, we are told by the Saxon Chronicle, ransomed by Edward the Elder, for 40 pounds of silver†.

The Northmen from Ireland ravage the west of Scotland, but are defeated near the Clyde by Constantine II.

#### A.D. 873.

The Northmen penetrate into Northumbria, and take up their winter quarters at Torksey, in Lincolnshire; the people make peace with them.

#### A.D. 874.

The Northmen drive out Burgred of Mercia, and make Ceolwulf, "an unwise king's thane," king in his place. "And he swore oaths to them, and gave hostages, that it should be ready for them, on whatever day they would have it; and that he would be ready in his own person, and with all who would follow him, for the behoof of the army".

Burgred goes to Rome, and dies there. "His body lies in St. Mary's church in the school of the Angle race."

#### A.D. 875.

Halfdane, a Northman, ravages Northumbria, and also spoils the Picts and the Strathclyde Britons.

The bishop's see and the body of St. Cuthbert removed to Chester-le-Street. Guthrum, a Northman, besieges Grantabridge (Cambridge).

Alfred defeats a fleet of seven ships, capturing one, and putting the rest to flight.

Many of the Northmen leave Ireland to ravage England, France and Germany. The land has thus what the Irish annalists term "the forty years' rest" until about A.D. 915, from fresh invasions; but the foreigners maintain themselves in their possessions, and form alliances with the native princes.

#### A.D. 876.

The Northmen besiege Wareham.

Alfred makes peace with them, when they "swear oaths to him on the holy ring", which they never before would do to any nation, to leave the kingdom. Their horsemen, however, take possession of Exeter.

\* See p. 73.

† Baldwin was the son of Judith, the step-mother of Alfred, and he was the ancestor of Matilda, the first Norman queen of England.

‡ See A.D. 918.

§ Thorpe's translation. He was, however, only allowed to retain a portion, as we read, A.D. 877, "In the autumn, the army went into the Mercians' land, and divided some of it, and gave some to Ceolwulf."

¶ Antiquaries differ as to the meaning of this passage. It seems probable that the Northmen, in their oath, referred to a great ring of silver or orichalc, which Arngrim Jonas (Rer. Islandic. i. 7) says was preserved in a temple in Iceland, and which was smeared with blood of victims when they swore to the observance of matters of religion or public law. For illustrative passages see Thorpe's translation, p. 63.

Halfdene apports the lands of Northumbria among his followers.

Anglesey ravaged by the Northmen from Ireland, and Roderic the Great slain.

Rollo and the Northmen overrun Neustria (Normandy).

A.D. 877.

The Northman fleet is wrecked at Swanawic (Swanage).

Alfred captures Exeter.

The Northmen apportion Mercia.

A.D. 878.

The Northmen suddenly invade Wessex, in January, and take possession of the country. "Many of the people they drove beyond sea, and of the remainder the greater part they subdued and forced to obey them, except King Alfred; and he, with a small band, with difficulty retreated to the

woods and to the fastnesses of the moors."

Hubba, the brother of Halfdene, lands in Devonshire, but is defeated and killed, "and there was taken the war flag which they called Raven \*."

"And after this, at Easter, [March 23] King Alfred, with a small band, constructed a fortress at Athelney ‡, and from this fortress, with that part of the men of Somerset which was nearest to it, from time to time they fought against the army †."

The Saxon Chronicle gives no particulars of Alfred's residence in Athelney, but Asser, his biographer, relates the well-known tale of the cakes suffered to burn whilst he prepared his weapons, and also tells us that it was in consequence of tyrannical conduct on his part, and neglect of the reproof of his kinsman St. Neot, that the king was so utterly forsaken by his subjects ‡.

\* It is remarkable that the Northern sagas do not mention this celebrated flag, to which magical powers were ascribed. Professor Worsaae, from a laborious investigation of all the available authorities, is of opinion that it was a small triangular banner, fringed, bearing a black raven on a blood-red field.

‡ Athelney, once an island—the name means the Isle of Nobles—is now a marshy tract between the rivers Tone and Parret, near Langport, in the southern part of Somersetshire.

† A very beautiful specimen of gold enamelled work is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, which is commonly known by the name



Alfred's Jewel, obverse.



Profile.

of Alfred's jewel, as it bears his name, and was found in 1693 in the immediate neighbourhood of his retreat. It is of filigree work, inclosing a piece of rock-crystal; underneath appears a figure in enamel, which has not been satisfactorily explained. The ground is of a rich blue, the face and arms of

the figure white, the dress principally green, the lower portion partly of a reddish brown. The inscription is " + Aelfred mec heht gevrcan" (+ Alfred ordered me to be made).

‡ The passage, however, is not improbably an interpolation.

## THE ANGLO-DANES.

ALFRED leaves his retreat in May. He defeats the Northmen at Ethen-dun (Edington, near Westbury), and besieges them in their fortress.

The Northmen surrender after a fourteen days' siege, and give hostages. Guthrum "and some thirty men, who were of the most distinguished in the army," are baptized; Guthrum has Alfred for his godfather, and receives the name of Athelstan.

Alfred makes a peace with the Northmen, ceding to them a large portion of territory, thus limited: "first, concerning our land boundaries: up on the Thames, and then up on the Lea, and along the Lea unto its source, then right to Bedford, and then up the Ouse into Watling Street<sup>a</sup>."

By this formal cession of so large a tract, as well as the loss of what Halfdene already possessed, and held apparently only by the sword, the sole monarchy established by Egbert scarcely fifty years before may be regarded as broken up. The Anglo-Danes, as they are now to be called, it is true, professed allegiance to Alfred and his successors, but they seem never to have yielded it unless to princes who were able to enforce the claim, and they were ruled by chiefs whose coins prove them to have assumed the style of independent kings<sup>b</sup>. They received constant accessions to their numbers in consequence of the attempts made by the kings of Norway early in the tenth century to render themselves absolute monarchs, many of the chiefs preferring voluntary exile to submission, and they thus speedily became in some districts, what the Normans afterwards were in the whole country, a fierce military aristocracy governing without mercy or discretion a herd of serfs, it being recorded as a glorious achievement of Edmund I.

that he freed the English inhabitants of certain districts "who had dwelt long in captive chains to heathen men<sup>c</sup>." They also extended themselves over Mercia, and as that state as well as their own district had its peculiar laws, the country was rather three separate kingdoms<sup>d</sup>, of which Wessex had occasionally a supremacy over the others, than one united monarchy, as it is usually represented. It appears, too, from the names of the witnesses to contemporary documents, that the Anglo-Danes soon became possessed of important posts both in the Church and at the court of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The divisions thus introduced into its councils, and the help they constantly gave to their invading countrymen, reduced the country to a state of weakness which left it a comparatively easy prey, first to Canute, and next to William the Norman.

A.D. 879.

Guthrum and his forces withdraw to Cirencester, and remain there during the year.

A fresh body of Northmen take up their quarters on the Thames at Fulham.

A.D. 880.

Guthrum and his forces settle in East Anglia. The Northmen at Fulham leave the Thames, and besiege Ghent.

A.D. 881.

The Northmen penetrate into France. The Northmen land in Scotland, and defeat and kill Constantine II. at Crail, in Fifeshire.

A.D. 882.

Alfred goes to sea, and captures four vessels of the enemy.

<sup>a</sup> The other provisions of this treaty declare: "if a man be slain, we estimate all equally dear, English and Danish, at eight half marks of pure gold," and at 200 shillings each for the Saxon ceorl and the Danish lying or freeman; settle modes of trial, and the warranty "for men, for horses, and for cattle," and regulate the intercourse between the two armies and their followers.

<sup>b</sup> In 1840 a hoard of about 7,000 silver coins (beside many silver ornaments) was discovered at Cuerdale, near Preston, in Lancashire, 3,000 of which bore such inscriptions as "Cnut Rex," "Alf-

den Rex," "Sitric Comes;" they are by the best informed numismatists considered indisputably to belong to the chiefs of the Danish invaders in the ninth century, and their immediate successors.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 941.

<sup>d</sup> Even in the laws of Henry I. England is recognised as divided, so far as customary law is concerned, into the three states of Wessex, Mercia, and the province of the Danes; the latter province, sometimes styled the Danelagh, appears to have comprised the whole tract north and east of the Watling Street.

A.D. 883.

The Northmen ascend the Scheldt, and besiege Condé.

Alfred sends alms to Rome, and also to India, "which he had vowed to send, when they sat down against the army at London."

A.D. 884.

The Northmen besiege Amiens.

A.D. 885.

The Northmen again land in England, and besiege Rochester. Alfred relieves the city, and drives the besiegers beyond sea.

"This year the army in East Anglia<sup>e</sup> broke the peace with King Alfred."

Alfred sends a fleet against them, which captures sixteen of their ships; but his fleet is defeated on its return.

A.D. 886.

"King Alfred repaired London, and all the English submitted to him, except those who were under the bondage of the Danishmen; and then he committed the town to the keeping of Ethelred, the ealdorman."

The Northmen besiege Paris.

England now seems to have had peace for a while, for the Saxon Chronicle for the next seven years only records offerings sent to Rome, which became so customary that it is thought worthy of special remark, that in 889 "there was no journey to Rome, except that King Alfred sent two couriers with letters."

The bishops of Leicester, on the conquest of Mercia by the Northmen, remove to Dorchester<sup>f</sup>, in Oxfordshire.

A.D. 887.

The Northmen pass the bridge at Paris, and ravage the interior of France.

Alfred founds the monasteries of Shaftesbury and Athelney.

A.D. 888.

Athelswith (Alfred's sister, and relict

of Burgred of Mercia) dies on her way to Rome, and is buried at Pavia.

A.D. 890.

Guthrum dies.

The Northmen in France defeated by the Bretons.

A.D. 891.

The Northmen, being defeated in the east of France, near Louvaine, Sept. 1, begin to retrace their steps to the coast.

A.D. 893.

The Northmen, having crossed France, embark at Boulogne, and land at Limenemouth<sup>g</sup>. "They came over, horses and all, at one passage, with 250 ships." They fortify themselves at Appledore<sup>h</sup>.

Hasting enters the Thames, and builds a fort at Middleton (Milton, on the East Swale of the Medway).

The Northumbrians and East Angles favour the invaders.

A.D. 894.

Alfred places himself between the two armies of Northmen.

The Northmen leave their forts for the purpose of passing into Essex, but are defeated at Farnham. At length they reach the Colne, and are besieged there.

The Northumbrians and East Angles attack Devonshire.

The Northmen defeated at Benfleet, their shipping destroyed, and the wife and sons of Hasting captured.

The Northmen re-assemble at Shoebury, are joined by the Northumbrians and East Angles, and pass up the Thames to the Severn. They are besieged at Buttington, in Shropshire, and obliged to surrender, "after having eaten a great part of their horses."

The fugitives reach Essex, and assemble another army. They commit "their wives, and their ships, and their wealth" to the East Angles, and cross England to Chester, where they are again besieged.

<sup>e</sup> That is, Guthrum and his adherents.

<sup>f</sup> The West Saxon see founded here by Birinus (see A.D. 635), was removed to Winchester in 676.

<sup>g</sup> The ancient mouth of the Rother, in Kent; now Romney Sound.

<sup>h</sup> The nature of their ordinary fortifications appears from a cotemporary notice in the Annals of Fulda: "The Northmen, having made their fortification with hedges according to their custom, se-

curely encamped." The annalist of Metz, however, points out an improved mode of proceeding: "The Northmen protected themselves according to custom with wood and a heap of earth;" and such we may conclude was their fashion fifty years later, from a passage in the Saxon Chronicle relating to the battle of Brunanburg—"The board-wall they clove, they hewed the war-lindens."

A.D. 895 (circa).

The Northmen permanently establish themselves in the Orkneys and Hebrides<sup>i</sup>.

The Northmen from Chester ravage North Wales, and then return to Northumbria and East Anglia.

Sussex ravaged by the Northmen from Northumbria and East Anglia.

The Northmen reassemble in Mersey island, and thence proceed up the Thames and the Lea.

A.D. 896.

The Northmen build a fort on the Lea, probably near Ware, which is unsuccessfully attacked by the Londoners.

Alfred encamps in the neighbourhood, and by cutting fresh channels leaves the ravagers' ships aground.

The Northmen retire to Shropshire, and pass the winter there.

A.D. 897.

The Northmen break up their army. "Some went for East Anglia, some for Northumbria; and they who were moneyless procured themselves ships

there, and went southwards over sea to the Seine. Thanks be to God, the army had not utterly broken down the English nation; but during the three years it was much more broken down by the mortality among cattle, and among men, and most of all by this, that many of the most eminent king's thanes in the land died during the three years."

The south coast of England harassed by plundering parties. Alfred builds ships of a new model to contend with them.

Some of the pirate vessels are captured, and their crews put to death. Twenty more are wrecked on the south coast.

A.D. 900.

Wales ravaged by the Northmen, and Mervin, prince of Powys, killed. His state is seized by Cadell of Dynevor.

A.D. 901.

Alfred dies, Oct. 26<sup>j</sup>, and is buried at Winchester. He is succeeded by Edward.

## EDWARD I., CALLED THE ELDER.

EDWARD, the eldest surviving son of Alfred, was born about 870, and as early as 894 he distinguished himself against the Northmen at Farnham.

His accession to the throne was unsuccessfully opposed by Ethelwald, his cousin, who obtained aid from the Anglo-Danes, and the greater part of his reign was passed in repelling the attacks of the insurgents and their allies from the North and from Ireland. Edward, however, several times defeated them<sup>k</sup>, and by taking the precaution to erect forts as he proceeded, in which he was powerfully aided by his sister Ethelfleda, the "lady of the Mercians," he at length succeeded in putting down all opponents; so that, shortly before his death, in 925, he was acknowledged as "father and lord," not only by all the Danish chiefs in England, but also

by the kings of the Scots and of the Strathclyde Britons.

Edward left a numerous family, of whom three (Athelstan, Edmund, and Edred) became kings of England; his other children were,—Edwin, who perished at sea; Edgiva, married to Charles the Simple of France; Edith, to Otho the Great of Germany; another Edgiva, to Louis, king of Arles; and several daughters who embraced a religious life, or whose alliances have not been satisfactorily determined. Thyra, wife

of Gormo III., of Denmark, is by some writers stated to be one of them, but the fact is doubtful<sup>l</sup>.



Thyra's Cup.

<sup>i</sup> They had ravaged these islands at intervals for nearly a century; but they now settled there, and a large portion of the population at this day is descended from them.

<sup>j</sup> "Six nights before All-Hallow-mass."

<sup>k</sup> The White Leaf cross, near Prince's Risborough, is regarded as a memorial of one of his victories.

<sup>l</sup> The sepulchre of this princess, who died in 935,

still exists, at Jellinge, in Jutland; it is a chamber formed of beams of oak, covered with woollen cloth, and inclosed in a vast tumulus. It has more than once been opened, and in it were found a round coffer, and the figure of a bird formed of thin plates of gold, as well as the cup here engraved; it is of silver, plated with gold, is of very small size, and is remarkable as an example of the state of the decorative arts in the tenth century.

A.D. 901.

Ethelwald the atheling<sup>m</sup>, attempts to make himself king in Wessex. Failing, he joins the Northmen in Northumbria.

A.D. 902.

Edward is crowned, May 16.

A great battle at the Holm, in Kent, between the Kentish men and the Northmen; the latter defeated<sup>n</sup>.

Elswitha, the widow of Alfred, dies<sup>o</sup>.

The Northmen driven from Dublin by the Irish.

A.D. 904.

Ethelwald obtains possession of Essex.

A.D. 905.

Ethelwald and the Northmen ravage Mercia.

Edward in return invades "all their land between the dikes and the Ouse, as far north as the fens." The Kentish men, against his orders, remain behind, and are defeated by the Northmen. "There was great slaughter made on either hand; and of the Danish men there were more slain, though they had possession of the place of carnage.".... "And on the Danish side were slain Eohric their king, and Ethelwald the

atheling, who had enticed him to break the peace.... and likewise very many with them, whom we are now unable to name."

The Northmen ravage Ireland.

A.D. 906.

"This year King Edward, from necessity, concluded a peace both with the army of East Anglia and Northumbria."

A.D. 907.

Chester rebuilt by Ethelfleda.

A.D. 909.

The great diocese of Winchester divided, and new sees established in Wilts, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall.

A.D. 910.

"King Edward sent out a force both of West Saxons and of Mercians, and they greatly spoiled the army of the north, as well of men as of every kind of cattle, and slew many of the Danish men; and they were therein five weeks."

The Northmen defeated at Teotenheal, (probably Tettenhall, in Staffordshire,) Aug. 6.

## WALES.

Howel Dda, having about this time become ruler of the whole of Wales<sup>p</sup>, summoned a numerous assembly to the White House on the Tav (near Whitland, in Carmarthenshire,) two-thirds being laymen, and one-third clergy, to examine the ancient laws (those ascribed to Dyvnwal Moelmud<sup>q</sup>); "some they suffered to continue unaltered, some they amended, others they entirely abrogated, and some new laws they enacted." These laws being submitted to the Pope, (Anastasius III.) and approved by him, were ordered to be observed throughout Wales; but numerous modifications were soon made in them, and, as now known to us, they are in the form of separate codes for each of the three states (Gwynneth, Dynevor,

and Gwent), into which Wales was in the tenth century divided.

Each code presents the laws of the court, and the laws of the country. The first contain most minute regulations for every member of the royal household, from the king to the door-keeper, and state their various duties, privileges, and emoluments, some of which are of a singular nature; the second give the rules applicable to all offences against person or property, which are carried to the extreme of defining the legal worth of most animals, whether wild or tame, the price of a blind kitten even being duly laid down, as well as the sums to be paid for wounds or murder; the principle of money payment, rather than of blood for blood, prevailing in the Welsh

<sup>m</sup> Most probably the son of Ethelbert, Alfred's predecessor (see A.D. 858), but sometimes said to be his nephew.

<sup>n</sup> This battle is ascribed to the year 904 by Florence of Worcester.

<sup>o</sup> Her death is ascribed to the year 905 in some MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle.

<sup>p</sup> See A.D. 840.

<sup>q</sup> See A.D. 640.



as fully as in the Anglo-Saxon community.

After the death of Howel Dda usurpation and civil war ensued. At length Gwynneth was recovered by the descendants of Anarawd, and under Llewelyn ap Sitsylht<sup>r</sup> it became the ruling state, Dynevor having lost much of the eastern part of its territory. Llewelyn was killed in 1031, when Iago, his brother-in-law, obtained Gwynneth, and Rytherch, Dynevor; they were, however, subdued by Griffin, the son of Llewelyn, who held the supremacy till 1063, when he being defeated by Earl Harold, and killed by his own people as the price of peace, the whole of Wales was reduced to a nominal dependence on England. Meredith, a descendant of Howel Dda, was appointed prince of Dynevor, and Blethin and Rywallon (the brothers of Griffin) princes of Gwynneth and Powys, by the victors.

A.D. 911.

The Northmen overrun Mercia, but are overtaken and defeated on their retreat.

The Northmen from Dublin ravage South Wales.

A.D. 912.

"King Edward obtains possession of London, and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto."

A.D. 913.

Edward advances into Hertford and Essex, and builds several forts there.

Ethelfleda builds forts at Tamworth and at Stafford, and at Warwick and other places in the next year.

A.D. 915.

The Northmen recommence their invasion of Ireland.

A.D. 916.

Ethelfleda's forces defeat the Welsh at Breccan-merc (Brecknock).

A.D. 917.

Derby captured from the Northmen.

A.D. 918.

Leicester surrendered by treaty to Ethelfleda. "And the people of York had also covenanted with her, some

having given a pledge, and some having bound themselves by oath, that they would be at her command."

Ethelfleda dies, June 12. Edward takes possession of Mercia, "and all the people there, as well Danish as English, submitted to him."

The coasts of Wales and the Severn ravaged by a Northman fleet from Brittany. The invaders are driven off, and retire to Ireland.

Cameleac, bishop of Llandaff, having been captured by them, is ransomed by Edward.

The Northmen re-establish themselves in Dublin.

A.D. 919.

Edward continues his progress, and captures Bedford.

The Northmen give a signal defeat to the Irish at Kilmashogue, near Dublin, Sept. 15. King Niall and fourteen other princes are killed there.

A.D. 920.

Thurkytel, the Northman, and his followers, are allowed to withdraw to France.

A.D. 921.

Towcester ineffectually besieged by the Northmen.

Edward relieves his towns, and strengthens some with stone walls, "and much people submitted to him, as well among the East Anglians as among the East Saxons, who before were under the dominion of the Danes. And all the army among the East Anglians swore oneness with him, that they would observe peace towards all to which the king should grant his peace, both by sea and land."

Armagh plundered by the Northmen.

A.D. 922.

"King Edward went with his forces to Stamford, and commanded the fort (burh) to be built upon the south side of the river; and all the people which owed obedience to the northern towns submitted to him, and sought him to be their lord."

The North-Welsh kings seek him for lord.

A.D. 923.

Edward advances into Northumbria,

<sup>r</sup> From this prince, Cecil, the minister of Elizabeth, professed to be descended.

and builds forts at Thelwall, in Cheshire, and at Manchester.

Regnold, a Danish king, captures York.

A.D. 924.

Edward builds other forts, as at Nottingham and in the Peak. "Then chose him for father and for lord, the king of the Scots and the whole nation

of the Scots<sup>a</sup>, and Regnold and the son of Eadulf, and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danes, and Northmen and others, and also the king of the Strathclyde Britons, and all the Strathclyde Britons."

A.D. 925.

Edward dies, and is buried at Winchester. Athelstan succeeds.

### ATHELSTAN.

ATHELSTAN, the eldest, and perhaps the natural, son of Edward, succeeded him, and shewed great vigour and ability in contending with the Anglo-Danes and their confederates, to whom he gave a signal overthrow at Brunan-burg. He also protected his young nephew Louis, the son of Charles the Simple, and assisted in placing him on the throne of France. He added many valuable provisions to the laws promulgated by Alfred, like him was liberal to monasteries, and favoured both literature and commerce. He was never married, and was succeeded by his brother Edmund, in the year 940.

A.D. 925.

Athelstan gives his sister in marriage to Sihtric of Northumbria<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 926.

"Sihtric perished<sup>c</sup>, and King Athelstan obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians. And he ruled all the kings who were in this island: first, Huwal, king of the West-Welsh (Cornwall); and Constantine, king of the Scots; and Uwen, king of the Gwentian people (on the lower course of the Severn); and Ealdred, son of Ealdulf of Bamborough: and they confirmed the peace by pledge and by oaths, at the place which is called Eamot, on

the 4th of the ides of July (July 12); and they renounced all idolatry, and after that submitted to him in peace."

A.D. 929.

Anlaf Cuaran (Anlaf of the Sandal), son of Sihtric, becomes the leader of the Northmen of Waterford.

A.D. 933.

"This year Edwin the atheling [the half-brother of Athelstan] was drowned at sea<sup>d</sup>."

Scotland ravaged by Athelstan with a fleet and army. He also imposes a tribute on Wales<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 937.

Anlaf Cuaran, with an army of Northmen from Ireland, and Constantine III., king of the Scots (his father-in-law), land at the mouth of the Humber. They are defeated by Athelstan and Edmund the atheling, at Brunan-burg<sup>f</sup>.

"Five youthful kings and seven earls were laid in slumber by the sword, and of their army countless shipmen and Scots. The West Saxons onward throughout the day, in bands, pursued the footsteps of the loathed nations. Carnage greater has not been in this island, of people slain by the edge of the sword, since from the east hither came the Angles and Saxons."

<sup>a</sup> This, and some similar transactions in Anglo-Saxon times, formed the ground for the claim of feudal subjection of the crown of Scotland to that of England, which was urged by the Norman kings and their successors. The capture of William the Lion and the disputed succession on the death of Alexander III. occasioned its temporary admission; but Wallace and Bruce, aided at first rather by the people than the nobles of Scotland, (many of whom were of the English party, having lands in both kingdoms,) successfully resisted the foe, and established the independence of their country.

<sup>b</sup> Sihtric had long reigned in Dublin, but was driven from thence about A.D. 920.

<sup>c</sup> His two sons, Anlaf and Guthferth (Godfrey), sought refuge with the Scots, but soon retired to the Ostmen in Ireland.

<sup>d</sup> Some writers, as Simeon of Durham, charge Athelstan with his murder; but this earlier notice leaves the matter doubtful.

<sup>e</sup> This tribute is stated in the North Welsh Code as three score and three pounds in money, when the king of Aberffraw received his land from the king of London, beside dogs, hawks, and horses.

<sup>f</sup> The site of this celebrated battle has not been ascertained.

A.D. 939.

Athelstan ravages Cornwall, and conquers the isles of Scilly<sup>z</sup>.

A.D. 940.

Athelstan dies at Gloucester, Oct. 27, and is buried at Malmesbury. Edmund the atheling, his half-brother, succeeds.

## EDMUND I.

THE short reign of Edmund was almost entirely occupied in an attempt to reduce the Anglo-Danes to something like real submission to the Saxon monarchs. He was killed in his own court in the year 946, in the 25th year of his age. His two sons, Edwy and Edgar, being minors, he was succeeded by his brother Edred.

Regnold of York also submits, and is baptized, near the close of the year.

A.D. 944.

Northumbria entirely subdued, and Anlaf Cuaran expelled.

Dublin captured from the Northmen by the Irish.

A.D. 945.

Cumberland ravaged by Edmund<sup>c</sup>, and granted to Malcolm, king of the Scots, "on the condition that he should be his fellow-worker, as well by sea as by land."

The Northmen retake Dublin.

A.D. 946.

King Edmund is killed in his own hall by Liofa, an outlaw, at Pucklechurch, (in Gloucestershire, not far from Bristol,) May 26. His brother Edred succeeds.

A.D. 941.

The Northumbrians choose Anlaf of Ireland (Anlaf Cuaran) for their king.

Edmund recaptures the Five Burghs<sup>a</sup> from the Danes.

A.D. 943.

Anlaf<sup>b</sup> captures Tamworth in Mercia. He is besieged in Leicester by Edmund, but escapes.

Anlaf submits to King Edmund, is baptized, and is "royally gifted" by him.

## EDRED.

EDRED, the son of Edward I., was more successful than Edmund had been, and, though they more than once rose against him, he finally reduced the Anglo-Danes to subjection. He then gave himself up mainly to a religious course of life, and entrusted the direction of public affairs to the celebrated Dunstan<sup>d</sup>. He died in 955, and was succeeded by his nephew Edwy.

The Northumbrians revolt, but are defeated by Edred; "and the Scots gave him oaths, that they would that he would."

A.D. 947.

"King Edred came to Taddenes-cylyf, (Tanshelf, near Pontefract,) and there Wulstan the archbishop [of York] and all the Northumbrian witan plighted their troth to the king; and within a little while they belied all, both pledge and all oaths."

A.D. 946.

Edred crowned, Sunday, August 16.

\* The isles are visible from St. Buryan, near the Land's End, and Athelstan is said to have rebuilt the church, in performance of a vow, in token of his victory.

<sup>a</sup> These were Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby, the inhabitants of which, "by need constrained, had ere while a long time dwelt in captive chains to heathen men."

<sup>b</sup> Probably the son of Godfrey the brother of Sihtric, and consequently cousin of Anlaf Cuaran, with whom he has been confounded by many writers. See Todd's "War of the Gael."

<sup>c</sup> It had been not long before seized by the Northmen. It was ruled as a separate principality by the Scottish heir-apparent, and was not re-annexed to England till the time of Edward I.

<sup>d</sup> Dunstan, one of the most prominent names in Anglo-Saxon history, was born of noble parents in

Wessex, about 920. He became a recluse in Glastonbury whilst still a youth, but was brought to the court by his uncle, Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury. Gaining the favour of King Edmund, he was made by that prince abbot of Glastonbury. Dunstan, though abbot, remained at court, became, in effect, the prime minister of Edmund, Edred, and Edgar, and eventually archbishop of Canterbury. He devoted himself zealously to ecclesiastical and monastic reforms, and hence he has been described in very unfavourable colours by many modern writers. He was canonized shortly after his death in 988. His skill in music and mechanics was remarkable, but his monkish biographers have so exaggerated these and other matters concerning him, as to produce the very contrary effect to that intended.

A.D. 948.

The Northumbrians choose Eric, a Dane, for their king. Edred ravages their country, and the great minster at Ripon, built by Wilfrid, is burnt.

The Northumbrians abandon Eric, and submit.

"King Howel the Good, son of Cadel, the chief and glory of all the Britons, died".

A.D. 949.

Anlaf Cuaran comes to Northumbria, and is received as king.

A.D. 952.

Wulstan, archbishop of York, imprisoned, "because he had been oft accused to the king<sup>†</sup>."

The Northumbrians expel Anlaf Cuaran, who returns to Ireland, and recall Eric.

A.D. 954.

The Northumbrians again expel Eric, and submit to King Edred<sup>‡</sup>.

A.D. 955.

King Edred dies at Frome, Nov. 23, and is buried at Winchester. Edwy, his brother's son, succeeds.

## EDWY.

THE chief events of the short, unhappy reign of Edwy were the banishment of Dunstan, his uncle's minister, and the revolt of the Mercian and Northumbrian provinces. His marriage with Elgiva, who was "too nearly related" to him, called down the censures of the Church; and he died in 958, or 959, before he had attained his 19th year.

A.D. 955.

Edwy is crowned at Kingston by archbishop Odo.

A.D. 956.

The abbot Dunstan is banished.

A.D. 957.

The Mercians and Northumbrians choose Edgar for their king. He recalls Dunstan, and soon after makes him bishop of Worcester.

A.D. 958.

"This year archbishop Odo separated king Edwy and Elgiva, because they were too nearly related."

"Odo the Good<sup>h</sup>," archbishop of Canterbury, dies, June 2.

A.D. 958 or 959.

Edwy dies, Oct. 1, and is buried at Winchester. His brother Edgar succeeds.

## EDGAR.

EDGAR, the second son of Edmund, had so much more peaceable a reign than any of his predecessors, that he has received the title of the Pacific. Acting mainly by the direction of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, he preserved his states from war by ever shewing himself prepared for it, favoured the restoration of religious houses ruined in the troubled times of preceding kings, and greatly patronized the monastic rule; whence he is much praised by some writers, although his

private conduct was deeply marked by vice and cruelty. He died in 975, leaving by Ethelfleda, his first wife, Edward, who succeeded him, and a daughter, Edith; and by Elfritha, his second wife, Ethelred, who also became king.

A.D. 959.

Dunstan, who is the royal treasurer, is made bishop of London; and soon after is removed to Canterbury.

\* Chronicle of the Princes of Wales.

† He was released in 954, and retired to Onndle (the monastery founded by Wilfrid), where he died, in 955 or 956.

‡ From this time, Simeon of Durham remarks, there were no more kings in Northumbria; its rulers, though nearly independent, only had the title of duke, or count, or earl.

<sup>h</sup> Such was the title among his contemporaries of one whom comparatively recent writers describe as

a monster. He appears only to have carried out the recognised rule in separating Edwy and Elgiva; and though Osborn ascribes the death of the princess to him, Eadmer says that it was the act of the Mercian partisans of Edgar. Odo was the son of a Danish chief, and had been banished from his home in boyhood for frequenting a Christian church. Some canons of his and a synodical epistle, which remain to us, have been pronounced "grave and pious compositions, very creditable to his memory."

A.D. 961.

The Northmen land in Scotland, and kill Indulf, the king, at Forteviot.

A.D. 962.

St. Paul's minster, in London, burnt.

A.D. 963.

The abbot Ethelwold becomes bishop of Winchester, and expels the secular priests. "Afterwards, then came he to the king, Edgar, and begged of him that he would give him all the minsters that heathen men had formerly broken down, because he would restore them; and the king blithely granted it." Ely and Medeshamstede (Peterborough), "where were nothing but old walls and wild woods," are accordingly restored.

A.D. 964.

Edgar expels the secular priests from many minsters, and replaces them with monks.

A.D. 965.

Edgar marries Elfritha, the daughter of Ordgar, the ealdorman of Devonshire.

A.D. 966.

Thored, a Northman, ravages Westmoreland.

Oslac obtains the earldom of Northumberland.

A.D. 968.

"King Edgar ordered all Thanet-land to be ravaged<sup>1</sup>."

A.D. 970.

Anlaf Cuaran defeats the northern Irish, and plunders Kells.

A.D. 973.

Edgar is crowned at Bath, May 11. "And soon after that, the king led all his ship-forces to Chester; and there came to meet him six kings<sup>k</sup>, and they all plighted their troth to him, that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land."

A.D. 975.

Edgar dies, July 8, and is buried at Glastonbury. His son Edward succeeds.

## EDWARD II., CALLED THE MARTYR.

AFTER a reign of less than four years, in which much that his father had done to establish the monastic rule was set aside, this unfortunate young prince was assassinated by the order of his step-mother, and he is retained in the calendar of the Anglican Church as a saint and martyr; his feast is celebrated on the 18th of March, and the translation of his remains from their private resting-place at Wareham to Shaftesbury on the 20th of June. His half-brother Ethelred succeeded him.

A.D. 975.

"Oslac, the great earl [of Northumberland], is banished from England."

"The monastic rule was quashed, and minsters dissolved, and monks

driven out, and God's servants put down, whom King Edgar ordered the holy bishop Ethelwold to establish."

A.D. 976.

"This year was the great famine among the English nation."

A.D. 978.

"In this year all the chief witan of the English nation fell at Calne from an upper chamber, except the holy archbishop Dunstan, who alone supported himself upon a beam; and there were some grievously maimed, and some did not escape it with life."

A.D. 979.

"King Edward was slain at eventide at Corfes-geat<sup>l</sup> on the 15th of the calends of April (March 18,) and then was he buried at Wareham, with-

<sup>i</sup> The inhabitants had plundered some Northman traders from York, who were under the king's protection.

<sup>k</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not name them; but later writers, as Florence of Worcester, mention eight, and specify Kenneth, king

of the Scots, Malcolm, king of Cumberland, Macus, king of the Isles, and five Northman and British chiefs.

<sup>l</sup> Corfe, in Dorsetshire, the residence of his step-mother, Elfritha.

out any kind of kingly honours. There has not been done among the Angles a worse deed than this, since they first

sought Britain. He was in life an earthly king; he is now after death a heavenly saint."

## ETHELRED II.

THE long reign of this prince, contemptuously styled "the Unready<sup>m</sup>," was little else than a series of vain struggles with the Northmen, whom he alternately met in the field, bribed to retire, or attempted to cut off by assassination, but in all with equal want of success. He was obliged to take refuge in Normandy in 1013, and he only returned to die in England at the time that Canute was preparing the formidable armament with which he shortly after made himself master of the country. By his first wife, Elgiva, he left Edmund, who succeeded him; Edwy, put to death by Canute; Elfgina, married to Uhtred of Northumberland; Edgith, married to Edric Streona; and several other children. By his second wife, Emma, he had Edward (afterwards king), and Alfred, murdered in 1036 by Godwin; and Goda, first married to Drogo, count of Mantes, and afterwards to Eustace, count of Boulogne, whose visit to England in 1051 was attended by a fatal result to many of his party.

A.D. 979.

Ethelred is crowned at Kingston, on Sunday, May 4th<sup>n</sup>.

A.D. 980.

Southampton, Thanet, and Cheshire ravaged by the Northmen.

The Northmen in Ireland sustain a great defeat at Tara. Anlaf Cuaran goes on a pilgrimage to Hii, and dies there.

A.D. 981.

The coasts of Wales, Cornwall and Devon ravaged; Padstow is destroyed.

A.D. 982.

Portland ravaged by three ships of pirates.

London burnt.

A.D. 983.

Elfric is appointed caldorman of Mercia<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 984.

"This year died the benevolent bishop of Winchester, Ethelwold, father of monks, on the calends of August" (Aug. 1).

A.D. 985.

Elfric is banished.

A.D. 986.

"This year the king laid waste the bishopric of Rochester<sup>p</sup>."

"This year first came the great murrain among cattle in the English nation."

A.D. 988.

"This year was Watchet ravaged, and Goda, the Devonshire thane, slain, and with him much slaughter made."

The Northmen from Ireland levy a tribute on Wales<sup>q</sup>.

Archbishop Dunstan dies, May 19<sup>r</sup>.

A.D. 989.

The Northmen in Dublin said to pay tribute to Melaghlin (Malachy), king of Ireland.

A.D. 991.

"This year was Ipswich ravaged; and after that very shortly was Brihtnoth, the caldorman, slain."

"And in that year it was decreed that tribute, for the first time<sup>s</sup>, should be given to the Danish-men, on account of the great terror which they

<sup>m</sup> Ethelred means "noble counsel;" so that the appellation is literally, "The noble counsellor who cannot advise."

<sup>n</sup> Florence of Worcester says, 14th April, 978.

<sup>o</sup> His father, Elfhre, had long held the office, but Elfric was in league with the Northmen. He now made his peace, and thus obtained the post, which enabled him to do much mischief.

<sup>p</sup> The cause of this is not known.

<sup>q</sup> This is called the tribute of the black Pagans, in the Chronicle of the Princes of Wales.

<sup>r</sup> Dunstan is retained in the Anglican calendar, his feast occurring on May 19, and eighteen churches exist dedicated to him.

<sup>s</sup> This fatal expedient had been proposed in 865, but whilst the matter was in debate the Northmen "stole away by night, and ravaged all Kent to the eastward;" and even Alfred, in the early part of his reign, paid money to induce the invaders to withdraw.

caused the sea-coast ; that was at first ten thousand pounds : this counsel advised first archbishop Sigeric" (of Canterbury).

A.D. 992.

A fleet assembled at London to resist the Northmen.

Elfric, who had returned and received a command, joins the enemy.

A.D. 993.

The Lincolnshire and Northumbrian coasts ravaged ; Bamborough taken by storm. The army raised against the Northmen disperses, Frena, Godwin, and other Anglo-Danes, setting the example of flight.

Elfgar, the son of Elfric, is blinded by the king's order.

A.D. 994.

Anlaf and Sweyn<sup>1</sup>, from Norway, attack London, but are repulsed, Sept. 8.

They ravage Kent and the south coast, "and at last they took to themselves horses, and rode as far as they would, doing unspeakable evil."

They take up their winter quarters at Southampton, where a peace is made with them, receiving food and sixteen thousand pounds of money.

"Then the king sent bishop Elphege and Ethelward the ealdorman after king Anlaf, and the while, hostages were delivered to the ships ; and they then led Anlaf with much worship to the king at Andover. And king Ethelred received him at the bishop's hands, and royally gifted him. And then Anlaf made a covenant with him, even as he also fulfilled, that he never again would come hostilely to the English nation<sup>2</sup>."

A.D. 995.

Elfric, bishop of Wiltshire, is appointed archbishop of Canterbury, April 21.

The bishop's see and the body of St. Cuthbert removed from Chester-le-Street, and after a while settled on the bank of the Wear, where Durham now stands.

A.D. 996.

Elfric, having journeyed to Rome to consult the Pope (John XVI.), expels the secular priests from the minster at Canterbury.

A.D. 997.

Devon, Cornwall, and the coasts of the Bristol Channel, ravaged by the Northmen ; the monastery of Tavistock burnt by them.

A.D. 998.

The Northmen ravage Dorset and Hampshire, and establish themselves in the Isle of Wight.

A.D. 999.

The Northmen ravage Kent.

A.D. 1000.

Ethelred ravages Cumberland, while his ships attack Anglesey<sup>3</sup>.

The Northmen land in Scotland, and capture Kinloss.

Morgan, bishop of St. David's, killed by the Northmen.

The Northmen withdraw to Normandy.

Brien Boru, king of Munster, captures Dublin<sup>4</sup>.

A.D. 1001.

The Northmen return to England, and ravage the western counties. They gain victories at Ethelingdene (perhaps Alton), and at Penhoe, in Devonshire.

"And thence they went into Wightland (the Isle of Wight), and there they roved about, even as they themselves would, and nothing withstood them ; nor any fleet by sea durst meet them ; nor land force either, went they ever so far up. Then was it in every wise a heavy time, because they never ceased from their evil doings."

A.D. 1002.

"Twenty-four thousand pounds was paid as tribute to the fleet, and peace made with them, on condition that they should cease from their evil doings."

<sup>1</sup> Sweyn, surnamed Tveskjæg, or Forked Beard, was the father of Canute, who conquered England, and he himself had possession of a portion of it a short time before his death, so that he is sometimes considered as the first Danish king.

<sup>2</sup> Anlaf (also called Olaf, or Olaus) returned to Norway, where he zealously laboured to introduce Christianity, which occasioned a quarrel with his brother-in-law and former ally, Sweyn, by whom he was driven out and killed in the year 1000. His

kinsman, known as Olaf the Saint, reconquered Norway, but was slain through the intrigues of Canute ; another kinsman of Anlaf was Harold Hardrada, who fell at Stamford-bridge. See A.D. 1066.

<sup>3</sup> Cumberland was then possessed by the Scots (see A.D. 945), and Anglesey in league with the Northmen.

<sup>4</sup> He abandoned the city after plundering it, and occupying it for a month or more.

Ethelred marries Emma, daughter of Richard II., duke of Normandy.

"In this year the king ordered all the Danish-men<sup>a</sup> who were in England to be slain. This was done on Bricius' mass-day (Nov. 13); because it was made known to the king that they would treacherously bereave him of his life, and afterwards all his witan; and after that have his kingdom without any gainsaying<sup>a</sup>."

A.D. 1003.

Sweyn invades England to revenge the massacre.

Exeter, betrayed by "the French ceorl Hugo, whom the lady Emma had appointed her reeve," is entirely ruined by him.

Wilton and Salisbury sacked by him, Elfric again betraying his trust<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1004.

Sweyn ravages Norfolk, and burns Norwich and Thetford. Ulfkytel, the ealdorman of East Anglia, collects a force against them. "And they there stoutly joined battle, and much slaughter was there made on either hand. There were the chief among the East Anglian people slain; but if the full force there had been, they never again had gone to their ships; inasmuch as they themselves said, that they never had met a worse hand-play among the English nation than Ulfkytel had brought to them."

A.D. 1005.

"This year was the great famine throughout the English nation; such, that no man ever before recollected one so grim. And the fleet in this year went from this land to Denmark; and staid but a little space ere it came again."

A.D. 1006.

"The great fleet came to Sandwich, and did all as they had been before wont; they ravaged, and burned, and destroyed wherever they went."

A force is assembled against them,

"but it availed nothing" . . . "for this army went wheresoever itself would, and the forces did every kind of harm to the inhabitants; so that neither profited them, nor the home army, nor the foreign army."

The Northmen make the Isle of Wight their winter quarters, and send out plundering parties into Hampshire, Berkshire and Oxfordshire. "And they went along Escesdun (Aston) to Cwiclehm's-hlæw<sup>c</sup>, and there abode, as a daring boast; for it had been often said, if they should reach Cwiclehm's-hlæw, that they would never again get to the sea; then they went homewards another way."

The Northmen gain a victory at Kenet, (near Marlborough,) and King Ethelred retires into Shropshire.

"Then became the dread of the army so great, that no man could think or discover how they could be driven out of the land, or this land maintained against them; for they had every shire in Wessex sadly marked, by burning and by plundering. Then the king began earnestly with his witan to consider what might seem most advisable to them all, so that this land might be saved, before it was utterly destroyed. Then the king and his witan decreed for the behalf of the whole nation, though it was hateful to them all, that they needs must pay tribute to the army. Then the king sent to the army, and directed it to be made known to them, that he would that there should be a truce between them, and that tribute should be paid, and food given them. And then all that they accepted; and then were they victualled from throughout the English nation."

A.D. 1007.

"In this year was the tribute delivered to the army; it was 36,000 pounds."

Edric Streona<sup>d</sup> is appointed ealdorman of Mercia.

<sup>a</sup> That is, his Northman body-guard; but the instruction was exceeded, and women and children of their nation were also put to death.

<sup>b</sup> Such is the contemporary account of this most atrocious and impolitic act. One of the sufferers was Gunhilda, the sister of Sweyn, on whom William of Malmesbury pronounces a warm eulogium.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 992.

<sup>c</sup> Now called Cuckamsley-hill, to the north of West Hsley, in Berkshire, full 60 miles from the coast. It is traditionally said to have been the usual place of assembly of the people of Wessex.

<sup>d</sup> That is, Edric the Acquirer, or, less favourably, the Rapacious. He is said to have belonged to the old royal family of the South Saxons, who were reduced to the rank of nobles by Egbert.



A.D. 1008.

A great fleet prepared throughout England; "from three hundred hides and from ten hides, one vessel", and from eight hides a helmet and a coat of mail."

A.D. 1009.

The great fleet being ready, is rendezvoused at Sandwich.

Wulfnoth, the South-Saxon, father of Godwin, being accused of treason, gathers twenty ships and ravages the south coast.

Eighty ships being sent against him, many are damaged by a storm, and Wulfnoth burns the rest.

The king quits his fleet, the remains of which are brought to London.

"Then soon after Lammas (Aug. 1,) the vast hostile army, which we have called Thurkill's army, came to Sandwich," and having laid Kent under tribute, ravaged Sussex, Hampshire and Berkshire.

Ethelred attempts to prevent their return to their ships, but is foiled by the treachery of Edric.

The Danes take up their winter quarters on the Thames, "and oft they fought against London; but praise be to God that it yet stands sound, and they there ever fared evilly." Oxford is burnt by them during the winter, and in the spring they retire to Kent to repair their ships.

A.D. 1010.

The Danes land at Ipswich, and defeat the East Anglians, May 18.

They procure horses, and ravage the whole country as far as Temes-ford, (Temsford, near Bedford).

A witenagemot is summoned by the king, but nothing is done, "and at last there was no head man who would assemble forces, but each fled as he best might; nor, at the last, would even one shire assist the other."

The Danes burn Northampton, in November, and having ravaged the northern part of Wessex, retire to their ships.

A.D. 1011.

"In this year sent the king and the

witan to the army, and desired peace, and promised them tribute and food, on condition that they would cease from their plundering." . . . . "And nevertheless, for all the truce and tribute, they went everywhere in bands, and plundered our miserable people, and robbed and slew them."

The Danes capture Canterbury, through the treachery of Aelfmer the archdeacon, "whose life the archbishop Elphege had before saved," and carry the archbishop and many other persons of rank to their ships; "and abbot Aelfmer [of St. Augustine's] they let go away."

A.D. 1012.

A witenagemot held at London, which pays a tribute of 48,000 pounds to the army.

"Then was the army greatly excited against the bishop (Elphege), because he would not promise them any money; but he forbade that anything should be given for him. They had also drunk deeply, for wine had been brought there from the south. Then took they the bishop, led him to their hustings<sup>†</sup> on the eve of Sunday the octaves of Easter, which was on the 13th of the calends of May, (April 19); and there they then shamefully slaughtered him: they cast upon him bones and the heads of oxen, and then one of them struck him with an axe-iron on the head, so that with the blow he sank down, and his holy blood fell on the earth, and his holy soul he sent forth to God's kingdom. And on the morrow the body was carried to London, and the bishops Ednoth and Elf-hun, and the townsmen, received it with all reverence, and buried it in St. Paul's minster; and there God now manifesteth the miraculous powers of the martyr<sup>‡</sup>."

Ethelred takes forty-five of the Danish ships into his pay.

A.D. 1013.

Sweyn arrives at Sandwich with his fleet, in the summer.

He overruns East Anglia and Northumbria, and receives hostages from every shire.

\* That is, one vessel each, or 370 in all.

† A popular assembly, not in the open air, the word meaning literally "house-court."

‡ The body was removed to Canterbury by command of Canute in the year 1023, before which date this passage must have been written.

Leaving his ships and the hostages with his son Canute, he proceeds southward, and captures Oxford and Winchester, but is repulsed from London, "where much of his people was drowned in the Thames, because they kept not to any bridge."

Sweyn proceeds to Bath, when the western shires submit to him. "And when he had thus succeeded, then went he northward to his ships; and then all the people held him for full king."

"And after that the townsmen of London submitted, and delivered hostages, because they dreaded lest he should utterly undo them. Then Sweyn ordered a full tribute, and provisions for his army during the winter; and Thurkill ordered the like for the army which lay at Greenwich; and for all that, they plundered as oft as they would."

King Ethelred sends his queen and the athelings, Edward and Alfred, to Normandy; he soon follows them, and remains there till after the death of Sweyn.

A.D. 1014.

"In this year King Sweyn ended his days at Candlemas, (Feb. 3) . . . and all the fleet then chose Canute for king."

"Then counselled all the witan who were in England, clergy and laity, that they should send after King Ethelred; and they declared that no lord were dearer to them than their natural lord, if he would rule them rightlier than he had before done. Then sent the king his son Edward hither with his messengers, and ordered them to greet all his people; and said that he would be to them a loving lord, and amend all those things which they all abhorred, and each of those things should be forgiven which had been done or said to him, on condition that they all, with one consent, would be obedient to him, without deceit. And they then established full friendship, by word and by pledge, on either half, and declared every Danish king an outlaw from England for ever. Then, during Lent, King Ethelred came home to his own people, and he was gladly received by them all."

The people of Lindsey (Anglo-Danes) make a compact with Canute, "that they should find him horses, and that afterwards they should all go out together and plunder."

King Ethelred attacks them with his full force, and Canute retires to his ships.

Canute comes to Sandwich, "and there he caused the hostages to be put on shore who had been delivered to his father, and cut off their hands, and ears, and noses."

The Northmen defeated at Clontarf (near Dublin), by Brien Boru, who is himself slain, April 23 (Good Friday).

A great sea-flood, which washed away many villas and a countless number of people, Sept. 28.

A.D. 1015.

Siferth and Morcar, the chief thanes in the Seven Burghs<sup>b</sup>, treacherously slain by Edric.

Edmund the atheling takes Siferth's widow from the convent of Malmesbury, marries her, and obtains possession of the burghs.

Canute ravages Wessex, and subdues it. He is joined by Edric with 40 ships.

A.D. 1016.

Canute and Edric pass into Mercia; "and they ravaged, and burned, and slew all that they could come at."

A force is gathered against them, and headed by King Ethelred, but, being apprehensive of treachery, he retires to London, and the troops disperse.

Canute passes into Northumbria, where, by the advice of Edric, he kills Uhtred the ealdorman, son-in-law of Ethelred, and appoints Eric in his stead.

Canute returns to Wessex, and prepares for an expedition against London.

Edmund the atheling retires to London.

"Then befel it that King Ethelred died, before the ships arrived. He ended his days on St. George's mass-day (April 23), and he held his kingdom with great loss and under great difficulties, the while that his life lasted."

<sup>b</sup> Probably the Five Burghs already named (p. 53), with the addition of Chester and York.

EDMUND IRONSIDE<sup>1</sup>.

EDMUND, the eldest son of Ethelred, succeeded him, but after many fierce contests with Canute, he found himself obliged to agree to a partition of his kingdom, and he died shortly after, most probably by assassination. By his wife Algiha, the relict of Siferth, he left two sons, Edward and Edmund, who were exiled by Canute. Edwy the Churl king (the king of the people, or popular favourite), banished by Canute, is by some writers said to have been a son of Edmund, but the point is not satisfactorily established.

A.D. 1016.

"All the witan who were in London, and the townsmen, chose Edmund to be king; and he strenuously defended his kingdom the while that his time lasted."

Edmund leaves London, and overruns Wessex.

"Then came the ships to Greenwich at Rogation days (May 7). And within a little space they went to London, and they dug a great ditch on the south side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the bridge; and afterwards they ditched the town around, so that no one could go either in or out; and they repeatedly fought against the town, but the townsmen strenuously withstood them.

Edmund fights with the Danes at Pen, by Gillingham, in Dorsetshire, and at Sceorstan, (Shirestone, near Burford,) then relieves London, and two days after defeats the Danes at Brentford.

Edmund retires into Wessex, when the Danes again besiege London; "and they beset the town around, and strongly fought against it, as well by

water as by land. But the Almighty God delivered it."

The Danes retire from London, proceed up the Orwell, and ravage Mercia. "Then King Edmund assembled, for the fourth time, all his forces, and went over the Thames at Brentford, and went into Kent, and the army fled before him, with their horses, into Sheppy; and the king slew as many of them as he could come up with." Edric comes over to the king at Aylesford, and dissuades him from following up his victory.

The Danes again pass through Essex into Mercia.

Edmund pursues them, but, being betrayed by Edric, is defeated at Assandun, (Assingdon, near Rochford<sup>2</sup>), "and all the nobility of the English race was there destroyed."

Canute pursues Edmund into Gloucestershire. "Then counselled Edric the caldorman and the witan who were there, that the kings should be mutually reconciled. And they delivered hostages mutually; and the kings came together at Olaneg, near Deerhurst<sup>3</sup>, and they confirmed their friendship as well by pledge as by oath, and settled the tribute for the army. And then they separated with this reconciliation; and Edmund obtained Wessex, and Canute Mercia. And the army then went to their ships, with the things that they had taken. And the men of London made a truce with the army, and bought themselves peace; and the army brought their ships to London, and took up their winter quarters therein.

"Then at St. Andrew's mass (Nov. 30) died King Edmund, and his body lies at Glastonbury, with his grandfather Edgar."

## CANUTE.

CANUTE, the son of Sweyn, already in possession of the greater part of England, succeeded to the whole on the death of Edmund, and secured his throne by a marriage with Emma, the widow of Ethelred. He undertook

several foreign expeditions, in the course of which he conquered Norway; he also made a pilgrimage to Rome, and he did much to repair the ravages of war in England; restoring minsters and churches, and promul-

<sup>1</sup> This popular name is first met with in Florence of Worcester.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly erroneously placed at Ashdown, near Saffron Walden.

<sup>3</sup> The isle of Alney, near Gloucester.

gating equitable laws<sup>1</sup>. Canute died in 1035, leaving three sons, Sweyn, Harold and Harthacnut<sup>2</sup>, and a daughter, Gunhilda<sup>3</sup>, who married the emperor Henry III.

A.D. 1017.

"This year Canute was chosen king; . . . he obtained the whole realm of the English race, and divided it into four parts; Wessex to himself, and East Anglia to Thurkill, and Mercia to Edric, and Northumbria to Eric," as his viceroys.

Edric, boasting of his treasons, is shortly after slain in London, by order of Canute, "very justly<sup>4</sup>."

Canute puts to death Edwy, the brother of King Edmund, and several of the chief English nobles, and banishes Edwy, king of the churls.

Canute marries the widow of Ethelred, "called Ælfgyve in English, and Ymma in French."

A.D. 1018.

The tribute paid to the army, amounting to 82,500 pounds.

Canute takes forty ships of the army into his pay, and the rest retire to Denmark.

Edgar's law received both by Danes and Angles<sup>5</sup>.

A.D. 1019.

Canute goes to Denmark, and remains the whole winter.

A.D. 1020.

Canute returns to England. He builds at Assandun "a minster of stone and lime, for the souls of the men who there were slain<sup>6</sup>, and gave it to one of his priests, whose name was Stigand<sup>7</sup>."

A.D. 1021.

Thurkill, the earl of East Anglia, is outlawed.

A.D. 1022.

"This year King Canute went out with his ships to Wight."

A.D. 1023.

Canute returns to England. Thurkill is restored to favour, and appointed governor of Denmark.

The remains of Elphege removed, "with much state and bliss, and songs of praise," from London to Canterbury; Canute, and his queen, "with her royal child Hearda-Cnut," assisting.

A.D. 1025.

Canute goes to Denmark, but is defeated by the Swedes.

A.D. 1026.

The Northmen of Dublin do homage to the king of Munster.

A.D. 1027.

Canute makes a pilgrimage to Rome<sup>8</sup>.

"So soon as Canute came home from Rome, then went he into Scotland; and the king of the Scots, Malcolm, submitted to him, and became his man [vassal], but that he held only a little while."

Melbethe (Macbeth) and Jehmarc, two Scottish chiefs, also submit.

A.D. 1028.

Canute goes to Norway, "with fifty ships of English thanes," drives out Olaf, and conquers the country.

A.D. 1029.

Canute returns to England.

"Hacon, the doughty earl<sup>9</sup>," is banished; he died at sea the next year.

A.D. 1030.

Olaf returning to Norway, is slain; "he afterwards was sainted<sup>10</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> See p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Commonly styled Hardicanute.

<sup>3</sup> She was the daughter of Emma, and like her was famed for her beauty. She was accused of infidelity, but being vindicated by the wager of battle she withdrew from her husband's court, and died at Bruges, August 21, 1042.

<sup>4</sup> Very justly indeed, if all that is recorded against him is true; but it seems impossible that he could have been guilty of half the treacheries which the Chronicler charges him with.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> See A.D. 1016.

<sup>7</sup> Afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>8</sup> The Saxon Chronicle ascribes this event to the year 1031; but Wippo, who was secretary to Conrad II., says that he saw Canute at the coronation of the emperor, which took place at Rome, March 26, 1027. Florence of Worcester has preserved a long letter from Canute to the archbishop of Canterbury and others, giving an account of his exertions for the benefit of the English clergy and others having business with the papal court.

<sup>9</sup> He was the son of Earl Eric of Norway and nephew of Canute. His wife Gunhilda was Canute's niece.

<sup>10</sup> St. Olave, king and martyr, was formerly commemorated in the English Church on the 29th of

A.D. 1032.

"This year appeared the wild-fire, such as no man before remembered; and moreover on all sides it did harm, in many places."

## HAROLD I.

HAROLD, the reputed second son of Canute, though he at first agreed to a partition of England with his half-brother Harthacnut, soon obtained the whole, and banished the Queen Emma, after murdering her son Alfred. Beyond this, his reign was without incident, and he is only remembered for his speed in the chase, which gained him the name of Harold Harefoot. He died suddenly in the year 1040.

A.D. 1035.

Harold despoils Queen Emma of her treasures; but allows her, for a time, to dwell at Winchester, under the guard of the house-carles\*.

William the Bastard succeeds his father Robert as duke of Normandy.

A.D. 1036.

Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred and Emma, are treacherously invited to England. Alfred is blinded, and dies in confinement at Ely. "Godwin and other men who had much power" are stated as the perpetrators by one of the Saxon Chroni-

A.D. 1035.

Canute dies at Shaftesbury, Nov. 12, and is buried at Winchester. Harold succeeds.

A.D. 1037.

"Harold was chosen king over all, and Harthacnut forsaken, because he stayed too long in Denmark; and then they drove out his mother Elgiva, the queen, without any kind of mercy, against the stormy winter; and she came to Bruges, where Baldwin the earl<sup>y</sup> well received her."

A.D. 1038.

The see of Dublin founded by Sitric Silkenbeard, the Northman king.

A.D. 1039.

Harthacnut joins his mother at Bruges.

"The Welsh kill Edwin, brother of Leofric the earl, and Thurkill, and Elfget, and very many good men with them."

A.D. 1040.

Harold dies at Oxford, March 17. Harthacnut, invited, comes to Sandwich, June 17.

## HARTHACNUT.

HARTHACNUT, the son of Canute and Emma, is mainly remarkable for the indignities that he offered to his predecessor's corpse. He, however, kindly received his half-brother Edward, and thus unwittingly prepared the way for the restoration of the Saxon line of kings. He died, without issue, after a reign of about two years.

A.D. 1040.

Harthacnut is acknowledged king, "as well by English as by Danes."

"Harthacnut caused the dead Harold to be taken up, and had him cast into a fen."

A heavy tax is imposed for the support of the fleet which had accompanied Harthacnut, "and all were then averse to him who before had desired him."

The bishops' sees of Cornwall and Devon united about this time.

A.D. 1041.

Worcestershire is ravaged in consequence of the death of two of the house-carles employed in collection of the tax.

July, supposed to have been the day of his death. Fourteen churches exist dedicated to him.

\* See p. 76.

<sup>y</sup> Baldwin V., then the husband of her niece, Eleanor of Normandy.

The king's half-brother Edward returns to England.

"Harthacnut betrayed Eadulf the earl [of Northumbria], while under his protection, and he became then a belier of his 'wed'.<sup>a</sup>"

A.D. 1042.

"King Harthacnut died as he stood at his drink, and he suddenly fell to the earth with a terrible convulsion ;

and they who were there nigh took hold of him, and he after that spoke not one word, and he died on the 6th of the Ides of June" (June 8). His death occurred at Lambeth, at the marriage of the daughter of Osgod Clapa, with Tofi the Proud, his staller<sup>a</sup>, and he was buried in the old minster at Winchester. "His mother, for his soul, gave to the new minster the head of St. Valentine the martyr."

## EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

EDWARD, the son of Ethelred and



Arms ascribed to Edward the Confessor.

Emma, was chosen king, although a son of Edmund Ironside (called Edward the Outlaw, the father of Edgar Atheling,) was still alive. He acquired great popularity among his Anglo-Saxon subjects by the ban-

ishment of several eminent persons of the Danish party, and he was universally admired for his munificence and piety<sup>b</sup>; but his reign was little more than nominal, the real power being exercised by Godwin and his family.

From politic motives Edward married Edgitha (or Edith), the daughter of Godwin, but he treated her harshly from dislike to her kindred. He was a foreigner in his habits, and instead of conciliating his great nobles, he surrounded himself with the Norman friends among whom he had been brought up, and it was his constant endeavour to avail himself of their services both in Church and State. The language of his court was French, and he had French chaplains, on whom he bestowed bishoprics; French governors of his castles, and French body-guards<sup>c</sup>, but these were all dismissed on the return of Godwin from the banishment into which their in-

trigues had driven him; and after this event the king is hardly named in the Chronicle, Harold and his brethren occupying instead the most conspicuous place. He died Jan. 5, 1066, at Westminster, and was there buried.

Although his partiality for foreigners was the immediate cause of the Norman invasion, Edward's ascetic life procured him canonization<sup>d</sup>, and he was esteemed the patron saint of England until superseded in the 13th century by St. George; the translation of his relics from the old to his new shrine at Westminster, in 1263, still finds a place on the 13th of October in the English Calendar, and more than twenty churches exist dedicated either to him, or to Edward the king and martyr.

The arms ascribed to this king, "Azure, a cross patee between five martlets, or," though of course invented long after his time, are of historical importance, they having been assumed by several kings, and borne as one of the royal standards; and the quartering of them by a private individual was, in the reign of Henry VIII., punished as treason.

A.D. 1043.

Edward is crowned at Winchester, on Easter-day, April 3. "Archbishop Eadsige hallowed him, and before all the people well instructed him; and

<sup>a</sup> "Pledge" or "security." A reference to the summary of Anglo-Saxon laws (p. 75) will shew how grievous an offence this was esteemed.

<sup>b</sup> This officer seems to have been the master of the royal household in peace, and the royal standard-bearer in war.

<sup>c</sup> He is also said to have remodelled the laws that Canute had established, but the fact is very doubtful. See p. 73.

<sup>d</sup> So they are called by the Saxon Chronicler,

though some were Normans and some Flemings; the term "Frenchman" seems with him always an expression of dislike.

<sup>d</sup> From Pope Alexander III. in 1161, but the matter had been prayed for by King Stephen in 1138. Numerous miracles are ascribed to him, as curing the disease since known as "the king's evil," by his touch; others are said to have been worked by his relics.

for his own need, and all the people's, well admonished him."

The king repairs suddenly to Winchester, in November, and despoils his mother of her lands and treasures, "because she had done less for him than he would, before he was king, and also since."

Stigand, bishop of East Anglia, her chief adviser, is deprived of his see, "and all that he possessed was seized into the king's hands."

A.D. 1044.

Archbishop Eadsige resigns the government of his see, by reason of infirmity, to Siward, abbot of Abingdon<sup>e</sup>.

Robert of Jumieges appointed bishop of London.

Stigand re-obtains his bishopric.

A great famine in England.

A.D. 1045.

The king marries Edgitha, the daughter of Godwin, Jan. 23.

A large fleet collected at Sandwich, an invasion being threatened by Magnus of Norway<sup>f</sup>.

Gunhilda, the widow of Hacon, and her sons, are banished from England<sup>g</sup>.

A.D. 1046.

Sweyn, the earl (son of Godwin), ravages South Wales, and carries off the abbess of Leominster.

Osgod Clapa, the favourite of Harthacnut, is banished; he retires to Bruges.

The Cornish and Devonshire sees fixed at Exeter.

A very severe winter; "even birds and fishes perished through the great cold and famine."

A.D. 1047.

Sweyn, not being allowed to marry the abbess, flees to Bruges, when his lands are forfeited.

Kent and Essex ravaged by the

ships of Lothen and Yrling, two Danish chiefs, who retire to Flanders with their plunder.

A.D. 1048.

Sandwich and the Isle of Wight plundered, and their chief men slain.

A.D. 1049.

King Edward assembles a fleet to assist the emperor (Henry III.) against Baldwin, count of Flanders.

Sweyn joins the fleet with seven ships, and endeavours to obtain the restitution of his lands. His brother Harold and his kinsman Beorn prevent it, when Sweyn murders Beorn, and then again flees to Bruges.

Osgod Clapa ravages the coast of Essex.

A fleet from Ireland, assisted by the Welsh, devastates the country on the Bristol channel, in July.

A.D. 1050.

"Sweyn the earl was inlawed<sup>h</sup>," and restored to his possessions.

Two English bishops sent to the great synod at Rome<sup>i</sup>.

A.D. 1051.

"Rotbeard the Frenchman" (Robert of Jumieges, bishop of London) is appointed archbishop of Canterbury, during Lent.

Eustace of Boulogne (husband of Goda, the king's sister<sup>k</sup>) visits England. On his way home he has a conflict with the people of Dover, and more than twenty men are killed on each side. "And Eustace escaped with a few men, and went again to the king [at Gloucester], and made known to him, in part, how they had fared. And the king became very wroth with the townsmen. And the king sent off Godwin the earl, and bade him go in a hostile manner to Dover; for Eustace had made it appear to the king that it had been more the fault of the townsmen than his;

<sup>e</sup> Siward, who is sometimes incorrectly spoken of as archbishop, died in 1048, when Eadsige resumed the see, and held it till his death, in 1050.

<sup>f</sup> It was averted by Magnus being himself attacked by Sweyn of Denmark.

<sup>g</sup> They retired to Bruges, then the capital of Baldwin V. of Flanders, who had married Adela of France, widow of Richard III. of Normandy. He seems to have been the general protector of the English fugitives, and when his lawless proceedings brought upon him the vengeance of the em-

peror, Edward readily joined in an expedition against him.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 77.

<sup>i</sup> It was held in May, and condemned the opinions of Berengarius, respecting the Eucharist.

<sup>k</sup> After her death he married Ida of Lorraine, by whom he was the father of the celebrated Godfrey of Bouillon. He served with the Normans at the battle of Hastings, and his son Eustace appears in Domesday as the possessor of estates in Kent and 11 other counties.

but it was not so. And the earl would not consent to the inroad, because he was loth to injure his own people."

The king summons a witenagemot at Gloucester, in September, to which Godwin and his sons repair with the forces of their earldoms, and demand that Eustace and his men shall be placed in their hands. The king calls on Siward of Northumbria and Leofric of Mercia<sup>1</sup> for aid.

The witenagemot removed to London, where it assembles Sept. 21.

Sweyn is outlawed. Godwin and Harold are summoned to appear, but being refused "safe conduct and hostages, so that they might come, unbetrayed, into the gemot and out of the gemot," they keep away, and are then allowed "a safe conduct for five nights to go out of the land."<sup>2</sup> Godwin and Sweyn retire to Bruges, Harold and Leofwin his brother go to Ireland; "and soon after this happened, then put away the king the lady who had been consecrated his queen [Godwin's daughter], and caused to be taken from her all which she possessed, in land, and in gold, and in silver, and in all things, and delivered her to his sister in Wherwell."<sup>3</sup> . . . "It would have seemed wondrous to every man who was in England, if any one before that had said that it should be so, for Godwin had been erewhile to that degree exalted, as if he ruled the king and all England; and his sons were earls and the king's darlings, and his daughter wedded and united to the king."

William of Normandy visits England "with a great band of Frenchmen; and the king received him, and as many of his companions as it pleased him; and let him away again."

Spearhafoc, abbot of Abingdon, and bishop elect of London, is refused consecration by the archbishop<sup>4</sup>, and his place supplied by William, a Norman.

The king dismisses a portion of his fleet<sup>5</sup>.

A.D. 1052.

Emma, the king's mother, dies, in March; she is buried at Winchester.

Harold sails from Ireland, and ravages the shores of the Bristol channel.

Griffin, the Welsh king, ravages Herefordshire.

Godwin sails from Bruges, and, evading the king's fleet at Sandwich, joins Harold<sup>6</sup>. "And they did not much harm after they came together, except that they seized provisions; but they enticed to them all the land folk by the sea coast, and also up the country; and they went towards Sandwich, and collected ever forth with them all the butse-carles [seamen] which they met with; and then came to Sandwich with an overflowing army."

The king's fleet having withdrawn, Godwin and Harold follow it to London, where, after some delay, a witenagemot was held, before which "Godwin bore forth his defence; and there justified himself, before King Edward his lord, and before all people of the land, that he was guiltless of that which was laid against him, and against Harold his son, and all his children. And the king gave to the earl and his children his full friendship; and gave his earldom clean to Godwin as full and as free as he before possessed it, and to his wife and his daughter as full and as free as they before possessed it. And they then established between them full friendship, and to all the people they promised good law. And then they outlawed all the Frenchmen, who before had upreared unjust law, and judged unjust judgments, and counselled ill counsel in this land; except so many as they agreed upon, whom the king

<sup>1</sup> Godwin ruled the whole south and west of England, Sweyn possessed the tract between the Thames and the Avon, and Harold held the eastern districts, as far north as the Wash: the Mercian and Northumbrian earldoms occupied the rest of the country.

<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding this, "the king sent Bishop Aldred [of Worcester] from London with a force; and they were to overtake Harold ere he came on shipboard; but they could not, or they would not."

<sup>3</sup> His sister was abbess of the nunnery at Wherwell, near Andover, founded by Elfritha.

<sup>4</sup> The abbot returned to his monastery. He was a skilful gold-worker, and we are told by a Norman writer that, being entrusted with materials for a crown by William I., he fled to Norway with the booty.

<sup>5</sup> He is said by Florence of Worcester also to have abolished the Danegeld, being moved thereto by a miraculous appearance testifying the injustice of the tax; but the contemporary Chronicle does not mention the matter.

<sup>6</sup> Sweyn had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in returning from which he died.



liked to have with him, who were true to him and to all his people.

"When Archbishop Robert and the Frenchmen learned that, they took their horses, and went, some west to Pentecost's castle, and some north to Robert's castle. And Archbishop Robert, and Bishop Ulf [of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire], and their companions, went out at Eastgate, and slew and otherwise injured many young men, and went their way direct to Eadulf's-ness<sup>r</sup>; and he there put himself in a crazy ship, and went direct over sea, and left his pall and all Christendom here on land, so as God would have it, inasmuch as he had before obtained the dignity so as God would not have it<sup>s</sup>." Stigand succeeds to the archbishopric.

A.D. 1053.

"Hris [Rhys], the Welsh king's brother, was slain, because he had done harm; and his head was brought to Gloucester on Twelfth-day eve."

"In this year was the king at Winchester at Easter, and Godwin the earl with him, and Harold the earl his son, and Tostig. Then on the second day of Easter (April 12) sate he with the king at the feast; then suddenly sank he down by the footstool, deprived of speech and of all his power, and he was then carried into the king's chamber, and they thought it would overpass; but it did not so; but he continued on, thus speechless and powerless, until the Thursday, (April 15), and then resigned his life; and he lies there within the old minster. And his son Harold succeeded to his earldom, and resigned that which he before held, and Elfgar [son of Leofric of Mercia] succeeded thereto."

The Welsh make an incursion, "and slay a great number of the English people, of the wardmen, near Westbury."

A.D. 1054.

"This year went Siward the earl [of Northumbria] with a great army into

Scotland, both with a ship force and with a land force, and fought against the Scots, and put to flight King Macbeth, and slew all who were the chief men in the land, and led thence much booty, such as no man before had obtained. But his son Osbern, and his sister's son Siward, and some of his house-carles, and also of the king's, were there slain, on the day of the Seven Sleepers," (July 27).

Bishop Aldred, of Worcester, is sent as ambassador to the emperor (Henry III.) at Cologne.

"In this year died Osgod Clapa, suddenly, even as he lay on his bed."

"In this year was there so great a murrain among cattle, as no man remembered for many years before."

A.D. 1055.

Siward the earl dies, early in the year, and is buried at Galmanho, (in York,) "in the minster which himself caused to be built, and hallowed in God's and Olave's name." Tostig, Harold's brother, succeeds to the government of Northumbria.

A witenagemot is summoned at London, in Mid-Lent, at which Elfgar is outlawed, "well-nigh without guilt<sup>t</sup>."

Elfgar hires a fleet in Ireland, and with the help of Griffin, king of North Wales<sup>u</sup>, defeats Ralf the earl<sup>x</sup>, and burns Hereford, Oct. 24.

Harold marches against them, and having fortified Hereford, peace is made. "And then they inlawed Elfgar the earl, and gave him all that before had been taken from him; and the fleet went to Chester, and there awaited their pay, which Elfgar had promised them."

A.D. 1056.

Leofgar, the mass-priest (chaplain) of Harold, is appointed bishop of Hereford. "He forsook his chrism and his rood, his ghostly weapons, and took to his spear and to his sword, after his bishophood; and so went to the field against Griffin, the Welsh

<sup>r</sup> Eadulf's-ness is the Naze, in Essex. The situation of the castles mentioned is not known.

<sup>s</sup> Some MSS. make this expulsion of the Frenchmen precede the restoration of Godwin and his family. Robert retired to Jumieges, where he had been abbot, and died before 1070.

<sup>t</sup> "Without any kind of guilt," according to another MS.; whilst a third says, "It was cast upon him that he was a traitor to the king, and to all the

people of the land. And he made a confession of it before all the men who were there gathered; though the word escaped him unintentionally."

<sup>u</sup> The husband of his daughter Aldgitha (or Edith), who afterwards married Harold.

<sup>x</sup> The son of Goda, the king's sister, by her first husband, Drogo of Mantes, and commander of the Norman mercenaries. He died the following year.

king; and there was he slain, and his priests with him, and Elfnoth the shire-reeve, and many good men with them; and the others fled away; this was eight days before Midsummer," (June 17).

"It is difficult to tell the distress, and the marching all, and the camping, and the travail and destruction of men, and also of horses, which all the English army endured, until Leofric the earl came thither, and Harold the earl, and Bishop Aldred [of Worcester], and made a reconciliation there between them; so that Griffin swore oaths that he would be to King Edward a faithful and unbetraying under-king."

A.D. 1057.

"Edward the atheling, King Edmund's son, came hither to land, and soon after died; and his body is buried within St. Paul's minster at London."

"In the same year died Leofric the earl, on the second of the calends of October, [Sept. 30]; he was very wise for God, and also for the world, which was a blessing to all this nation. He lies at Coventry; and his son Elfgar succeeded to his government."

A.D. 1058.

Elfgar is again outlawed, but soon reinstated, "with violence," by the aid of Griffin of North Wales.

"And this year came a fleet from Norway; it is longsome to tell how all these matters went."

Bishop Aldred, of Worcester, having built the minster at Gloucester, goes to Jerusalem, by way of Hungary, "with such splendour as none other had displayed before him, and himself there devoted to God; and a worthy gift he also offered to our Lord's tomb, that was a golden chalice of five marks of very wonderful work."

Although Palestine had fallen into the hands of the Mohammedans early in the seventh century, it was not until about the close of the tenth that any serious difficulty was opposed to the pilgrimages which, at least as early

as the time of Constantine (A.D. 313—337), it had become usual to make to the scenes sanctified by the presence and sufferings of the Redeemer. The caliph Hakem, who ruled Egypt and Syria, in the year 1009 forbade the resort of pilgrims, and destroyed the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; but this persecution ceased with his death, and, warned by the outrages they had suffered, the pilgrims now generally travelled in bodies able and willing to defend themselves if assailed. Such, probably, was the case with the Bishop Aldred and his company, as it certainly was a few years after (A.D. 1064) with the archbishop of Mentz, who, accompanied by three bishops and 7,000 men, proceeded to the Holy City, and on the way sustained a siege in a deserted castle until relieved for a sum of money by a Saracen emir. These armed pilgrims were the precursors of the vast hosts which, before the close of the century, established the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem.

A.D. 1061.

Tostig and his wife<sup>a</sup> make a journey to Rome.

A.D. 1063.

Harold and Tostig invade Wales, both by sea and land.

The country is subdued. Griffin is killed by his own people, Aug. 5, and his head sent to Harold, who brings it to the king.

Blethgent and Rigwatla<sup>a</sup>, Griffin's brothers, swear fealty to the king, and are allowed to govern the land.

A.D. 1065.

The Welsh, under Caradoc, son of Griffin, destroy a fort at Portskewet, (Porth Iscoed, near Chepstow,) which Harold had erected, Aug. 24.

The people of Northumbria rise against Tostig's government<sup>b</sup>, outlaw him, and kill his house-carles, and seize his treasures, in October. They choose Morcar, son of Elfgar, for their earl.

Morcar, being joined by his brother

<sup>a</sup> One MS. of the Saxon Chronicle has a poetical allusion for him, manifestly written after the Norman invasion.

<sup>b</sup> Judith, sister of Baldwin V. of Flanders; Tos-

tig was consequently a connexion by marriage of William of Normandy.

<sup>a</sup> Called Blethin and Rywallon, by Welsh writers.

<sup>b</sup> Tostig was then at Britford, in Wiltshire, with the king.

Edwin and many Britons, marches south as far as Northampton. Harold being sent against them, "they laid an errand upon him to King Edward, and also sent messengers with him, and begged that they might have Morcar for their earl<sup>c</sup>. And the king granted it, and sent Harold again to them at Northampton, on the eve of St. Simon's and St. Jude's mass, (Oct. 27); and he made known the same to them, and delivered a pledge thereof unto them, and he there renewed Canute's law<sup>d</sup>. And the northern men did much harm about Northampton the while that he went on their errand, inasmuch as they slew men, and burned houses and corn, and took all the cattle which they might come at, that was many thousand; and

many hundred men they took and led north with them; so that that shire, and the other shires which there are nigh, were for many years the worse."

Tostig, with his wife, "and all those who would what he would," retires to Flanders, to Earl Baldwin.

"King Edward came to Westminster at midwinter, (Christmas,) and there caused to be hallowed the minster which himself had built to the glory of God and of St. Peter, and of all God's saints; and the church-hallowing was on Childermass-day," (Dec. 28).

A.D. 1066.

King Edward dies, Jan. 5; he is buried at Westminster the next day, "within the newly hallowed church."

## HAROLD II.

HAROLD, the son of Godwin, immediately succeeded Edward, either chosen by a general assembly, or, as is asserted, named by him on his death-bed<sup>e</sup>; the claims of Edgar Atheling being in either case passed over; but though at once hallowed king, "he with little quiet abode therein, the while that he wielded the realm." His brief reign of "forty weeks and one day" saw two formidable invasions of the country, and three great battles, the last of which swept away the Saxon rule, which, though undergoing many modifications from Northern or Danish influences, had endured for more than six centuries.

The crown of England was immediately claimed by William of Normandy, on the strength of an alleged bequest, which Edward certainly was not entitled to make, and a promise

which shipwreck had enabled him to extort from Harold. Of course compliance was not expected, and William collected a force not only from his own state, but from foreign countries; Tostig, Harold's brother, (but recently driven from England,) in conjunction with the king of Norway, invaded Yorkshire, and though defeated and killed, left the Anglo-Saxon state so weakened, that the success of the Norman adventurers was assured.

It may be regarded as certain, that Harold, as well as his brothers Gyrth and Leofwin, fell at Hastings, and as most probable that he was buried at Waltham, in the church of his own foundation; although William of Poitiers says that he was insultingly interred on the sea-shore, by the order of the conqueror<sup>f</sup>, and a tradition met with in Giraldus Cambrensis, and repeated by later writers, asserts that

<sup>c</sup> Harold is often blamed, as if he had acted in an unfriendly way by Tostig, but the following testimony from the Cottonian MS. of the Saxon Chronicle is strongly in his favour: "There was a great gemot at Oxford; and there was Harold the earl, and would work a reconciliation if he might, but he could not; but all Tostig's earldom him unanimously forsook and outlawed, and all who with him lawlessness upreared, because he robbed God first, and all those bereaved over whom he had power of life and land."

<sup>d</sup> See p. 73.

<sup>e</sup> One MS. of the Saxon Chronicle says, "Harold the earl succeeded to the kingdom of England, even as the king had granted it to him, and men also had him chosen thereto." The *Heimskringla*,

or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, in the saga of Harold Hardrada, gives this account of Harold's accession: "It is said that when the king was approaching his last hour, Harold and a few others were with him. Harold first leant down over the king, and then said, 'I take you all to witness that the king has now given me the kingdom, and all the realm of England,' and then the king was taken dead out of bed. The same day there was a meeting of the chiefs, at which there was some talk of choosing a king, and then Harold brought forward his witnesses that King Edward had given him the kingdom on his dying day."

<sup>f</sup> It is possible that both stories are true. The dead king may have been thus interred at first, and subsequently removed to Waltham.

he escaped from the field with the loss of his left eye, and lived as a hermit at Chester until the time of Henry I.<sup>g</sup>

Harold was twice married. His first wife's name is unknown; his second was Aldgitha, the relict of Griffin, prince of North Wales, and sister of the earls Edwin and Morcar; she survived him, and lived in England until her death, which is believed to have happened in 1075. His sons, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus<sup>h</sup>, retired to Norway with their sister Githa, who married Waldemar, a prince of Holgard; Gunhilda, another daughter, (who is said to have been cured of blindness by Wolstan, the bishop of Worcester,) fled to Flanders with Harold's mother Githa, and his sister Gunhilda; the latter became a nun at Bruges, and died (as appears by her monumental plate, still in existence,) Aug. 24, 1087.

Of all Harold's brothers, Tostig alone seems to have left issue. Skule, his son, married Gudrun, the niece of Harold Hardrada, and founded a powerful house in Norway<sup>i</sup>; and Judith his widow re-married with Welf of Bavaria, of the same stock as the house of Brunswick.

#### A.D. 1066.

Harold is crowned at Westminster, by Archbishop Aldred, January 6.

Harold visits the north, but returns to Westminster at Easter.

William of Normandy makes a formal claim of the crown of England; it is refused, and Harold raises a fleet and army to watch the sea-coast, whilst William prepares for an invasion.

Tostig arrives at the Isle of Wight, with a fleet, at the end of April; he attempts a landing on the Isle of Thanet, but is repulsed.

Harold repairs to his fleet at Sandwich, and Tostig retires to the Humber, where he ravages Lincolnshire, but is defeated by the earls Edwin and Morcar, and deserted by his sailors; he flees to Scotland.

Harold is obliged to dismiss his fleet for want of provisions, Sept. 8.

Harold Hardrada<sup>k</sup>, king of Norway, arrives in the Tyne early in September; Tostig "submits to him, and becomes his man;" they burn Scarborough<sup>l</sup>, and afterwards land near Selby.

Edwin and Morcar defeated at Fulford, near York, by Harold Hardrada and Tostig, Sept. 20.

The people about York submit to the Norwegians, and agree to assist them.

Harold advances from London by forced marches against them.

Harold arrives, and passes through York, Sept. 24<sup>m</sup>; he encounters the

<sup>g</sup> Another tradition affirms that Gyrrh also survived the battle, and lived till the time of Henry II., with whom he had an interview, and to whom he stated that Harold had not been buried at Waltham; but the tale is considered a mere fabrication intended to damage the renown of that abbey.

<sup>h</sup> "Harold, the son of King Harold," is mentioned by William of Malmesbury as accompanying Magnus III. in his expedition to the Hebrides and more southern islands in 1098.

<sup>i</sup> Ketil, a second son of Tostig, is mentioned in the Sagas.

<sup>k</sup> Harold Hardrada, or the Stern, (a descendant of Harold Harfagra, and cousin of Olaf the Saint,) is the subject of the last saga of the Heimskringla. He had long served in the armies of the Eastern emperors, had made himself master of Norway, married the daughter of the grand duke of Russia, and was esteemed one of the most renowned warriors of his time. He was in his fiftieth year when he invaded England. "He was," says his saga, "stern and severe to his enemies, bountiful to his friends," a patron of bards, and a hard himself. "He was a handsome man, of noble appearance; his hair and beard yellow. He had a short beard, and long moustachios; the one eyebrow was somewhat higher than the other; he had large hands and feet, but these were well made. His height was five ells," or more than eight English feet, and he appeared in his last field attired in "a blue

kirtle which reached his knees, and a beautiful helmet."

<sup>l</sup> The Heimskringla thus describes the burning of the town, which may give an idea of the mode in which warfare was then usually carried on: "The king went up a hill and made a great pile upon it, which he set on fire, and when the pile was in clear flame, his men took large forks, and pitched the burning wood down into the town, so that one house caught fire after the other and the town surrendered."

<sup>m</sup> The castle of York surrendered on Sunday, September 24, and the Heimskringla says, the Norwegians retired to their ships, with the understanding that on the following day hostages were to be given them at Stamford-bridge. They landed accordingly in the morning; "the weather was uncommonly fine, and it was hot sunshine. The men therefore laid aside their armour, and went on the land with their shields, helmets, and spears, and girt with swords, and many had also arrows and bows, and all were very merry." An approaching crowd, at first taken for the hostages, was soon found to be the English army, and Tostig counselled a retreat to their ships, but his advice was rejected. Harold advanced with a small party, and offered the third of his kingdom to Tostig rather than fight with a brother, but refused more than a grave for the Norwegian king. Tostig declined to break faith with his ally, and when after-

Norwegians at Stamford-bridge, where they are totally defeated, Sept. 25. Harold Hardrada and Tostig are slain, and "the king then gave his protection to Olaf, son of the king of the Norwegians, and to their bishop, and to the earl of Orkney, and to all those who were left in the ships; and they then went up to our king, and swore oaths that they ever would observe peace and friendship towards this land, and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships."

William of Normandy sails from St. Valery, Sept. 26, and arrives at Pevensey, Sept. 28, "on the eve of St. Michael's mass". The Normans fortify a camp near Hastings, and from it plunder the country.

Harold, hearing of their arrival, marches southward, and arrives in sight of their position, Oct. 13.

The battle of Hastings<sup>o</sup>, Oct. 14. "William came against Harold unawares, before his people were set in order. But the king nevertheless strenuously fought against him with those men who would follow him; and there was great slaughter made on either hand. There was slain King Harold,

and Leofwin the earl, his brother, and Gyrth the earl, his brother, and many good men; and the Frenchmen had possession of the place of carnage, all as God granted them for the people's sins.... This fight was done on the day of Calixtus the pope<sup>p</sup>."

The Normans return to Hastings, expecting the submission of the Saxons.

Edgar Atheling is meanwhile chosen king at London, "as was his true natural right<sup>q</sup>."

William the Norman, seeing the people do not come in to him, goes upward, "with all his army which was left to him, and that which afterwards had come from over sea to him; and he plundered all that part which he overran, until he came to Berkhamstead."

Archbishop Aldred, of York<sup>r</sup>, Edgar Atheling, Edwin and Morcar, and all the chief men of London, meet him there and submit to him; "and he vowed to them that he would be a loving lord to them; and nevertheless, during this, the Frenchmen plundered all that they overran."

wards reproached by him for allowing his brother to withdraw in safety, is said to have made a reply, the noble sentiment of which, however it may redeem his own character, usually painted in such dark colours, affords no compensation for the evils that his invasion brought upon his country. "I saw," he said, "that he was going to offer me peace, and a great dominion, and that on the other hand I should be his murderer if I betrayed him; and I would rather he should be my murderer than I his, if one of the two be to die." Hardrada at once prepared for battle, merely making a remark which is worthy of preservation as one of our few notices of Harold's personal appearance: "He is a little man, but he sat firmly in his stirrups." He probably spoke with reference to his own stature, as Orderic tells us Harold was distinguished for his great size and strength, also for his polished manners, firmness, eloquence, ready wit, and "many other excellent qualities."

<sup>a</sup> Another MS. of the Saxon Chronicle says, "St. Michael's-mass-day;" Norman authors, too, differ in their dates for the sailing of the fleet; but there is no real contradiction, as so large a force could hardly be embarked or disembarked in a single day.

<sup>b</sup> Such is the usual name, but the conflict occurred about nine miles from that town, in the place where now stand the remains of Battle Abbey. It is also called the battle of Senlac by some early writers.

<sup>p</sup> The Chronicle of Wales relates the brief reign of Harold in a very different spirit; but it must

be remembered that he had been their conqueror. "Harold king of Denmark meditated the subjection of the Saxons; whom another Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, who was then king in England, surprised, unexpectedly and unarmed, and by sudden attack, aided by national treachery, struck him to the ground, and caused his death. That Harold who, at first earl through cruelty, after the death of King Edward unduly acquired the sovereignty of the kingdom of England, was despoiled of his kingdom and life by William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, though previously vauntingly victorious. And that William defended the kingdom of England with an invincible hand, and his most noble army."

<sup>q</sup> He seems to have been considered as king for some time after the fatal battle of Hastings, for upon the death of Leofric, abbot of Peterborough, on Nov. 1, Brand the provost was chosen to succeed him, and sent for approval to Edgar, "who granted it him then blithely. When King William heard that, then was he very wroth, and said that the abbot had despised him: then went good men between them, and reconciled them, by reason that the abbot was a good man. Then gave he the king forty marks of gold for a reconciliation; and then thereafter lived he a little while, but three years. After that came every evil and every tribulation to the minster—God have mercy on it!"

<sup>r</sup> He had been bishop of Worcester, but was removed to York, shortly after his return from his pilgrimage. See A.D. 1053.

## ANGLO-SAXON LAWS AND GOVERNMENT.

THIS, the closing period of the Anglo-Saxon rule, appears the proper place for a brief sketch of the social and political state of their commonwealth, such as may be deduced from what remains to us of its laws and institutes\*. These laws are manifestly only a very small portion of the jurisprudence of our forefathers, but they are sufficient to establish the fact that their state was one in which the ranks of society were accurately defined, and the rights of property strictly guarded.

The earliest of these documents is a code issued (circa 600) by Ethelbert of Kent, which, though commencing with a provision for the protection of the property of God and the Church†, gives no further evidence of proceeding from a Christian ruler, being probably little else than a summary of the laws prevailing in heathen times; it imposes penalties for slaying, for house-breaking, for highway robbery, and for personal injuries, which are minutely detailed, and defines the portions of widows and orphans. Hlothere and Edric of Kent (circa 680) add directions for conducting lawsuits, make hosts responsible for the conduct of strangers who had resided three days with them, and forbid quarrels and slander.

The laws of Wihtred of Kent (circa 696) present the first distinct picture of a Christian state in our island. They grant to the Church freedom from imposts‡, forbid immorality and Sunday working, regulate fasting at certain times, and prohibit idolatry; they also contain severe enactments against thieves.

Ina of Wessex and Offa of Mercia in the next century issued laws, which were published with his own by Alfred§,

and through the whole runs one great distinction from the Mosaic law; for although avowedly basing all legislation on the Bible, "blood for blood" is not the rule, but every homicide can be atoned for by a money payment (termed *wer-gild*) varying according to the rank of the parties. Alfred also, in his own "dooms," though they commence with the decalogue and embody many portions of the Mosaic code, expressly says that "synods had ordained that secular lords, with their leave, might, without sin, take for almost every misdeed, for the first offence, the money-bote (compensation) which they then ordained, except in cases of treason against a lord, to which they dared not assign any mercy."

Alfred is commonly spoken of as the great lawgiver of the Anglo-Saxon period, but he himself informs us that the laws which he promulgated contained little of his own, "for it was unknown to him what of it would please those who should come after him;" he therefore merely made a selection from existing laws, and it is certain that the division of England into shires did not originate with him, the "shire-man or other judge" being mentioned by Ina; the division into hundreds may probably be his.

The laws of succeeding monarchs are chiefly remarkable as proving that the Danes settled in England lived under their own laws; Edward the Elder (901—924) says that penalties which among the Saxons are estimated in shillings, are by the Danes reckoned by ores, twelve of the latter being equivalent to forty of the former¶: and Edgar (circa 970) expressly allows them to make "such good laws

\* The following summary is drawn from the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England and of Wales*, edited by Messrs. Thorpe and Owen, and published under the direction of the Record Commissioners in 1840, 1841.

† The term used is "God's fee," but whether tithes are included has been disputed. It is, however, quite certain that tithes existed in England in the time of Archbishop Theodore (A.D. 669 to

690); and the laws ascribed to Edward the Confessor speak of them as claimed by Augustine and conceded by the king, with the approbation of the chiefs and people, which is probably true, though no direct evidence of the fact has come down to us.

‡ See p. 75.

§ Those of Offa are lost.

¶ See note, p. 77.

as they best may choose." Ethelred, indeed, issued an ordinance from Woodstock "for the whole nation, according to the law of the English," but there seems no reason for supposing that so feeble a ruler could effect any alteration in their state. Under Canute, of course they preserved their own institutions, but they do not seem to have imposed them upon the rest of the nation; for he expressly and separately mentions the king's rights under the Wessex, and the Mercian, and the Danish laws. Canute's "secular ordinance" (which embodies many of the provisions of an ordinance of Ethelred dated 1008) commences, "That is then the first that I will; that just laws be established, and every unjust law carefully suppressed, and that every injustice be weeded out and rooted up with all possible diligence from this country. And let God's justice be exalted, and henceforth let every man, both poor and rich, be esteemed worthy of folk right, and let just dooms be doomed to him." Such, indeed, seems its intention, and it strongly impresses the duty of mercy on the judge. "We command that Christian men be not, on any account, for altogether too little condemned to death: but rather let gentle punishments be decreed for the benefit of the people, and let not be destroyed for little God's handy-work, and His own purchase which He dearly bought." He then proceeds to prohibit selling slaves to heathens, and the practice of any kind of witchcraft, and decrees that manslaughterers and perjurers and others who will not reform, shall "with their sins retire from the country."

What follows differs little from the laws of preceding kings, but Canute also ordains that councils shall be held in the towns twice, in the shires thrice in the year, at which the bishop and the caldorman are to be present, to expound both the law of God and the secular law; protects women from forced marriages, regulates the term

of widowhood, also wills and successions, relieves from the payment of heriot the property of those who fall in battle, decrees the forfeiture of life and land to cowards, alleviates public burdens<sup>2</sup>, and concedes the liberty of hunting<sup>3</sup>; and though this liberty is somewhat limited by his Constitutions of the Forest, these are reasonable ordinances compared with the forest laws of the Norman kings.

Edward the Confessor is often said to have remodelled the laws of Canute, but no mention is made of the circumstance in the Saxon Chronicle, and what have come down to us as the "laws of Saint Edward" are merely a compilation, made, as stated in the document itself, four years after the Norman invasion, of the laws and customs of the land, which had been approved by Canute, and, it is alleged, derived their origin from Edgar, though many of their provisions are the same as those of the laws of Alfred and Ina.

It does not appear that foreigners were considered under obligation to conform to the ordinary laws of the country. Thus, if they refuse to lead an orderly life, Canute, copying Wihtred, does not attempt to restrain them, but says, "let them depart with their property and their sins;" at the same time they are declared under the especial protection of the king, and heavy penalties are denounced against judges who give unrighteous decisions against "men from afar."

It is apparent from these various codes that the people were the source of power, and that the kings were originally their elected leaders, not their masters; the undivided land was not the property of the king, but of the nation, and hence termed folkland, being ordinarily granted out for brief periods to the freemen of each district; but power was conceded to rulers to assign permanently portions by charter in certain cases (often to the Church, but more frequently for military service), which then became bookland, and was devisable by will.

<sup>2</sup> "This then is the alleviation which it is my will to secure to all the people, of that which they before this were too much oppressed with. That then is first; that I command all my reeves that they justly provide on my own, and maintain me therewith; and that no man need give them any-

thing unless he himself be willing."

<sup>3</sup> "And I will that every man be entitled to his hunting, in wood and in field, on his own possession. And let every one forego my hunting; take notice where I will have it untrespassed on, under penalty of the full wite."

The possession of land, indeed, was essential to dignity and freedom, and the various classes of freemen were mainly distinguished by the amount of their landed property. If a churl possessed "a helm, and a coat of mail, and a sword ornamented with gold," and had not five hides of land, he remained of churlish degree, but if he had the land also, he was "thane-worthy," and capable of office. With the increase of his property his privileges and his value in the eye of the law increased also; for one main feature of Anglo-Saxon legislation, from which modern ideas greatly differ, was inequality before the law, in consequence of which, not only damage to a man's person or property, but his protection to others (*mund*), his oath, and even his life, was estimated according to his rank.

It was imperative on every man who desired to be accounted "lawful and true," to give *borh* (or surety) for his good behaviour and obedience to the laws, and this was accomplished by associations of small numbers of freemen, which were collectively responsible for the acts of all the members. To regulate these matters, an assembly, termed hundred-gemot, was held monthly of all the freemen of each district, and from the king having a claim for *wite* for every offence, his reeve attended it twice in the year, a custom which prevailed long after Saxon times, and was called the sheriff's tourn (circuit), and view of frankpledge.

Other meetings were held at stated periods, which seem to have had full power to do justice between man and man. Such was the folk-mote, or general assembly of the people, sometimes of a shire, sometimes of a town, held annually in May; the shire-mote, or county court, which met twice, and the burgh-mote, which assembled thrice in the year; and assemblies with more limited powers, called hall-motes and

ward-motes, were apparently very frequent<sup>b</sup>.

Very great importance was attached to the holding of these assemblies. No man was allowed to resort to the king for justice until he had applied first to the hundred, and then to the shire-mote, and it was the bounden duty of every freeman to attend them; neglect entailed imprisonment, and, if he could not give suitable security, a forfeiture of all his property. The king's special protection was extended to every man going to or returning from the mote, "except he was a notorious thief."

These laws, however, only relate to the free portion of the community, for it is unquestionable that a considerable section was in a state of bondage more or less severe. We may clearly discern (1) persons whose state is less than free in consequence of conquest, (2) slaves by sale effected either by themselves or their parents<sup>c</sup>, (3) thieves sold into slavery, and (4) slaves rendered such by non-payment of penalties for infraction of the laws (*wite-theow*).

In the first class may be placed the "Wealh" or foreigners, probably the descendants of Britons who had preferred submission to a retreat to the mountain fastnesses of the west; and the Læt, whose actual position is uncertain<sup>d</sup>. It would seem that these two classes were not slaves, in the full meaning of the term, for they, together with those who had bartered their freedom, are in some cases ordered to make compensation for injuries done by them, which shews that they must have enjoyed some rights of property. But the thief and the *wite-theow* were slaves indeed, to be punished only by scourging, or mutilation, or death; and all injuries done to them are to be paid for, not to themselves or their kindred, but to their master.

The jealousy and conflict of jurisdiction between the Church and State

<sup>b</sup> After the settlement of the Northmen, the husting (an assembly within a house, as distinguished from the open air meetings of the Anglo-Saxons) is also mentioned; but, unlike its Northern original, (see A.D. 1012,) it seems rather to have been one of the king's courts than a popular assembly.

<sup>c</sup> The laws authorize the sale of a child of seven years by its parents, and the sale of himself by one of thirteen; the consequence, probably, of the

grievous famines which are often recorded in the Saxon Chronicle.

<sup>d</sup> All that seems clear is, that they held an inferior position to the free men. Some writers state that they were German colonists, who had received lands from the Romans, and whose rights had been respected by the invaders; whilst others assert, that they were slaves who had accompanied those invaders from the continent.



which so unhappily marked succeeding ages seems to have been unknown to the Saxon commonwealth. The archbishops and bishops appear prominently in the record of the proceedings of every great council which has been preserved to us, and both ecclesiastical and secular laws were commonly propounded in the same assembly\*. The witenagemot, or great council of the nation, does not appear to have had any definite organization, at least there are no traces of such in the laws before us, although its powers were manifestly more extended than those of our modern parliament; the names recorded shew that the clergy of every degree from the archbishop to the deacon, with the ealdormen, the great landowners, and men learned in the law, met together under the presidency of the king, but whether at his command, or according to custom, at given times and places, cannot be satisfactorily determined. Easter and Christmas are the times, and London, Gloucester and Oxford the places, most frequently named in the Saxon Chronicle in connection with the meetings of the witan.

The Church, both in its property and its ministers, was amply cared for by the Anglo-Saxon lawgivers. Ethelbert ordained that property stolen from the Church should be replaced twelve-fold, whilst for that of the king a retribution of nine-fold sufficed; and Alfred added the penalty of the loss of the hand for sacrilege, unless the offender redeemed it by a heavy payment. The word of the archbishop, like that of the king, was sufficient without an oath, and a priest could clear himself of a charge by his own oath, whilst laymen of the highest rank were obliged in addition to find a number of compurgators†. Its lands, too, were by Wihtred freed from all imposts, but by this it appears that ex-

emption from the customary payments for castles, bridges, and the military force (styled "the three needs," *Trinoda necessitas*), was not intended. The right of sanctuary was strictly guarded, and any breach of the Church's peace met with as severe punishment as that of the king.

The clergy, as a class, ranked highly. The archbishop's value in the eye of the law is never less than that of the atheling, and in some cases, as in extending protection to "death-worthy men," he appears, from the laws of Ethelred, to have been the equal of the king. The bishops are esteemed as highly as the ealdormen, and the simple priests as thanes; but when the monastic rule prevailed, the married clergy were considered unworthy of thane-right.

As regarded the head of the State, the principle of hereditary succession was little valued, and on the death of a king the one of his kindred considered most eligible was frequently chosen to the exclusion of his son, as we see in the cases of Alfred and Edred‡.

The Anglo-Saxon king and his family however possessed most of the rights and immunities which have belonged to royalty in later times, and some to which it now lays no claim. Plotting against his life was "death-worthy," as also was any brawl in his house or presence; his word sufficed, without an oath; treasure-trove was his, a valuable matter in those times<sup>h</sup>; the possessions of outlaws were forfeited to him; he alone might have a mint<sup>i</sup>; all markets and all ordeals were to be held within his towns; a *wite*, or fine, to him was incurred by every breach of the law, beside the amends to the party injured; the breach of his *grith*, or peace, contempt of his commands, and violation of his *mund*, or security granted to

\* Ecclesiastical censures were employed to assist the civil power. The "wed," or pledge to abide trial or perform any lawful obligation, being always accompanied by an oath, its breach was perjury, which by Alfred's law subjected the offender to forty days' imprisonment in the king's tower, "and there to suffer whatever the bishop might prescribe for him;" to resist this arrest, endangered life; "if he be slain, let him lie uncompensated;" and to flee from it was to incur outlawry and excommunication.

† See p. 77.

‡ See A.D. 866, 940.

<sup>h</sup> Not only did war cause many to bury their treasures in the earth, but while the country was yet heathen it was customary to place many valuable articles in the tombs of chiefs, and it appears that this "heathen gold" was not always respected in later times.

<sup>i</sup> So says the law of Ethelred; but that there were exceptions to the rule is proved by the very numerous coins of archbishops and others that have been preserved.

any one, were severely punished. He alone had *soc*, or jurisdiction, over persons of high rank; he had right to all wrecks, to tolls, to the profits of markets and of mines; the forests were his (perhaps as the trustee of the people), and no hunting in them could be practised without his permission; it also seems probable that neither bridge nor castle could be built without his leave.

The king was the last resort of justice, and the fountain of honour and mercy; he was to be "prayed for and revered of all men of their own will, without command;" he was the especial protector of all churches, of widows, and of foreigners<sup>k</sup>; he was bound to visit each district of his kingdom to dispense justice, but the inhabitants in return were to provide for his safety, and thus every freeman was obliged to assist in building or fortifying the royal residences; he could grant land to his servants, and thus ennoble them; he commanded, ordinarily in person, the national forces (*fyrð*), and was empowered to allow of money compositions instead of actual service; he could remit punishments incurred, and in many cases had arbitrary jurisdiction, certain classes of offences leaving their perpetrators at his mercy ("*ad misericordiam*"), either to slay, or fine, or imprison, or banish.

Very little appears in these laws regarding the queen; she would seem to have been regarded merely as the king's wife, as far as any mention in them goes; but we know from the Saxon Chronicle that Ethelwulf caused his queen to be crowned, and it appears that Emma, the wife of Ethel-

red II., had the city of Exeter for her possession, and governed by her own officers; whence it may be concluded that her rights and possessions were considerable, although the lawgivers may not have considered it necessary to specify them. The same remark applies to the younger branches of the royal family; they are all styled *athelings*, and where their rights are mentioned, the penalties for their violation are generally one-half of those for similar offences against the king.

Among secular men, the ealdorman was next to the king in dignity; indeed, not unfrequently a viceroy; but with the settlement of the Northmen the title gradually was displaced by that of earl, which has a more strictly military meaning, and from its use for the title of the president of a gild it sank into its present sense of a municipal officer.

The military retainers of the king were of course of very various degrees of dignity, but, as is the case in Russia at the present day, military rank appears to have been the standard by which other orders were judged. At first they seem to have been styled *gesiths*, afterwards *thanes*, and to have been supported by assignments of the *folkland*, or public property<sup>l</sup>; but *thane-right* was also possessed by priests and judges, in virtue of their office, and it could be acquired by merchants and even churls in certain specified cases, as by the performing three distant voyages by the former, and the acquisition of a given quantity of land by the latter<sup>m</sup>.

The laws assign pecuniary compensations<sup>n</sup> and penalties for every injury done to the freeman, either in person

<sup>k</sup> The resort of trading foreigners was encouraged by protection and immunities, but with regard to the "Wealh," or Britons, intercourse with them was limited by the rule found in the Ordinance of the *Dun-Seatas*, (probably the people on the Wye,) that neither English nor Welsh should pass into the other's land "without the appointed man of the country,"—i.e. the latimer, or interpreter, a public officer who held his lands by that service, an early example of the feudal system—and if either was killed, only one half of the were was to be paid: "be he thane-born, be he churl-born, one half of the were falls away."

<sup>l</sup> In the later times of the Saxon rule we meet with *House-carles*, a kind of royal body-guard; they seem to have been introduced, under the name of *Thingamen*, by Canute, and the custom of employing them extended to the great nobles, as we read of the *house-carles* of Siward and Tostig,

the earls of Northumberland.

<sup>m</sup> In the treaty between Ethelred and Anlaf (A.D. 994) are several provisions relating to merchants, which prove that, instead of being mere ravagers, as they are often represented, the Northmen were in the habit of trading with many foreign countries, though doubtless well armed, and not unwilling to mix piracy with their traffic if the occasion arose; but if this be considered a proof of barbarism, even our own nation must be condemned in much more modern times.

<sup>n</sup> The pound, shilling, penny, and sceat, the *mancus*, *marc*, and *ora*, are mentioned in these laws, but their values are not accurately known. It seems probable, however, that the penny consisted of 4 sceats, the shilling of 5 pennies, the pound of 48 shillings; except in Mercia, where the pound was divided into 60 shillings; the *mancus* and the *marc* were about one-eighth, and the

or property. His life is to be atoned for by a *wer-gild*; for bodily injury a *bote* is payable, being, as amends to dignity, highest when any disfigurement is occasioned<sup>o</sup>; the breach of the peace of his household is heavily visited, and his stolen cattle or slaves are to be paid for, either by the offender or his kindred; and in addition, a *wite*, or fine, in every case accrues to the king for the breach of his peace. Thus far the Anglo-Saxon laws avoid bloodshed; but offences against the state, or its representative the king, are far otherwise dealt with. Treason against a lord, Alfred declares he dare not pardon; fighting in the king's hall, coining, and many other state offences, are death-worthy; and among the customary punishments are mentioned beheading, hanging, burning, drowning, casting from a height, stoning, and breaking the neck; scourging, branding, and many kinds of mutilation, as scalping, loss of hands, feet, eyes, nose, and ears; and exile<sup>p</sup>.

One essential part of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence was the ordeal, which was divided into three kinds,—hot iron, hot water, cold water. The trial could only take place in the king's town, in a church, and under the superintendence of the priests; and, however much derided in modern times, there was doubtless intended a reverent appeal to God, and a firm belief that He would not suffer the innocent to be put to open shame<sup>q</sup>; the cold water ordeal was

founded on the idea, unphilosophical no doubt, but as surely not irreligious, that water was too pure to receive any guilty thing into its bosom.

The formerly received idea as to the origin of trial by jury has no support from these laws. The Anglo-Saxon mode of trial seems to have been, the "fore-oath" of the accuser, and the "lade" or purgation of the accused, each supported by the oath of given numbers of persons as to their trustworthiness, (styled compurgators,) and then a decision, sometimes by the ordeal—sometimes by "lawmen" or judges, or "king's thanes"—sometimes by the whole assembly before which the cause was heard; but in no case by any select body resembling the modern jury.

It is evident, however, that the laws that have been preserved to us shew us rather what society was intended to be, than what it was in certain cases. Thus the earliest "dooms" speak of the money compensation for homicide as an established rule, but it appears to have been long before it became the ordinary practice. The relatives of the slayer seem rather to have protected him, and they thus put themselves at feud with the family of the slain, and "open morth," as it was termed, went on, as is still the case in certain parts both of Europe<sup>r</sup> and Asia; but when Anglo-Saxon society had attained to something resembling modern civilization, such a state of things could no longer be tolerated; and we find Edmund the Elder (circa

ora one-sixteenth, of the pound. The ordinary estimate is, that money was then about twenty times its present worth.



Saxon Sceatta.

The above coin is interesting as shewing how the early Saxon moneyers attempted to copy the devices found on Roman coins, then probably the chief currency of the country. The monarch intended is altogether unknown, but the figures on the reverse are considered as meant for imitations of the seated figures with a winged Victory behind so common on the imperial coinage.

<sup>o</sup> Ethelbert ordains a penalty of three shillings "for the smallest disfigurement of the face." Also, "If the bruise be black in a part not covered by the clothes, thirty sceats." And Alfred says, "For

every wound before the hair, and before the sleeve, and beneath the knee, the bote is two parts more."

<sup>p</sup> By fleeing from trial, outlawry was incurred, when the person forfeited the protection of the king, and might be slain like a wild beast by any one. The sentence, however, might be reversed, as we see in the case of Sweyn (A.D. 1050), when the person was said to be "inlawed."

<sup>q</sup> Athelstan says, "Let an equal number of men of either side, stand on both sides of the ordeal along the church, and let them all be fasting, . . . . and let the mass-priest sprinkle holy water over them all, and let each of them taste of the holy water, and give them all the book and the image of Christ's rood to kiss . . . . and let there be no other speaking within, except that they earnestly pray to Almighty God that He make manifest what is soothest."

<sup>r</sup> In Corsica and Sardinia, for instance, at the present day, the next of kin of a murdered man is in danger of his life from his own relatives if he does not at least attempt to exact blood for blood with his own hands—preferably from the murderer, but if he is not to be met with, any of his kin; which of course is retaliated.

940) charging the witan with the duty of appeasing feuds, and procuring the payment of the were, if possible, and declaring that the kindred of the slayer shall be "unfoe" towards the kindred of the slain; but if they harbour the murderer, they are to forfeit all they own to the king.

The laws against thieves are numerous, and their enactments often appear contradictory, perhaps in consequence of the perpetrators of offences of very various degrees of enormity being confounded under one common term. In one place Ina says, "If a thief be seized let him perish by death, or let his life be redeemed according to his were;" in another he fixes a wite of 60 shillings for the offence, or slavery; and although the citizens of London (in the time of Athelstan) claimed the right to slay all thieves and their abettors, and to take all they had, which they appear to have carried into effect as far as they were able, even with children of 12 years, it is manifest from the same document that the thieves and their kin often stood on their own defence, and set the law at defiance. We find other laws speaking of "notorious thieves," of thieves who are outlawed, of those who have been "often condemned for theft;" of the king's reeves who assist thieves, and of the duty of the king to ride after thieves, "with the aid of as many men as may seem adequate to so great a suit." The laws of Athelstan denounce a variety of capital punishments against thieves of every rank, both slave and free, but he himself says that his peace was worse kept than was pleasing to him, and the latest Saxon code shews that the evil was not abated by the severity of the law.

It has been said that both sacred and secular ordinances were often enacted at the same witenagemot, but several purely ecclesiastical documents have been preserved, of which the Penitential of Theodore of Canterbury,

that of Egbert of York, the Canons enacted under Edgar, and those of Elfric, may be named. We see in them a regularly organized hierarchy<sup>s</sup>, laying down laws for the regulation of almost every transaction; and, from the freedom with which ecclesiastical censures and penalties are denounced against all classes in the state, apparently supreme, but in fact far otherwise. The numerous denunciations against those who break the Church's peace, or seize its possessions, or injure or slay its ministers, shew that these were by no means exempt from the insecurity of the times.

Edgar's canons direct the assembly of a yearly synod, to which every priest shall repair, attended by his clerk, and an orderly man for servant, adding, "if any man have highly injured him (any priest), let them all take it up as if it had been done to all, and so aid that *bote* (amends) be made as the bishop shall direct<sup>t</sup>." Differences between priests were not to be referred to the adjustment of secular men, but settled among themselves, or by the bishop; and Canute gave force to this by ordaining, that any priest who defiled himself with a crime worthy of death, should be held to the bishop's doom, or judgment.

Fasting and penance are the ordinary modes of correction for offences, and these are often extended to very lengthened periods; so long, indeed, as to be impracticable; therefore means are devised by which they may be lightened. A sick man may redeem a day's fast with a penny, or with the repetition of 220 psalms; a twelve-months' fast may be redeemed by 30 masses; and a seven years' fast may be atoned for in twelve months, "if he every day sing the psalter of psalms, and a second at night, and a fifty at even;" but in all cases the value of the food that should have been eaten was to be given to God's poor; otherwise it was declared to be no fast.

<sup>s</sup> At the time of the Norman invasion there existed the two archbishoprics, Canterbury and York, and twelve bishops' sees, viz. Dorchester, (now Lincoln), Durham, Elmham (now Norwich), Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, London, Rochester, Selsey (now Chichester), Sherborne (now Salisbury), Wells (now Bath and Wells), Winchester, and Worcester. The Welsh sees and that of Man also existed, but their connexion with the Anglo-Saxon

Church seems to have been uncertain, and dependent on political circumstances.

<sup>t</sup> This *bote*, it appears from another document, was to be sevenfold; because "sevenfold are the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and seven are the degrees of ecclesiastical states and holy orders, and seven times should God's servants praise God daily in church, and for all Christian people earnestly intercede."

Penance too was much redeemed by alms; and in the case of the "powerful man and rich in friends," a seven years' infliction is atoned for in three days thus; "Let him [after confession of his sins] lay aside his weapons and his vain ornaments, and take a staff in his hand, and go bare-foot zealously, and put on his body woollen or haircloth, and not come unto a bed, but lie on a pallet:—let him take to him 12 men, and let them fast 3 days on bread, and on green herbs, and on water; and get, in addition thereto, in whatsoever manner he can, seven times 120 men, who shall also fast for him 3 days; then will be fasted as many fasts as there are days in 7 years." . . . "He who has the ability, let him raise a church to the glory of God; and he who has less means, let him do diligently, according to his condition, that which he can do."

The following passage from Edgar's canons, however, demands quotation to shew what penance uncompounded

for really was; and we know that to this, in all its humiliating details, some at least of the highest and mightiest of the earth\* have submitted "for their soul's health."

"It is a deep penitence that a layman lay aside his weapons and travel far barefoot, and nowhere pass a second night, and fast and watch much, and pray fervently, and voluntarily suffer fatigue, and be so squalid, that iron come not on hair nor on nail. Nor that he come into a warm bath, nor into a soft bed, nor taste flesh, nor anything from which drunkenness may come, nor that he come within a church; but yet diligently seek holy places, and declare his sins, and implore intercession, and kiss no one, but be ever fervently repenting his sins. Roughly he fares who thus constantly criminales himself, and yet is he happy if he never relax till he make full 'bote;' because no man in the world is so very criminal that he may not make atonement to God, let him undertake it fervently."

# EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Attila the Hun is defeated at Châlons . . . . .	451	Charles Martel defeats the Saracens at Tours . . . . .	742
Odoacer becomes King of Italy . . . . .	476	Charlemagne crowned as Emperor of the West . . . . .	800
Justinian proclaimed Emperor . . . . .	527	Ruric founds the empire of Russia . . . . .	862
The Turks begin their conquests in Asia . . . . .	545	The Northmen settle in Neustria, which is henceforth called Normandy . . . . .	912
Alboin founds the Lombard kingdom in Italy . . . . .	568	Otho the Great crowned as Emperor of the West . . . . .	962
Flight of Mohammed from Mecca, which gives rise to the era of the Hejira . . . . .	622	The Capetian race become Kings of France . . . . .	987
The Saracens commence their career of conquest . . . . .	633	Boleslas founds the kingdom of Poland . . . . .	1025
Foundation of the republic of Venice . . . . .	697	The Normans establish themselves in Italy . . . . .	1029
The Saracens establish themselves in Spain . . . . .	711		

## NOTE.

### THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

NOTHING is known as to the origin of this work, the common ascription to King Alfred and Archbishop Plegmund being

no more than a probable conjecture. It, however, furnishes our best source of information for the history of South Britain

\* Among the good deeds to which penitents are incited, beside the more ordinary requirements of Christian charity, are the furnishing of bridges and roads, redeeming of slaves, help to foreigners, and "poor plundered men," and burying the dead

for the love of God.

\* Sweyn, the brother of Harold, died on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem made in this manner in expiation of the murder of his kinsman, Eocn. See A.D. 1049.

down to the Norman era, and accordingly has been carefully summarized. It seems desirable also to give a few specimens of the work (in the translation of the Editors of the Monumenta) in a literary point of view.

Our first citation relates to ecclesiastical affairs.

"An. D.LXV. This year Æthelbriht succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentishmen, and held it fifty-three years. In his days the holy pope Gregory sent us baptism, that was in the two-and-thirtieth year of his reign: and Columba, a mass-priest, came to the Picts, and converted them to the faith of Christ: they are dwellers by the northern mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Ii [Iona]: therein are five hides of land, as men say. There Columba built a monastery, and he was abbot there thirty-two years, and there he died when he was seventy-seven years old. His successors still have the place. The Southern Picts had been baptized long before: bishop Ninia, who had been instructed at Rome, had preached baptism to them, whose church and his monastery is at Hwiterne<sup>7</sup>, halloed in the name of St. Martin: there he resteth, with many holy men. Now in Ii there must ever be an abbot, and not a bishop; and all the Scottish bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an abbot, not a bishop."

The Chronicle thus narrates, year by year, the accession or the death of kings, the succession of bishops, the occurrence of battles, pestilence, comets, and severe winters, usually in plain prose, but occasionally it bursts into verse<sup>2</sup>, as in a war ode to celebrate the

"life-long-glory  
in battle won  
with edges of swords  
near Brunan-burh;"

it also indulges in poetic elegies on Edward the Martyr, and Edward the Confessor, and Archbishop Elphege, but its highest flights are in praise of Edgar, whose reign and character are thus sketched under the year 958:—

"In his days  
it prospered well,  
and God him granted  
that he dwelt in peace  
the while that he lived;  
and he did as behoved him,  
diligently he earned it.  
He upreared God's glory wide,  
and loved God's law,  
and bettered the public peace,  
most of the kings  
who were before him  
in man's memory.  
And God him eke so helped,  
that kings and eorls  
gladly to him bowed,  
and were submissive  
to that, that he willed;  
and without war  
he ruled all  
that himself would.  
He was wide  
throughout nations

greatly honoured,  
because he honoured  
God's name earnestly,  
and God's law pondered  
much and oft,  
and God's glory reared  
wide and far,  
and wisely counselled,  
most oft, and ever,  
for God and for the world,  
of all his people.  
One misdeed he did,  
all too much  
that he foreign  
vices loved,  
and heathen customs  
within this land  
brought too oft,  
and outlandish men  
hither enticed,  
and harmful people  
allured to this land.  
But God grant him  
that his good deeds  
be more availing  
than his misdeeds  
for his soul's protection  
on the longsome course."

Edgar's death, and the events immediately succeeding it, are told partly in prose and partly in verse in some copies of the Chronicle, but in another they are given wholly in a strain of poetry, which is here cited:—

"Here, ended  
the joys of earth,  
Eadgar, of Angles king,  
chose him another light,  
beauteous and winsome,  
and left this frail,  
this barren life.  
Children of men name,  
every where, that month,  
in this land,  
those who erewhile were  
in the art of numbers  
rightly taught,  
July month,  
when the youth departed,  
on the eighth day,  
Eadgar, from life,  
bracelet-giver of beorns.  
And then his son succeeded  
to the kingdom,  
a child un-waxen,  
ealdor of eorls,  
to whom was Eadweard name.  
And him, a glorious chief,  
ten days before,  
departed from Britain,  
the good bishop<sup>3</sup>,  
through nature's course,  
to whom was Cyneweard name.  
Then was in Mercia,  
as I have heard,  
widely and every where  
the glory of the Lord  
laid low on earth:  
many were expelled,  
sage servants of God;  
that was much grief  
to him who in his breast bore  
a burning love  
of the Creator, in his mind.  
Then was the Source of wonders  
too oft contemned;

<sup>7</sup> Whithorn, in Galloway.

<sup>2</sup> The poetic pieces are considered by many

writers to be interpolations.

<sup>3</sup> Cyneweard, bishop of Wells, 973 to 975.

the Victor-lord,  
 heaven's Ruler.  
 Then men his law broke through ;  
 and then was eke driven out,  
 beloved hero,  
 Oslac<sup>b</sup>, from this land,  
 o'er rolling waters,  
 o'er the gannet's bath ;  
 hoary-haired hero,  
 wise and word-skilled,  
 o'er the waters' throng,  
 o'er the whale's domain,  
 of home bereaved.  
 And then was seen,  
 high in the heavens,  
 a star in the firmament,  
 which lofty-souled  
 men, sage-minded,  
 call widely  
 Cometa by name ;  
 men skilled in arts,  
 wise truth-bearers.  
 Throughout mankind was  
 the Lord's vengeance  
 widely known,  
 famine o'er earth.  
 That again heaven's Guardian  
 bettered, Lord of angels,  
 gave again bliss  
 to each isle-dweller,  
 through earth's fruits."

Our last quotation relates to Edward the Confessor, and his bequest of the crown to Harold :—

"After forth-came,  
 in vestments lordly,

king with the chosen good,  
 chaste and mild,  
 Edward the noble :  
 the realm he guarded,  
 land and people,  
 until suddenly came  
 death the bitter,  
 and so dear a one seized.  
 This noble, from earth  
 angels carried,  
 sooth-fast soul,  
 into heaven's light.  
 And the sage ne'ertheless  
 the realm committed  
 to a highly-born man,  
 Harold's self,  
 the noble earl !  
 He in all time  
 obeyed faithfully  
 his rightful lord  
 by words and deeds,  
 nor aught neglected  
 which needful was  
 to his sovereign-king."

The lines which follow, like numberless other passages, bear so close a resemblance to modern English as scarcely to need a translation :—

"And her weard Harold earl eac to cyng ge-  
 halgod \* and he lytle stillnesse thaer on gebad \* tha  
 hwile the he rices weold."

"And this year also was earl Harold hallowed  
 king ; and he experienced little quiet therein, the  
 while that he wielded the realm."

<sup>b</sup> Oslac, earl of Northumberland. See A.D. 975.

## THE NORMAN ERA.

WE have seen from the Saxon Chronicle that the Northmen frequently extended their destructive inroads to France, and they appear to have had several permanent settlements in that country at least as early as the year 850; but it was not until they were headed by Rolf the Ganger<sup>a</sup>, that they obtained possession of the district around the mouth of the Seine, since called, from them, Normandy. Rolf, who had been banished from Norway about 875, for defiance of the orders of Harold Harfagar, having embraced Christianity, and married Gisele, daughter of Charles the Simple, governed his province with vigour and wisdom, and formed it into a barrier for the rest of France against the incursions of his former associates. He died in 920, and left his state to his son William, the fourth in descent from whom was William the Bastard<sup>b</sup>,—whose victory at Hastings commenced the last great change from abroad to which our island has been subjected. Its effects, however, have been greatly overrated in many social and constitutional points. There can be no doubt that Norman influence, although based on conquest and working ruthlessly at first, produced on the English nation, with which in a very few generations the Normans had amalgamated, effects

which no other discipline could have ensured; it consolidated the people under a strong government and fitted them for organization and defence.

Iron rule and merciless confiscation were the great features of William's policy. The private possessions of Harold and his kindred, and of most of those who had fought at Hastings, were seized, at the very beginning of the new king's reign, and the rest of the people "bought their land" at a heavy price. Unsuccessful attempts to shake off the yoke gave occasion for fresh seizures, and when the Domesday survey was made, the whole landed property of the country (exclusive of that of the Church) appeared vested in the conqueror, and about 600 tenants in chief, among whom a name shewing a Saxon or Danish origin is but rarely to be met with. The churches generally had retained their property, and some had even received additions, while with the spoil some were founded<sup>c</sup>. Many foreign religious houses were also established or augmented from the same source, and, under the name of alien priories, their rights and duties formed frequent subjects of dispute in subsequent times<sup>d</sup>.

To the confiscations and ravages, which Norman writers do not deny, and which the Domesday Book in-

<sup>a</sup> Also called Rollo. He is said to have been too tall and too heavy for any horse to carry, and so was obliged to journey on foot; whence his name, Rolf the Walker.

<sup>b</sup> From this term occurring in some of William's charters, it has been asserted that it conveyed no reproach; but the following anecdote, while it exhibits the brutality of the man, shews that he regarded it, on one occasion at least, in a different light:—

<sup>c</sup> William sent to Count Baldwin of Flanders, and requested his daughter in marriage. The matter pleased the court, and he spoke of it to his daughter, but she answered that she would never have a bastard for her husband. Then the count sent to the duke, and declined the marriage as courteously as he could. Shortly after, the duke learnt how the lady had answered, at which he was very angry. Taking some of his friends with him, he went to Lille, and entering the count's hall, passed through to the chamber of the countess.

He found her with her father, when he seized her by her hair, dragged her about the chamber, and 'defiled her with his feet.' Then he went out, mounted his palfrey, and returned to his own country. At this thing the count Baldwin was greatly enraged, but by the advice of his councillors he accorded his wish to the duke, and they were good friends."

<sup>d</sup> The abbey of Battle, which William founded to commemorate his victory, was endowed with possessions in Essex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Berks, Oxford, and Devon. Many important privileges were granted to it, and the duty was imposed of preserving a list of the leaders on the Norman side at the battle of Hastings. Several copies of this list, called the Battle Abbey Roll, exist; but they vary so much, and bear such evident marks of interpolation, that they have little historical value.

<sup>e</sup> Most of these foundations were of the Cistercian order, which was a branch of the Benedictines, and had been devised not long before.



disputably establishes, were added many other grievances, well fitted to "make oppression bitter." "The king and the head men," says the Saxon Chronicler, "loved much, and overmuch, gold and silver, and recked not how sinfully it was got, provided it came to them. The king let his land at as high a rate as he possibly could; then came some other person and bade more than the former one gave, and the king let it to the man that bade him more. Then came the third and bade yet more, and the king let it to hand to the man who bade him most of all; and he recked not how very sinfully the stewards got it of wretched men, nor how many unlawful deeds they did. They erected unjust tolls, and many other unjust things they did, that are hard to reckon."

Though the Normans founded or endowed monasteries (chiefly, however, abroad), they, perhaps for strategic purposes, destroyed the minster at York, and many other churches, and more than one Saxon bishop died in prison, whilst others were driven from their sees, for attempting to shield their people from the exactions and encroachments of the "mixed multitude" of soldiers of fortune, who, having conquered at Hastings, were prevented neither by mercy nor discretion from pushing their triumph to the uttermost.

It is said that William, in the fourth year of his reign, granted certain laws and customs to the people of England, being, he says, the same as his cousin King Edward held before him<sup>c</sup>, "but the more men spake about right law, the more unlawfully they acted," and soon, as far as the Saxons at least were concerned, the open and avowed law was the king's pleasure, and the sword the only instrument of government.

The germ of the feudal system is probably almost coeval with government itself, and it had unquestionably been acted on, not only in the arrangements made in the latter days of the Roman empire for the protection of its frontiers by military colonies, but also by the Anglo-Saxon kings, but it

was not until the time of William that it received its full development in England, and was applied to the whole property of the country. The division of land now generally recognised was into knights' fees, varying from about 600 to 800 acres, which were obliged to furnish 40 days' service of a fully equipped horseman each year; these fees were popularly regarded as more than 60,000, but there is very great difficulty in ascertaining the exact number. The land was first granted in large districts to the tenants in chief, and by them subdivided; homage, service, and various money payments were the considerations due for each grant, and were as fully owing from the under to the chief tenants, as from the latter to the king. No land could be alienated without a *fine*; and on the death of a tenant, the successor paid a sum to be put in possession, called a *relief*. If the heir was under age, the profits of the estates belonged to the lord, as also did the control of the marriage of the ward. Under the name of *aids*, the lord claimed stipulated sums from his tenants on the occasion of the knight- ing of his eldest son, the marriage of his eldest daughter, or his own capture in war. These were all legal and established burdens, and perhaps did not amount to more than the rent of land and the ordinary taxation of modern times: but the superiors did not confine themselves to them: on the contrary, new exactions were perpetually attempted, and the revenues of both lords and kings were increased by the most various and often discreditable means.

The forests had been in the hands of the kings in Anglo-Saxon times, and the laws of Canute shew that the game was "preserved" in his day, though the pannage, or feeding for swine, was liberally granted to individuals; but the Norman kings carried their passion for the chase to a pitch which perhaps no other monarchs have equalled, and guarded their wild beasts by denouncing death against those who interfered with them. On some occasions, when the turbulence of their barons compelled them to attempt to conciliate their English sub-

<sup>c</sup> These laws embody the main features of Anglo-Saxon legislation, already described (pp. 74-79).

jects, they promised an amelioration of their forest code, but uniformly retracted their concessions when the danger was over<sup>f</sup>.

Between people thus treated, and their rulers, no cordiality could exist, and it appeared necessary to the safety of the latter that no Englishman should hold any place of importance. The powers of government were entrusted to such rapacious adventurers as Ralph Flambard<sup>g</sup> and William of Ypres, Saxon bishops were replaced by Norman ones<sup>h</sup>; but although the colloquial use of the Norman-French language<sup>i</sup> was a necessary innovation at first, the change ran in the contrary di-

rection, and the second or third generation of the victors at Hastings spoke in common life a language which was much more intelligible to their Saxon countrymen than to their Norman kindred.

In fact, the Saxon and Danish races, though borne down for a while, were not crushed; and when the death of the last of the Norman kings left the throne vacant, the young Henry of Anjou was received by the main body of the people, not as the heir of the Conqueror, but as the lineal representative of "the right royal race," the descendants of Cerdic.



Armour of the Norman era. From the Seal of Alexander I. of Scotland (c. 1110.)

<sup>f</sup> William I. usually bears the whole odium of the afforestation which proved so grievous to the English people; but it appears from the charter of Stephen, that William II. and Henry I. had also added to the royal forests: these latter additions Stephen promises to restore to the owners, in terms which seem to imply that they had been forcibly seized.

<sup>g</sup> Ralph, a Norman chaplain of vile character, was by William Rufus made bishop of Durham, but by Henry I. was deprived of his see, and imprisoned. He escaped, and went into exile, but having made his peace by betraying a city entrusted to him (Lisieux), he returned some years after, and held his bishopric till his death. William of Ypres, a Fleming, was Stephen's general, and received from him the earldom of Kent. His ra-

vages made him so unpopular, that on the king's death he fled from England, and entered a monastery, where he died in 1162.

<sup>h</sup> One Norman monk, however, Guitmond, had the virtue to refuse such preferment, and the courage to reproach the spoilers with their barbarous usage of the vanquished. His strictures gave such great offence that he was obliged to withdraw from Normandy, but he was afterwards, by Pope Urban II., made bishop of Aversa. His eloquent letter to William has been preserved by Orderic.

<sup>i</sup> The first Norman-French document is of the reign of John, and the use of the language in the law courts belongs to the reign of Edward I. Of course colloquially the Normans used French.



Great Seal of William the Conqueror.

## WILLIAM I.

WILLIAM, the illegitimate son of Robert, sixth duke of Normandy, was born at Falaise about the end of the year 1027. In 1035 his father died, but William only obtained full possession of the duchy after several contests with his neighbours and the king of France, in 1056. His father's sister, Emma, being mother to Edward the Confessor, William alleged that that prince had named him heir to the crown of England, and he successfully asserted his claim at the battle of Hastings, after gaining which, on the 14th October, 1066, he advanced on London and was crowned king at Westminster on the following Christmas-day; the troubled character of his reign being aptly foreshadowed by a tumult on the occasion, in which some houses were burnt, and many people slain.

William's reign was passed, after a brief attempt at conciliation<sup>k</sup> at his first coming, in a systematic endeavour to crush his new subjects. Churches and towns were destroyed, and whole districts laid waste, sometimes to punish unsuccessful revolt, sometimes to provide against hostile invasion, and sometimes to furnish scope for the chase, though it appears from Domesday Book that this latter matter has been exaggerated<sup>l</sup>. His wars with France were not altogether successful, and his latter years were embittered by the rebellions of his sons. He died Sept. 9, 1087, at Rouen, from an accidental injury, and was buried at Caen. The splendid monument raised to his memory by his son William was destroyed in the religious wars in France in the 16th century<sup>m</sup>.

In 1053 William married Matilda,

<sup>k</sup> He granted charters to several towns, among them to London, in which he promised that each man should be "law worthy" as in King Edward's days, and that no one should do them wrong, but he forcibly resumed most of them a few years after.

See A.D. 1071. The London charter, however, is still in the possession of the citizens.

<sup>l</sup> See A.D. 1079.

<sup>m</sup> The spot is now marked by a grey marble slab in the pavement before the high altar.

daughter of Baldwin V., count of Flanders, by whom he had a family of four sons and five (perhaps six) daughters. Matilda died Nov. 2, 1083, and was buried at Caen. Their children were :—

1. Robert, known as Courthose, born probably about 1056, who became duke of Normandy, went to the Crusade, was twice defeated in his claim on the crown of England, and at length, being made prisoner by his brother Henry, died at Cardiff Castle, Feb. 10, 1135, after a captivity of 28 years. The tale of his having been blinded by his brother Henry's order, does not rest on satisfactory authority. He outlived his two sons, who both met violent deaths; William, count of Flanders, being killed at Alost in 1128, and Henry, an illegitimate son, in May, 1100, whilst hunting in the New Forest.

2. Richard, born in 1058, and known as Richard of Bernay<sup>a</sup>, was killed by a stag in the New Forest, or perhaps died from a fever contracted there, before the death of his father.

3. WILLIAM, and 4. HENRY, became kings of England.

5. Cecilia became a nun at Fecamp, at Easter, 1075, and afterwards abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen, where she died, in July 30, 1126.

6. Adeliza died young.

7. Matilda, betrothed to Alphonso of Castile, died on her journey to Spain, about 1079.

8. Constance, married to Alan, duke of Bretagne, died Aug. 13, 1090.

9. Adela, married to Stephen of Blois. She governed his dominions during his absence on the Crusade, and, at length taking the veil, died in 1137.

Gundred, who became the wife of William Warrenne, and died in 1085, is often stated to have been a daughter of William I., but this is probably a mistake<sup>b</sup>.

William Peverel, an apocryphal natural son of the king, received large estates in Derbyshire and elsewhere,

but there is no evidence of the relationship.

The arms ascribed to William I. are those of his duchy of Normandy:



Arms ascribed to William I.

“Gules, two lions passant guardant in pale, or.”

The Norman writers praise William as a wise and pious king, but the Saxon Chronicler, who, as he himself declares, “had often looked upon him, and lived some time in his court,” has drawn a character far less favourable<sup>c</sup>. William, he says, was wise and rich, mild to good men, but beyond all measure severe to those who withstood his will. He affected great state and dignity, and held a splendid court thrice a year, in Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester, to which all the nobles were obliged to repair. He also made “good peace,” so that no man durst slay or rob another<sup>d</sup>; yet in his time men had many sorrows. He ruled so absolutely, that he cast down earls and bishops, and abbots and thanes. His rich men moaned, and poor men trembled; but he was so stern, he recked not the hatred of them all, for they must follow his will, if they would have his peace, or lands or possessions, or even life. “Alas!” he concludes, “that any man should thus exalt himself, and boast over all others! May the almighty God shew mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins.”

A.D. 1066.

William is crowned at Westminster,

<sup>a</sup> A place in the bailliage of Alençon, in Normandy.

<sup>b</sup> She is supposed to have been his step-daughter, the issue of Matilda by a former marriage.

<sup>c</sup> With the main features of this agrees the character given in the *Heimskringla*, or *Chronicle of the Sea-kings of Norway*: “Earl William was stouter and stronger than other men, a great horse-

man and warrior, but stern; and a very wise man, but not considered a man to be trusted.

<sup>d</sup> His own practice, however, did not conform to this; for we read in the *Saxon Chronicle* (anno 1086): “according to his custom, he collected a very large sum of money from his people, whenever he could, whether with justice or without.”

December 25<sup>r</sup>, by Aldred, archbishop of York<sup>s</sup>; "and he gave him a pledge upon Christ's Book, and also swore, before he would set the crown upon his head, that he would govern this nation as well as any king before him had at the best done, if they would be faithful to him. Nevertheless, he laid a tribute on the people very heavy<sup>t</sup> . . . and men delivered him hostages, and afterwards bought their land."

A.D. 1067.

Godred Cronan, a descendant of Sihtric of Northumberland<sup>u</sup>, who had escaped from the battle of Stamford-bridge, becomes king of the Isle of Man.

William goes to Normandy during Lent, taking with him "in honourable attendance," says Orderic, but really as hostages, Edgar Atheling, Stigand the archbishop, the earls Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof, "and many other good men of England."

"And bishop Odo and William the earl<sup>x</sup> remained here behind, and they built castles wide through the land, and poor people oppressed; and ever after it greatly grew in evil."

Eustace of Boulogne<sup>y</sup>, invited by the Kentish men, attacks Dover, but without success.

Edric the Forester<sup>z</sup> makes a league with the Welsh, with whom he attacks Hereford, "where he did the castle-men [the Norman garrison] much evil."

Edgar Atheling, in the summer, flees to Scotland with his mother and sisters, accompanied by Merlesuain<sup>a</sup> "and many good men."

William returns to England. He

seizes the lands of many of the English nobles, divides them among his followers, and lays heavy taxes on the people.

William founds an abbey, on the field of Hastings, dedicated to St. Martin, "in order that glory and praise might be offered up there to God for his victory, and that offices for the souls of the dead might there be perpetually performed." It is known in history as Battle Abbey<sup>b</sup>.

Baldwin, a Norman, advances into Powys, and builds a castle where now stands Montgomery.

A.D. 1068.

The people of Exeter cut off a party of Norman sailors.

William marches against them, and "through the treachery of the thanes," reduces the city after a siege of 18 days<sup>c</sup>. Githa, Harold's mother, who had taken refuge there, flees to Steep-holm, "and the wives of many good men with her," and thence retires to Flanders.

Copsi<sup>d</sup>, a Saxon who had taken office in Northumberland, is killed by the people five weeks after, March 12.

Cospatric<sup>e</sup>, earl of Northumberland, and the people of the north take arms. Edgar Atheling comes to them from Scotland, and is received by them at York.

William's queen arrives in England; she is crowned by Archbishop Aldred on Whit-Sunday, May 11.

William advances to the north, builds forts at Nottingham and Lincoln, and bestows the earldom of Northumberland on Robert Comin, a Norman.

Harold's sons land in Somerset-

<sup>r</sup> The years of his reign are reckoned from this day.

<sup>s</sup> Stigand had been suspended from his office, the Normans considering him as the usurper of the see of Robert of Jumièges. See A.D. 1052.

<sup>t</sup> This was probably the Danegeld, the collection of which had been suspended by Edward the Confessor. It continued to be levied until the reign of Henry II., and varied with the exigencies of the state from two to six shillings annually on each hide of land.

<sup>u</sup> See A.D. 925.

<sup>x</sup> Odo of Bayeux, William's half-brother, and William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford.

<sup>y</sup> See A.D. 1051. He had served at the battle of Hastings as a mercenary, and he was dissatisfied with the reward that he received. On the failure of his attempt, he effected a reconciliation with William.

<sup>z</sup> He was the nephew of Edric Streona, and, as appears from the Domesday Book, had large pos-

sessions in Hereford and Salop, of which it was attempted to deprive him.

<sup>a</sup> It appears from the Domesday Book that Merlesuain had great estates in Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, as well as in York and Lincoln. He seems to have been sheriff of one of these latter counties, and he had been very active in raising forces to strengthen Harold's army when it marched for Hastings.

<sup>b</sup> It was not formally consecrated until Feb. 12, 1094, seven years after the death of William.

<sup>c</sup> The effects of this siege are probably to be traced in the mention in the Domesday Book, that the city then contained but 412 houses, while it had 463 in the time of King Edward.

<sup>d</sup> He had been viceroy to Tostig, and had remained faithful to the Normans.

<sup>e</sup> Cospatric was of the royal race, being grandson of Uhtred and Elgiva, daughter of Ethelred II.

shire, plunder Bristol, and kill Ednoth, the stallere<sup>f</sup>. They then ravage Wales, about Midsummer, but are defeated, and obliged to retire to Ireland.

On William's approach, Edgar Atheling again retires to Scotland.

William builds two castles at York; "but St. Peter's minster he made a profanation, and all other places also he despoiled and trampled on."

Malcolm of Scotland makes peace with William, and does homage to him for Cumberland.

Godred Cronan establishes himself in Ireland.

A.D. 1069.

Comin is massacred at Durham, "and 900 Frenchmen with him," January 29.

Edgar Atheling prepares for another attempt on the north.

Aldred, archbishop of York, dies, Sept. 11.

The sons of Sweyn, king of Denmark, arrive in the Humber, early in

September, with 240 ships; they are joined by Edgar Atheling, Merlesuain, Cospatric, and others, when they take York, put the garrison of 3,000 men to the sword<sup>g</sup>, and demolish the castles. "But ere the shipmen arrived the Frenchmen had burnt the city, and also the holy minster of St. Peter had they plundered, and entirely destroyed with fire."

William arrives, when the allies retire to their ships, which remain in the Humber the whole winter.

William passes the winter in the north. "He ordered the towns and fields of the whole district to be laid waste; the fruits and grain to be destroyed by fire or by water . . . thus the resources of a once flourishing province were cut off, by fire, slaughter, and devastation; the ground for more than sixty miles, totally uncultivated and unproductive, remains bare to the present day<sup>h</sup>."

Aegelric, the former bishop of Durham<sup>i</sup>, is betrayed into William's hands, and confined at Westminster.

## WALES.

A.D. 1070.

RYWALLON, one of the princes of North Wales<sup>k</sup>, is killed.

Wales was nominally subject to the English crown at the time of the arrival of the Normans, and although William was too much occupied in other parts to enforce, except on one occasion, the claim of feudal superiority<sup>l</sup>, it was only reserved for a more fitting season. As early indeed as 1067, one Baldwin built a castle, where now stands Montgomery, within the acknowledged border of Powys, and in 1069 and 1070 other adventurers seized on, and fortified, posts on the

coast of Dyved, or Pembroke. In this latter year, civil dissension opened the road to other parts of the country; the purchased aid of a few Norman horsemen enabled Caradoc, lord of Morganwg (Glamorgan), to seize the principality of South Wales; but his treacherous allies soon returned as plunderers, and next as conquerors and permanent settlers. Early in the reign of William II. they joined another rebellious lord of Glamorgan, killed Rhys ap Tudor, the lineal descendant of Howel Dda, and partitioned his territories<sup>m</sup>.

This success was followed by Wil-

<sup>f</sup> Ednoth had held this post under Harold, but had taken service with William. The Normans appear to have divided the office into two, calling the steward the Dispensator (whence the family name Despenser), and the military man the Constable or Master of the Horse.

<sup>g</sup> One of the few who escaped was Gilbert of Gand; he was the refounder of Bardney Abbey, in Lincolnshire, and possessed manors in that and in thirteen other counties.

<sup>h</sup> Such is the substance of the account of William of Malmesbury, in his "History of the Kings," which is usually considered to have been written about 1135, or nearly 60 years after the event, and it is fully borne out by numerous entries in the Domesday Book. The lands of the Saxon leaders

appear to have been rendered so desolate, that on 11 manors described, only eight cottagers and 354 villeins are entered.

<sup>i</sup> He had been abbot of Peterborough, but after holding the see of Durham 15 years he returned to his monastery; he again left it to join his people against the Normans. He died in prison, at Westminster, Oct. 15, 1072.

<sup>k</sup> See A.D. 1063.

<sup>l</sup> See A.D. 1081.

<sup>m</sup> The leader of this band was Robert Fitzhamon. The names of his twelve principal companions have been preserved, and to them is ascribed the foundation of the numerous castles still found in Glamorganshire and its immediate neighbourhood. They were Gilbert Humfréville, Oliver

William's assertion of his feudal superiority, and his grant of other parts of Wales to certain of his favourites. In consequence, a crowd of desperate adventurers poured into the country, extending to it all the miseries that England then suffered. The Welsh strove fiercely against them, and, according to their own annalists, more than once, cleared the land; "but the spoilers had tasted of the sweetness of Wales," they returned to the charge, found allies among the numerous aspirants to sovereignty after the death of Rhys ap Tudor and the exile of his family, and in the course of the two following reigns, though almost constantly in a state of siege, and often in extreme jeopardy, Norman and Flemish<sup>a</sup> castles and colonies spread along the coasts of South and West Wales; Powys was more completely occupied; and Gwynneth alone, favoured by the nature of the country, was able to maintain a semblance of independence.

It was indeed little more than a semblance, although the brave and often successful efforts of Owen Gwynneth, the descendant of Howel Dda, the "Owen brave and Owen strong" of the bards, and the internal troubles of England, long delayed the complete subjugation of the land. Their contact with the Normans, however, soon produced many important changes, to the disadvantage of the Welsh. The feudal institution was received among them, and numerous intermarriages, and consequent exchanges of property, took place; the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury as metropolitan

was admitted, and some of their chiefs accepted the office of justiciary from the English kings. Such great alterations were in consequence made in the institutes of Howel Dda, that as early as 1080 the prince of North Wales gave the parties to any suit the choice of being judged by the old or the new law.

## A.D. 1070.

The laws called those of Edward the Confessor are promulgated in London, contrary to the wish of the people of the east and north, who desire the Danish law.

A council holden at Winchester, about Easter, in which Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, is deposed, and sentenced to imprisonment<sup>a</sup>.

Lanfranc, abbot of Caen<sup>b</sup>, is appointed archbishop of Canterbury<sup>c</sup>, Aug. 15, and consecrated August 29. Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, appointed archbishop of York, declines to take the oath of canonical obedience to him, which commences the contest for the primacy between the two sees<sup>d</sup>.

Waltheof, the son of Siward, who had held York against the Normans, is taken into favour, and marries Judith, William's niece.

Harold and Canute, the sons of Sweyn of Denmark, arrive in the Humber, with many bishops<sup>e</sup> and earls; "the English people from all the fen lands came to them, conceiving that they would win all the land."

Hereward heads a band, which plunders and burns the abbey of Peter-

St. John, Payen de Turberville, Peter le Soore, Reginald de Sulby, Richard Greenfield, Richard de Siward, Robert St. Quintin, Roger Bernolles, John the Fleming, William the Easterling, and William of London.

<sup>a</sup> Both were detested for their cruelty, but, according to Caradoc of Llancarvan, the Flemings had little of the courage of the Normans. On one occasion Griffin ap Tudor (see A.D. 1111) encouraged his men to attack them with the remark, that, though twenty times more numerous, they "were only Flemings;" his followers justified his confidence by routing their opponents.

<sup>b</sup> He escaped to Scotland, and is believed to have died there.

<sup>c</sup> He was a native of Pavia, and had attained eminence as a lawyer before he became a monk. He entered the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, and from him, says Orderic, the Normans received the first rudiments of literature, whilst Bec became a school of both divine and secular learning. When

William founded the abbey of Caen, he placed Lanfranc at its head.

<sup>d</sup> Some Normans of bad character were made bishops; but Lanfranc, and his successor Anselm, were truly wise and good men, and the Saxons were indebted to them for all the alleviation of their condition that it was in their power to afford. Lanfranc held the see from 1070 to 1089, and Anselm from 1093 to 1109.

<sup>e</sup> Wilfrid, in the seventh century, had refused to be consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, but probably as much from dislike of his communion with Aidan and others of the British church as from any claim to the primacy. The dispute, which in its course led to many indecent broils, even in the presence of royalty (see A.D. 1175), was, after a vain attempt at a compromise in 1314, decided in 1354 by Pope Innocent VI. in favour of Canterbury.

<sup>f</sup> Christierni, bishop of Aarhuus, was established by them at Ely.

borough, it having been bestowed by William on Thorold, "a stern man," and one of his partisans, June 2. They deposit their plunder at Ely, but it is afterwards lost at sea.

The Danish fleet comes into the Thames, when William makes a treaty with Sweyn, and it withdraws.

Malcolm of Scotland marries Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling.

Caradoc, son of Griffin ap Rytherch, lord of Glamorgan, obtains the sovereignty of South Wales by the help of the Normans. He is shortly succeeded by his son Rytherch.

A.D. 1071.

"All the monasteries are ordered to be plundered," says the Saxon Chronicler<sup>1</sup>.

The earls Edwin and Morcar become outlaws; "they fled out and roamed at random in woods and fields."

Edwin is treacherously killed, but Morcar takes ship and joins Hereward in the Isle of Ely. Hereward is also joined by Aegelwine, the expelled bishop of Durham (brother of Aegelric)<sup>2</sup>, Siward Barn<sup>3</sup>, and many hundred men.

"Then William beset the land all about, and built a bridge, and went in, and had ships at the same time on the sea-side . . . the outlaws then surrendered, except Hereward and those who would join him, whom he led out triumphantly<sup>4</sup>."

The lands of Edwin and Morcar, in Norfolk and Lincoln, are divided<sup>5</sup>; their Yorkshire lands had been devastated.

Edric the Forester is captured by Ralph de Mortimer.

The Normans plunder Cardigan.

A.D. 1072.

A council, called Concilium Anglicanum, held from Easter to Pentecost, which affirms the primacy of Canterbury.

William invades Scotland by sea and land, Edric the Forester being with him; "but he found nothing there of any value." He grants peace to Malcolm, "who became his man<sup>6</sup>."

William, on his return, fortifies Carlisle and Durham<sup>7</sup>.

A.D. 1073.

William leads an army, principally of English, into Maine and subdues it<sup>8</sup>.

Blethyn, prince of North Wales, is murdered. Trahern succeeds.

Griffin ap Conan, an exiled descendant of Griffin ap Llewelyn<sup>9</sup>, arrives from Ireland and conquers Anglesey.

A.D. 1074.

William goes to Normandy.

Edgar Atheling, who some time previously had gone to Flanders, returns to Scotland, July 8. Being invited to the court of France (the king was at war with William), he sets sail, but is shipwrecked, when, by the advice of Malcolm, he passes over to Normandy to William, "who received him with much pomp; enjoying such rights as the king confirmed to him by law."

Rytherch of South Wales killed. Rhys ap Owen succeeds.

A.D. 1075.

Ralph de Guader<sup>10</sup> and several Nor-

<sup>1</sup> We learn from later writers that this plunder included not only the valuables which the oppressed English had there deposited in a place of fancied safety, but also most of the charters which William himself had granted.

<sup>2</sup> He was captured when the island surrendered, and died in prison at Abingdon soon after. Of the other prisoners it is said, "the king disposed of them as he thought proper;" he, however, spared the lives of Morcar and Siward Barn, and on his death-bed ordered them to be set at liberty.

<sup>3</sup> He is mentioned in the Domesday Book as having held, in the time of King Edward, large possessions in Gloucester, Norfolk, Warwick, and Yorkshire.

<sup>4</sup> Hereward's fate is uncertain. The Saxon Chronicle mentions him no more; but the Chronicle of Gaimar says he led a wandering life for a time, and then was surprised and killed by a troop of Bretons in the pay of William.

<sup>5</sup> Many of William's followers were thus provided with wives as well as lands, which was per-

haps intended to pave the way for a peaceable possession of the country by the next generation, though it may well be doubted whether the ladies could regard themselves as more fortunate than their despoiled or murdered relatives.

<sup>6</sup> Or vassal; not for Scotland, probably, but for Cumberland. (See A.D. 945, 1000.) The same remark applies to similar acknowledgments of a later date.

<sup>7</sup> The number of castles built by William and his barons appears to have been forty-eight. Their existing remains shew their strength, and of their size we may judge from an entry in the Domesday Book, which states that 166 houses were destroyed to make room for the castle at Lincoln.

<sup>8</sup> Maine regained its independence on the death of William, but was again subdued by William II.

<sup>9</sup> See A.D. 1063.

<sup>10</sup> Guader was of Norman or Breton parentage, but born in England. He made his escape, went with the first Crusaders to Palestine, and died there.



mans conspire against William, on occasion of Ralph's marriage, at Norwich, and ask aid from Sweyn of Denmark; Waltheof appears to have been involved in the secret of the plot, and to have revealed it to Lanfranc.

Their plans frustrated by William's sudden return.

Waltheof flees over sea; "but he asked forgiveness, and proffered gifts of ransom. And the king spoke him fairly till he came to England, when he had him seized."

A fleet of 200 ships, commanded by Canute, the son of Sweyn of Denmark, and Haco the earl, arrive on the east coast, but finding the conspiracy crushed, they plunder York Minster and retire.

William inflicts heavy punishment on the conspirators; "some were blinded, some driven from the land."

Edith, the widow of Edward the Confessor, dies Dec. 18; she is buried with much pomp beside him at Westminster.

A council holden at London, when it was determined that several episcopal sees should be removed to more important places; in consequence, Bath, Chester, Chichester, Lincoln, Salisbury, and Thetford, become bishops' sees.

A.D. 1076.

A great earthquake in England.

Waltheof (who had been betrayed into the hands of his enemies by his wife) is beheaded at Winchester,

May 31; his body is, after a hasty burial on the spot, removed to Croyland Abbey, and miracles are asserted to be performed at his tomb.

William is foiled in an attack on Brittany.

Rhys ap Owen killed in war against North Wales. He is succeeded by Rhys ap Tudor, descended from Howel Dda.

A.D. 1077.

London burnt, Aug. 14.

Archbishop Lanfranc greatly advances the cause of the monks against the secular clergy.

The coasts of South Wales ravaged, and St. David's plundered, by pirates, who also kill Abraham, the bishop.

A.D. 1078.

The king's son Robert claims possession of Normandy. Being refused, he rebels.

A.D. 1079.

William besieges his son in Gerberoi, on the border of Normandy, and is wounded by him in a skirmish. Robert submits.

Malcolm of Scotland ravages Northumberland, in the autumn. Robert, who had been pardoned, advances against him, and builds a fort on the Tyne, where Newcastle now stands.

Trahern of North Wales killed. Griffin ap Conan becomes prince of North Wales and Powys.

## THE NEW FOREST.

A.D. 1079.

The New Forest, in Hampshire, is formed.

The Saxon Chronicler, remarking on the barbarous penalties of the Norman forest law<sup>f</sup>, says that William "loved the tall deer as if he was their father," and that he and his great men made many deer-parks; but he does not state, as later writers have done, that well-peopled districts were reduced to deserts by the operation. William of Malmesbury (the next nearest authority in point of time)

says that William, in forming the New Forest, desolated the towns and destroyed the churches for a space of more than 30 miles; and other authors affirm that as many as 52 churches were levelled with the ground; but it is certain that this is a great exaggeration. A forest, called Ytene, (probably a portion of the great Andred's wood of the early Saxons,) already existed in the region between the rivers Itchen and Avon, and to this the Domesday Book shews that at least 17,000 acres had been added

<sup>f</sup> "He made many deer-parks; and he established laws, so that whosoever slew a hart, or a hind, or a boar, should be blinded."

since the time of King Edward. Some open spots in this district bear names indicative of former dwelling-places, as Church-place, Church-moor, Castle-hill, &c. ; and traces of former foundations are met with in various places within the forest, but they are quite as probably the remains of royal hunting-seats as of churches. The fair conclusion seems to be, that, finding a rough and thinly peopled tract in the neighbourhood of the old royal seat of Winchester, one, too, whose poor soil prevented its making any profitable return to the husbandman, the new king enlarged its bounds<sup>g</sup>, and if here and there a few dwellings or a church opposed an obstacle to the design, we may suppose they were at once demolished ; whether any compensation was made, it is of course impossible to tell ; but the general tenor of the Norman rule would lead to the inference that it was not, and there is evidence in the Chartulary of Abingdon, that Windsor Forest was enlarged by William at the expense of the abbey.

A.D. 1080.

Walcher, the first Norman bishop of Durham, is slain, with all his attendants, by the people, May 14.

Odo of Bayeux ravages the country in revenge.

A.D. 1081.

"This year the king led an army into Wales, and freed many hundreds of men." Caradoc of Llancarvan says

that he advanced "after the manner of a pilgrim, as far as St. David's, where he offered his devotion to that saint, and received the homage of the kings and princes of the country."

Certain laws modifying the laws of Edward the Confessor said to be issued by William.

An earthquake does great damage in England.

A.D. 1082.

Odo of Bayeux falls into disgrace ; his vast possessions are seized by the king.

A.D. 1083.

Thurstan, the abbot of Glastonbury, quarrels with his monks, and brings armed men into the church, who kill three and wound eighteen others around the altar.

A heavy tax of 72 pence (or treble the former rate) is laid on each hide of land<sup>h</sup>.

Queen Matilda dies, Nov. 2 ; she is buried in the nunnery of Holy Trinity, at Caen<sup>i</sup>.

A.D. 1085.

Canute, king of Denmark, Olaf of Norway, and Robert, count of Flanders, prepare a fleet for the invasion of England.

William hires a large army in France and other countries, brings them to England, where he quarters them on the people, and lays waste the sea-coast.

A mutiny arises in the hostile fleet ; Canute is killed in a church<sup>k</sup> by his own men, during the winter, and the enterprise is abandoned.

## THE DOMESDAY BOOK.

A.D. 1085.

A general survey and valuation of the land is ordered by the king<sup>l</sup>. "So very narrowly indeed did he commission them to trace it out, that there was not one single hide nor a yard of land (quarter acre), nay, moreover, (it

is shameful to tell, though he thought it no shame to do it,) not even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, was there left that was not set down. And all the recorded particulars were afterwards brought to him ;" at Winchester, at the Easter of the year 1086.

<sup>g</sup> Several entries occur in the Domesday Book of the woods only of a manor having been taken to enlarge the king's forest.

<sup>h</sup> The hide, like the carucate, virgate, and acre, seems to have varied in its contents ; some passages of the Domesday Book appear to make it contain 120 acres, but others much less.

<sup>i</sup> Her monumental slab, with its inscription legible, is still preserved there.

<sup>k</sup> He was in consequence canonized, his feast-day being Jan. 19.

<sup>l</sup> Some historians say that it was begun in 1080 or 1083, but this is contradicted by internal evidence furnished by allusions in the record to public events of which the date is well known. The Saxon Chronicle says that the survey was ordered by William at his court at Gloucester, held at Christmas, 1085. But the Chronicler sometimes begins the year at Advent, or at Christmas, and hence Christmas, 1084, may be meant, which gives fifteen months instead of only three for the survey ; certainly not too long for such a work.

These recorded particulars have come down to us in the often-cited record termed the Domesday Book, or the Book of Winchester. Persons called the king's justiciaries were appointed, of whom the names of four have been preserved, viz. Remigius bishop of Lincoln, Walter Giffard, Henry de Ferrers, and Adam, brother of Eudo the royal steward, who either in person or by deputy visited the greater part of the country<sup>m</sup>, and from the oaths of the sheriff, the lord of each manor, the priest of each church, the reeve of each hundred, and the bailiff and six villeins of each vill, obtained the particulars of the name of the place, who held it in the time of King Edward, who was the present holder, its extent, the number of tenants of each class, bond and free, the homages of each manor, the extent of wood, meadow, and pasture, the mills and ponds, the gross value in King Edward's time, and, which gives a key to the whole, whether any advance could be made in the value; an expectation, however, doomed to disappointment, as the great majority of places are returned as of less value now than formerly, the natural consequence of the mal-administration of the conquerors<sup>n</sup>. These particulars, which are found in an existing inquisition into property in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire, do not bear out the complaint of the Saxon Chronicle as to the cattle; but it is probable that the officials often exceeded their instructions, and inquired more minutely than they had been directed to do. When completed, these inquisitions were sent to Winchester, and being there digested, were entered in the book now preserved in the Public Record Office, but formerly carried about with the king and the great seal, and termed indifferently the Book of Winchester, from the place of its compilation, and Domesday Book, either from a profane parallel instituted between its decisions and those of the day of doom, or judgment, or more probably from its being, while

at Winchester, deposited in a chapel or vault of the cathedral, called *Domus Dei*.

This most remarkable document is written on vellum, and forms two volumes of unequal size,—one being a folio of 382 pages, in a small hand; the other a quarto of 450 pages, in a larger one. The first volume commences with an entry of all the above particulars as regards the county of "Chenth," and the shires are arranged in series running from east to west, and one from west to east, though their limits do not always agree with the modern divisions, and sometimes—for the sake, apparently, of bringing all the property of some great landholder together—a portion of one county is described in another. Commencing with Kent, the survey proceeds along the coast (but including Berkshire) to Cornwall; then, starting from Middlesex, proceeds through Hertford, Bucks, Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester, to Hereford; the third series begins with Cambridge, and embraces Huntingdon, Bedford, Northampton, Leicester, Warwick, Stafford, and Salop; and the fourth, Chester, Derby, part of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Lincoln. The second volume is occupied only with the three counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and, beside the same matters as in the first, has lists of "invasions," as they are termed, or of lands possessed without a title from the king.

The number of tenants in capite entered in the first volume is 510, in the second, 162<sup>o</sup>; but several of these are the same persons. The number of under-tenants is about 8,000, the great majority of whom, or their ancestors, had held the same lands in Saxon times, though then as principals.

As might be expected, the great landholders are those who had held posts in the invading army. Thus, Robert, earl of Mortain, William's half-brother, had received the earldom of Cornwall, and 793 manors, scattered over 20 counties; Gilbert of Gand, said

<sup>m</sup> Neither Northumberland, nor Durham, and but a small part of Cumberland and Westmoreland, appear in the return,—for which various causes have been assigned; the most probable being that they were then in the hands of the Scots.

<sup>n</sup> The lands in the king's hands are more highly

rated than before, and the rents exacted by him from the towns are greatly increased, but the estates in the possession of his subjects appear generally reduced in value.

<sup>o</sup> Exclusive of ecclesiastical corporations, which bring the total up to about 1400.

to be the queen's nephew, had manors in 14 counties; Alan, earl of Richmond, had 442 manors, in 13 counties, and the bishop Odo of Bayeux, 439 manors, in 17 counties<sup>p</sup>. William had in his own hands, beside quit-rents and various proceeds from others, about 1400 manors<sup>q</sup>, many of which had belonged either to King Edward, or to Harold and his family. Though so liberal to his chiefs, it is remarkable that none of William's sons appear possessed of land. William's inferior followers and personal attendants were also rewarded, and among the tenants in chief appear, beside others of their class, Herbert the chamberlain, Alric, Hunfrid, and Tezelin, the cooks; Rayner the carpenter, Walter the crossbowman, Roger the farrier, Richard the forester, and Bernard the falconer; Robert the steward, and Milo the porter.

The same record shews how many of the great nobles and landholders had disappeared, and the few who remain are found usually holding a portion of their former lands as the sub-tenants of the invaders. Thus the lands of Edwin and Morcar had passed chiefly to Alan of Brittany; and though their mother Alveva possessed some manors in Leicestershire, her estates in Suffolk were in the hands of the king. Edgar Atheling had a single estate, of 700 or 800 acres, in Hertfordshire, and his sister Christina had some manors in Oxford and Warwick, one of which had been given to her by William. On the other hand, Cospatic, the earl of Northumberland, whose estates had embraced a large portion of Yorkshire, held, at the time of the survey, a few of them of Alan of Brittany, who had dispossessed him; Archil, his associate, who had formerly had lands in Warwick, Lei-

cester, Lincoln, Cheshire, Nottingham, and York, had a single manor in Yorkshire; but, as might perhaps be expected from the Norman love of the chase, several huntsmen appear as tenants in chief of the lands they had held under Edward the Confessor.

Those who had been under-tenants in Saxon times seem to have usually continued in the same state, except in the instances where properties once productive are set down in Domesday Book as "wasted;" and whose number in Yorkshire especially is so great as to justify the received opinion, that the whole country between the Humber and the Tees (and perhaps beyond, but the survey goes no further north,) was reduced almost to a desert by the Normans after their recapture of York in 1069.

Although the Domesday Book is evidently not intended as a record of the population of the country<sup>r</sup>, it yet accurately shews the various ranks of society, and their relative importance. Next after the king stand the archbishops and other dignified ecclesiastics; then the barons,—which term appears to include all the tenants in capite<sup>s</sup>; the thanes, meaning sometimes the remains of the Saxon nobility, sometimes the king's inferior officers; the vavassors, or free men holding of the tenants in capite; the allodial tenants, few in number, who were free from many, but not all, of the restraints of the feudal system; the knights, and the free men, in both which classes great differences of property and importance are apparent<sup>t</sup>; the socmen, who held of some great baron, but not by military service; the villeins, equivalent to the ceorles of Saxon times: the borderers, coscets, and bures, whose conditions have been very variously described by different

<sup>p</sup> That is, he had possessed such a number, as well as the earldom of Kent; but he had fallen into disgrace, and his acquisitions were sequestered, or had passed into the king's hands before the making of the survey.

<sup>q</sup> But 165 are entered as having belonged to Edward, and 118 to Harold; so that William's revenue must have greatly exceeded that of any of the Saxon kings.

<sup>r</sup> The whole number of persons recorded amounts only to 283,242.

<sup>s</sup> The greater tenants were known as peers (*parcs curie regis*), and persons who held largely of them were often styled their barons. The citizens of London, York, Chester, and other important places

(as the Cinque Ports), also bore the title of barons at a later period.

<sup>t</sup> Sometimes the term knight evidently means nothing more than a horseman, sometimes the knight is found as holding large estates; the knights holding of ecclesiastics appear to have had ordinarily the largest possessions of any of their class. The "free men" seem usually to have been in a state of dependence on, or under the purchased protection of a superior lord. A somewhat different class are the burgesses, mentioned as "possessed" by the king in many towns; they appear to have been free men who paid a certain yearly sum for permission to practise certain trades.

writers, but who may be taken generally as villeins<sup>a</sup>; the servi and ancillæ, equivalent to the bondmen and bondwomen of Holy Writ.

A.D. 1086.

William knights his son Henry at Westminster, at Pentecost; holds his court at Salisbury, in August, "where he was met by his councillors, and all the landholders bowed themselves before him, and became his men, and swore him oaths of allegiance."

William passes over to the Isle of Wight, and thence to Normandy, first collecting large sums from the people, "whether with justice or without."

Edgar Atheling leaves his court, and goes abroad, "for he received not much honour from him;" his sister Christina becomes a nun at Romsey.

"A very sorrowful year in England, from tempests, and blight, and murmur among the cattle."

A.D. 1087.

A very great fire in London; St. Paul's burnt.

"In the same year also, before the Assumption of St. Mary (Aug. 15), King William went from Normandy into France with an army, and made war upon his own lord, Philip the king, and slew many of his men, and burned the town of Mantes, and all the holy minsters that were in the town; two holy men that served God, leading the life of anchorites, were burned therein."

William returns to Normandy, falls sick and dies, at the priory of St. Ger-vase, near Rouen, Sept. 9. He is buried at Caen, in St. Stephen's minster.

"Alas! how false and how uncertain is this world's weal! He that was before a rich king, and lord of many lands, had not then of all his land more than a space of seven feet<sup>\*</sup>! and he that was whilome enshrouded in gold and gems, lay there covered with mould!"

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
The Normans subdue Sicily . . .	1072	submission to the Church . . .	1077
Hildebrand becomes Pope, as Gregory VII. . . . .	1073	The Normans attack the Eastern Empire . . . . .	1081
The Emperor Henry IV. makes his		Death of Robert Guiscard . . . .	1085

<sup>a</sup> Villenage is regarded by Sir Edward Coke as the origin of the copyhold tenure, and, like that, it included a great variety of privileges and burdens, which cannot be included in any one satisfactory definition.

<sup>\*</sup> Even this small space, according to the account of Orderic, was purchased at the time of his funeral, from a knight whose patrimony had been seized for the site of the abbey, and who interrupted the ceremony by a formal demand of justice.



Great Seal of William Rufus.

## WILLIAM II.

THIS, the third son of William I., was born about 1060. He appears to have attached himself more closely to his father than did his elder brothers, being his constant companion in war, and receiving the gift of the kingdom of England from him. He fulfilled his father's directions by setting at liberty several prisoners of consequence, but he experienced little gratitude from them, as they mostly joined the party of his brother Robert. His reign was passed in turmoil, arising from frequent conspiracies among his Norman nobles, but he triumphed over them by the aid of the English, to whom he promised good government. This promise, however, he took

no pains to keep. His principal adviser was a Norman chaplain, named Ralph, but better known as "Flam-bard" (Firebrand), who acted as his chief justiciary, and travelled about the country practising every extortion. William at length met a violent death, Aug. 2, 1100, but whether by accident or design is uncertain\*.

His well-known appellation of Rufus, or "the Red King," was bestowed in consequence of his light hair and ruddy complexion. He pursued the chase with ardour, and although when his Norman nobles conspired against him he promised an alleviation of the forest laws, he never granted it; he affected extravagant apparel, and led

\* The dreams of the king and others, said to portend his death, recorded by Orderic and William of Malmesbury, need no remark; but there is a singular statement on the subject in Eadmer. "Anselm, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, being with Hugo, the abbot of Cluny, the conversation turned on King William, when the abbot observed,—'Last night that king was brought before God; and by a deliberate judgment incurred the sorrowful sentence of damnation.' How he

came to know this, he neither explained at the time, nor did any of his hearers ask; nevertheless, out of respect to his piety, not a doubt of the truth of his words remained on the minds of any present. Hugo led such a life, had such a character, that all regarded his discourse, and venerated his advice, as though an oracle from heaven had spoken." From this, some comparatively modern writers have concluded that William was the victim of a conspiracy which was known to Hugo.

a most depraved life. He was never married, and is not known to have left any illegitimate issue.

William, like his father, has ascribed to him the arms of Normandy, "Gules, two lions passant gardant in pale, or."



Arms ascribed to William II.

His contemporaries speak most unfavourably of this king. They describe him as harsh and severe, formidable to his neighbours, and avaricious, yet both prodigal and profligate; fierce and overbearing in his manner in public, but coarsely jocular with his intimate associates. "God's Church he humbled; he held bishoprics in his hand;" the revenues of the sees of Canterbury, Salisbury, and Winchester, and of eleven abbeys were received by his officers in the year that he died<sup>b</sup>. "He was loathed by nearly all his people, and odious to God, as his end testified."

A.D. 1087.

William hastens to England, is received as king, and is crowned at Westminster by Lanfranc, Sept. 26<sup>c</sup>.

Robert is acknowledged as duke in Normandy.

William repairs to Winchester, distributes much of his father's treasure

for masses for his soul to each monastery and parish church, and releases many prisoners<sup>d</sup>, agreeably to his dying wish.

The Welsh make an incursion, and ravage the country as far as Worcester.

A.D. 1088.

Odo, bishop of Bayeux, William de S. Carileph, bishop of Durham, Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, and other Norman nobles, conspire against William, at Lent. They raise troops and burn his farms and kill his men.

William obtains aid from the English, by promising them good government. He captures Rochester Castle, the stronghold of his brother Robert's partisans, drives the two bishops from the kingdom<sup>e</sup>, and confiscates the estates of the nobles.

Godred Cronan dies.

A.D. 1089.

Archbishop Lanfranc dies, May 24. The king keeps the see vacant four years.

A great earthquake in England, Aug. 13.

Robert quarrels with his brother Henry, and imprisons him; but after a short time sets him free.

Jestyn, lord of Glamorgan, rebels against Rhys ap Tudor, prince of Dynevor, but is defeated.

A.D. 1090.

William makes war on Robert in Normandy, and gains most of the strong places, but is foiled in an attempt on Rouen, Nov. 3.<sup>f</sup>

Jestyn procures Norman aid<sup>g</sup>, and defeats and kills Rhys ap Tudor. "With him," says Caradoc of Llan-

<sup>b</sup> "On the deaths of Baldwin of St. Edmundsbury, and Simeon of Ely, and other abbots, the royal officers seized the monasteries throughout England, and issuing a slender allowance of food and clothing to their inmates, paid the surplus into the treasury. After a while the king bestowed the dignities on certain ecclesiastics about his court, not for their fitness for such posts, but for their services rendered in secular affairs." (Ordericus Vitalis, lib. x. c. 2.) Ralph, the justiciary, is said to have been the king's adviser in these proceedings.

<sup>c</sup> The years of his reign are reckoned from this day.

<sup>d</sup> Among them, Florence of Worcester enumerates Odo, bishop of Bayeux, (reluctantly pardoned by his dying brother,) the earl Morcar, Roger Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, Siward Barn, Algar the brother, and Wulfnoth the son, of Harold; Morcar and Wulfnoth, however, were

shortly after again imprisoned; when the former was killed by some of his own people, and the latter became a monk.

<sup>e</sup> Odo never returned to England, but William was reinstated in 1091, and held his see until his death, Jan. 1, 1096.

<sup>f</sup> This was mainly owing to help given to Robert by Henry, who having captured Conan, the leader of William's partisans, with his own hands cast him from a high tower, killing him on the spot.

<sup>g</sup> It was obtained for him by Einion, the son of the lord of Dyved (Pembroke), who had served in the Norman armies, and consisted of Robert Fitzhamon and twelve other knights, and 3,000 men. The Normans erected their conquest into the Honour of Glamorgan, built eighteen castles in it, and divided it into thirty-six knights' fees; it was the first of the palatine districts which were governed by the lords marchers.

carvan, "fell the glory of Dynevor, the land being afterwards rent in pieces and divided by the Norman captains."

Jestyn quarrels with Einion, who then makes a new compact with the Normans; they drive Jestyn from Glamorgan, establish themselves on the sea coast, and bestow the interior on Einion.

The king grants lands in Wales to such of his knights as choose to attempt their conquest. In consequence, Bernard of Neufmarché subdues Brecknock; Henry of Neufbourg, earl of Warwick, seizes on Gower; Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, captures Baldwin's castle<sup>b</sup> and Cardigan; and Hugh, earl of Chester, ravages the sea shore by Conway, and occupies Anglesey.

A.D. 1091.

William passes over to Normandy, in January. A treaty is concluded between him and Robert. Robert surrenders many towns and castles to William, in return for which his partisans have their forfeited estates restored.

Edgar Atheling, deprived by William's wish of some estates in Normandy, goes to Scotland.

Henry (afterwards king) is besieged in Mont St. Michel by William and Robert in concert, and driven into exile.

Malcolm of Scotland invades England, in May, but is repulsed.

William, accompanied by Robert, returns to England in August, marches against Malcolm, and compels him to do homage<sup>1</sup>.

Edgar Atheling has restoration of his Norman lands.

Robert, seeing the agreement badly kept by William, returns to Normandy at Christmas, taking Edgar Atheling with him.

A.D. 1092.

The city of Bath given to the see of Wells, and the seat of the bishop removed thither.

William obtains possession of Cum-

berland, driving out Dolfin, (properly Thorfinn) a Northman ruler, and sends many peasants to settle there and till the land.

The see of Thetford removed to Norwich.

The king of Scotland, accompanied by Edgar Atheling, comes to William at Gloucester, to treat about peace; nothing is concluded, and they part in anger.

The Welsh attack and destroy many of the Norman castles; Pembroke and Brecknock hold out against them.

Prince Henry gains possession of Domfront, and re-establishes himself in Normandy.

A.D. 1093.

William falls ill at Gloucester during Lent; he promises righteous laws, and gives lands to churches, but on his recovery resumes them.

Anselm<sup>k</sup> is appointed to the see of Canterbury; he is consecrated Dec. 5.

Malcolm invades England, but is killed, and Edward his son mortally wounded, in Northumberland, November 13. The queen Margaret "was in her mind almost distracted to death; she with her priests went to church, and performed her rites, and prayed before God that she might die;" she died "before the prayers were ended" (Nov. 16)<sup>l</sup>. Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm, is chosen king; he drives out all the English and Norman exiles.

Duncan, Malcolm's illegitimate son, being a hostage in William's hands, does homage to him, and having English and French troops with him obtains the kingdom.

The Normans ravage Kidwelly.

A.D. 1094.

The king refuses to surrender the temporalities of his see to Anselm.

Robert demands from the king the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty between them; which is refused.

William crosses the see to Normandy. War ensues with Robert.

The Welsh re-conquer Anglesey.

<sup>b</sup> This fortress, built in 1067, had been soon after surprised by the Welsh; the captor gave it his own name, Montgomery, which it still bears.

<sup>1</sup> See A.D. 1072.

<sup>k</sup> He, like Lanfranc, was an Italian, and he was abbot of Bec for several years; under his rule, the

renown of the abbey as a place of learning was fully maintained, and he himself was the author of several valuable works.

<sup>l</sup> Margaret was canonized by Pope Innocent IV. in 1251.



The castle of Brecknock is abandoned, and most of the other Norman garrisons are either slaughtered or withdrawn beyond the Severn and Wye.

Duncan is killed, and Donald Bane re-obtains the crown of Scotland.

A.D. 1095.

Henry (afterwards king) passes into Normandy, as William's general, to make war on Robert.

Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, heads a conspiracy of the Norman nobles. William disperses his opponents, and builds a castle

called "Malveisin"<sup>m</sup> close to the earl's stronghold of Bamborough.

The earl is captured after a time by the garrison of Malveisin, and, being threatened with blinding, surrenders his fortress<sup>n</sup>.

The Welsh capture the castle of Montgomery, and slay the garrison. William marches against them, but they elude his pursuit. He encourages the building of castles on the borders.

William visits Normandy, when Robert mortgages the duchy to him, and departs for the East.

## THE CRUSADES.

THE Egyptian rule in Palestine<sup>o</sup> was overthrown about 1076 by the adherents of the Caliph of Bagdad, among whom a rude race from Central Asia, called Turkmans, was included, and to Ortok, their leader, the charge of Jerusalem was committed. These new comers treated both the native Christians and the pilgrims with every indignity and cruelty, and the narrative, spread through Europe by Peter the Hermit<sup>p</sup>, one of the sufferers, sufficed to determine its warlike princes and people to unite in a great and worthy effort for the rescue of the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels.

It was at a council held at Clermont in November, 1095, under the presidency of Pope Urban II., that this step was determined on, and the following August was appointed for the departure of the expedition. The time was anticipated by the impatience of a vast body of peasants, who, placing themselves under the guidance of Peter the Hermit and his lieutenant, Walter the Pennyless, advanced as early as March from the borders of the Rhine, but after suffering innumerable hardships they were cut off at their very entrance into Asia by the Sultan

of Nice; Walter fell among them, but Peter found shelter at Constantinople.

The main army of the crusaders started about the appointed time, and passing, some through Germany, Hungary, and the Greek dominions, others through Italy and then by sea, they rendezvoused at Constantinople in May, 1097. Their chief leaders were Godfrey of Bouillon duke of Lorraine, accompanied by his brothers Eustace and Baldwin<sup>q</sup>; Raymond count of Toulouse, and Adhemar bishop of Puy, the papal legate; the Norman princes Bohemond of Tarentum and his nephew Tancred; Robert, son of William I., and Stephen of Chartres, his brother-in-law; Robert count of Flanders, and Hugh count of Vermandois, brother of Philip I. of France. The aid of the nations of the West had been invoked by the Emperor Alexius, but when this great body arrived, it appeared so formidable that his fears were roused, and he only consented to furnish the means of transport across the narrow channel of Constantinople after the leaders had done homage to him, and promised to hold any conquests they might make as fiefs of his empire.

<sup>m</sup> Literally, "Bad Neighbour."

<sup>n</sup> He was long imprisoned at Windsor, but at length was allowed to become a monk at St. Alban's, where he died in 1106.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 1058.

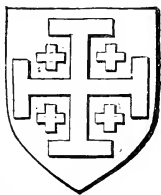
<sup>p</sup> He was called either Peter L'Hermite from the name of his father, or Peter d'Achery, from the place of his birth in Picardy. He was born about 1053, and went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land at the age of 40. He remained in Palestine some years after the establishment of the Christian

kingdom, and after his return to Europe in 1105, he, in conjunction with Lambert, count of Clermont, founded a priory at Neumostier, near Huy, in fulfilment of a vow made during a storm at sea. He died at Neumostier June 6, 1115, at the age of 62. Peter is described by William of Tyre as of small stature and contemptible in appearance, but with a clear cheerful eye, and an eloquent flow of speech that carried all hearts with him.

<sup>q</sup> They were the sons of Eustace of Boulogne, already mentioned. See A.D. 1051.

This point settled, the host advanced; its numbers cannot be accurately ascertained, but it is stated by a contemporary who was present (Fulcher of Chartres) at 600,000 men able to bear arms, beside a multitude of priests and monks, and women and children.

Nice, the scene of the destruction of the first body of pilgrims, was besieged and taken before the end of June, 1097; its sultan was defeated at Dorylæum, in Phrygia, on the 4th of July; and Godfrey and his companions, having traversed Asia Minor, in October found themselves before Antioch, the capital of Syria, which they immediately besieged, but did not capture until June, 1098. Here they remained, the prey of famine and discord, until May, 1099, when they again set forth, and passing along the sea-shore, overawing by their numbers, but not pausing to make conquests, at length, on the 7th of June, they came in sight of the object of all their toils, the holy city, Jerusalem.



Arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The city had changed hands while the crusade had been in progress, and was now held by Alaeddin, the lieutenant of the Caliph of Egypt, who resolutely defended it for more than a month, but at length it was stormed on the 15th of July<sup>\*</sup>; and on Sunday, the 24th of the same month, Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen ruler of the new kingdom; he, however, piously refused to wear a crown of gold where his Lord had worn a crown of thorns, and contented himself with the modest title of Baron (*Dominus*) of the Holy Sepul-

chre. His reign was brief, but, though surrounded by powerful states, his immediate successors enlarged their borders, and before fifty years had elapsed the whole country between Egypt and Mount Taurus, extending inland nearly to Damascus, was in the hands of the Christians, and was divided into the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch, and the county of Tripoli; with for some time the district of Edessa, beyond the Euphrates. This last was soon lost again, but Antioch and Tripoli remained much longer in the hands of the Christians than Jerusalem itself.

#### A.D. 1096.

William, count of Eu, charged with conspiracy, is overcome in single combat, and is blinded and mutilated. Odo of Champagne and other nobles, on the same charge, are deprived of their lands.

Several fruitless expeditions into Wales by the neighbouring Norman lords. They, however, re-occupy Anglesey.

The see of Waterford is founded by the Ostmen in Ireland, and Malchus, an Irishman, but educated in England, is consecrated thereto by Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he promises canonical obedience, Dec. 28.

#### A.D. 1097.

William makes a campaign in Wales, from Midsummer to August, without effect. The Norman lords build castles on the border.

William builds a wall around the Tower, a bridge over the Thames, and a great hall at Westminster; "and men were grievously oppressed . . . and many perished thereby."

Robert de Belesme, as William's general, makes war on the French, and endeavours to drive them from the Vexin<sup>\*</sup>.

Anselm retires to Rome in October.

#### A.D. 1098.

Edgar Atheling, with English aid,

<sup>\*</sup> The day was Friday, and the hour three in the afternoon. The coincidence of day and hour with that of the Passion was used by the leaders to encourage their men to a fresh assault, they having been repulsed that very morning.

<sup>\*</sup> This small district lies on the right hand of the Seine, and was a frequent source of contention between France and Normandy. The strong fortress of Gisors was built in it by Robert of Belesme, who was a skilful engineer.

establishes his nephew Edgar on the throne in Scotland.

Magnus III. of Norway conquers the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, and ravages Anglesey<sup>†</sup> and other parts of Wales. On his death, a few years after, his conquests fell under the ecclesiastical influence of England<sup>‡</sup>.

A.D. 1099.

William holds his first court in the new palace at Westminster at Pentecost.

Ranulph Flambard, the justiciary, is made bishop of Durham, in May, and consecrated June 5.

William passes into France, and subdues Maine<sup>§</sup>.

A.D. 1100.

William is killed in the New Forest, Aug. 2. He is buried in Winchester cathedral, "attended by many of the nobility," says William of Malmesbury, "though lamented by few."

EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.
Civil war among the Mohammedan states in Spain . . .	1088
The Crusades begin . . .	1095

	A.D.
Jerusalem taken, and a Christian kingdom established . . .	1099

<sup>†</sup> At Anglesey he was encountered by Hugh Montgomery earl of Shrewsbury, and Hugh of Avranches earl of Chester, who had re-captured the island. The death of the former, as recorded in the Heimskringla, affords an instance of clever marksmanship, which it is to be presumed could not often be paralleled:—

"King Magnus shot with the bow; but Hugo the Brave was all over in armour, so that nothing was bare about him excepting one eye. King Magnus let fly an arrow at him, as also did a man who was beside the king. They both struck him at once. The one shaft hit the nose-screen of the helmet, which was bent by it on one side, and the other arrow hit the earl's eye, and went through his head, and that was found to be the king's.

Earl Hugo fell, and the English fled, with the loss of many people." The story is also told by Giraldus Cambrensis. The Normans withdrew, having conferred the government on Owen ap Edwin, who is said to have been the son of the widow of Edmund Ironside.

<sup>‡</sup> The see of Sodor (or the Isles) and Man is of remote antiquity, being ascribed by some writers to the time of the Diocletian persecution. Reymund, or Wymund, a monk of the abbey of Seez, in Normandy, was consecrated to the see by Thomas, archbishop of York, between 1109 and 1114.

<sup>§</sup> Elias, the dispossessed count, was the grandfather of Geoffrey of Anjou, the founder of the House of Plantagenet.



Great Seal of Henry the First.

## HENRY I.

HENRY, the youngest son of William I., was born at Selby, in Yorkshire, in 1068. He received a more liberal education than was then usual with princes, and hence has the name of Beauclerc. He sided alternately with his brothers Robert and William, but on one occasion when they united against him he was driven into exile. On William's death, being on the spot, he secured the English throne, and gained Normandy a few years after. His reign was marked by frequent quarrels with the king of France, and the partisans of his brother, and his latter years were devoted to a vain endeavour to secure his crown for his daughter Maud. He died in Normandy, after a considerable absence from England, Dec. 1, 1135.

Henry was twice married; first to the "good Queen Maud," the niece of Edgar Atheling<sup>a</sup>, and secondly to Adela of Louvain, who survived him. His only legitimate offspring were,

1. William, duke of Normandy, who perished at sea, in 1120; and
2. Maud, married first to Henry V. the emperor, and secondly to Geoffrey of Anjou. She long contested Stephen's possession of the throne, and died Sept. 10, 1167.

Two of Henry's numerous illegitimate issue were the firm friends of his daughter Maud; these were Robert of Caen, created earl of Gloucester<sup>b</sup>, and Reginald earl of Cornwall. One named Richard was drowned with Prince William; of another Robert, of Gilbert, Henry, and William,

<sup>a</sup> She had been brought up in the nunnery of Romsey by her aunt, the abbess Christina, and she left it unwillingly to become a queen. Her name was Edith, but as Saxon appellations were discontinued, it had been changed to Matilda (or Maud).

<sup>b</sup> He was born in 1109. His mother was Nesta, styled a princess of Wales, in consequence of which

he had great influence in that country, which he used for the support of his sister's cause. He was a learned man, and a most skilful general, and on his death in 1145 the contest ceased. By his wife Mabel, the daughter of Roger Fitz Hamon, he had a large family, and one of his granddaughters became the queen of John, but was divorced by him, that he might marry Isabel of Angouleme.

nothing particular is recorded. Of two daughters named Maud, one became countess of Brittany, the other countess of Perche; Juliana was married to Eustace de Pacie, lord of Breteuil, Constance to the viscount of Beaumont; Elizabeth to Alexander of Scotland; and of two other daughters, whose names have not been preserved, one was the wife of the lord of Montmorency, the other of William of Goet.

The arms ascribed to Henry, as to his two immediate predecessors, are the arms of Normandy, "Gules, two lions passant gardant in pale, or."

Henry shewed himself, throughout his career, treacherous, rapacious, and cruel; but as he suffered no other

tyranny than his own, the Saxon Chronicler awards to him the merit



Arms ascribed to Henry I.

of making "good peace;" and adds that on his death "there was soon tribulation in the land, for every mar that could, soon robbed another."



Henry I.



Queen Maud.

From Rochester Cathedral.

A.D. 1100.

Henry, who had been chosen king at Winchester Aug. 3, is crowned at London Aug. 5<sup>d</sup>, by Maurice bishop of London. He grants a charter re-establishing the laws ascribed to Edward the Confessor, and renews his grant at the following Whitsuntide<sup>e</sup>.

Ranulph, bishop of Durham, is imprisoned in the Tower, Sept. 14.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, is recalled.

Robert returns from the crusade to Normandy; "and he was joyfully received by all his people, except where the castles were held by King Henry's men."

Henry marries Maud, the orphan daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, Nov. 11.

A.D. 1101.

Ranulph the bishop escapes from the Tower, Feb. 4.

Robert prepares to invade England; some of Henry's ships join him.

Robert lands at Portsmouth, July 19. He is very generally joined by the Normans, whilst the English support Henry<sup>f</sup>. Robert proposes to put his claim to the issue of single combat, when Henry promises him the payment of 3,000 marks of silver yearly, and the pardon of his adherents. Ro-

<sup>e</sup> Whether his brother Robert was blinded by his order is not certain, but such barbarity was not unusual among the Normans; and it is known that Luke de Barri, a knightly poet, was thus treated by his positive command; his offence was some rhymes which he had composed against the king.

<sup>f</sup> The years of his reign are reckoned from this day.

<sup>g</sup> Certain laws exist called those of Henry I., but they contain many matters which shew they

were compiled, or at least added to, after his time. The above charter in general terms promises a reformation of all abuses, and that only the lawful reliefs (see p. 83), shall be taken, while full freedom in regard to marriage is allowed to both wards and widows.

<sup>h</sup> In order to gain them over, Henry affected their manners and language. This greatly enraged the Normans, who styled him and his queen, Godric and Godiva.

bert withdraws to Normandy after Michaelmas.

A.D. 1102.

Robert of Belesme earl of Shrewsbury, a partisan of Robert, fortifies his castles, but is defeated, stripped of his lands, and driven from England. Part of his lands granted to Jorwerth, prince of South Wales.

Olaf, son of Godred Cronan, obtains possession of Man and the Hebrides.

A.D. 1103.

Magnus III. of Norway invades Ireland. He is killed at Moycoba, August 24<sup>g</sup>.

A council at London in September. Anselm opposes the attempt of the king to compel bishops to receive investiture from him. Reynelm, who had been appointed by the king bishop of Hereford, resigns the see, and William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, is banished. Anselm also leaves England.

A.D. 1104.

Robert of Belesme being received by Robert in Normandy, a war ensues.

William, count of Mortain, is stripped of his lands, and flees to Normandy.

A.D. 1105.

Henry passes over to Normandy, landing at Barfleur early in April; "and almost all the castles and the chief men in that land were subdued."

Robert of Belesme comes to England to re-obtain his lands, but is unsuccessful.

A body of Flemings settled in Pembrokeshire by the king.

A.D. 1106.

Robert of Normandy comes to Henry at Northampton, in Lent; "and because the king would not give him back that which he had taken from him in Normandy, they

parted in hostility, and the earl soon went over sea again."

A council held at London, Aug. 1, in which it is agreed that bishops shall do homage to the king, but not receive investiture from him. In consequence, the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Hereford, who had before received their sees, and new bishops of Exeter and Llandaff, are consecrated by Archbishop Anselm, August 11.

Henry passes into Normandy, and gains the battle of Tinchebrai, Sept. 28, where Robert, Edgar Atheling, the count of Mortain<sup>h</sup> and others, are taken prisoners, and subdues the whole country.

A.D. 1107.

"This year died the king Edgar of Scotland, on the ides of January, [Jan. 8,] and Alexander his brother succeeded to the kingdom, as the king Henry granted him."

Ranulph, bishop of Durham, is allowed to return to his see<sup>i</sup>.

Cardigan conquered by Gilbert de Clare<sup>k</sup>.

Jorwerth, being considered an English partisan<sup>l</sup>, is killed by his own son and nephew.

A.D. 1108.

The see of Ely founded. Its first bishop was Hervey, who had been driven from his see of Bangor by the Welsh.

Philip I. of France dies, July 29; he is succeeded by his son, Louis le Gros.

A.D. 1109.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, dies, April 21.

Henry's daughter, Maud, is betrothed to the emperor (Henry V. <sup>m</sup>)

A.D. 1110.

Philip Braiose, William Mallet, and others, deprived of their lands.

<sup>g</sup> He is mentioned in the *Heimskringla* as Magnus Barbeen (Magnus the Barelegged), from having usually worn the Scottish kilt after his return from his expedition in 1098. (See p. 100.) The Irish are said to have received assistance against him from the Normans settled on the Welsh coast; and a design to invade England being attributed to him, Henry seized a large sum of money belonging to him, which he found in the hands of an Anglo-Danish merchant of Lincoln.

<sup>h</sup> The count of Mortain, after a long imprison-

ment, was allowed to become a monk. His county was given to the king's nephew, Stephen of Blois.

<sup>i</sup> He made his peace by surrendering Lisieux, of which he was governor for Robert.

<sup>k</sup> He also overran West Wales, and received the title of earl of Pembroke; his grandson Richard was the successful invader of Ireland in the time of Henry II.

<sup>l</sup> See A.D. 1102.

<sup>m</sup> Owing to her youth, she was not married to him till Jan. 7, 1114.

A.D. 1111.

Henry passes over into Normandy, on account of troubles caused by Fulk of Anjou seizing on the county of Maine<sup>a</sup>.

Griffin, the son of Rhys ap Tudor, returns from Ireland, where he had found an asylum on the death of his father<sup>o</sup>. He captures Caermarthen from the Normans, but is also opposed by Griffin ap Conan and Owen ap Caradoc.

Owen is treacherously slain by the Normans<sup>p</sup>.

A.D. 1112.

Henry passes the whole year in Normandy; he restores the lands of Philip of Braiose, but drives out the earl of Evreux, William Crispin, and others, and seizes Robert of Belesme<sup>q</sup>.

A.D. 1113.

Henry makes an inroad in Wales, in April, and forces some of the chiefs to promise submission; he also allows the Marchers to build fresh castles.

Henry passes over to Normandy in September.

A.D. 1114.

Thurstan, elected archbishop of York, Aug. 15, refuses to receive consecration from the archbishop of Canterbury<sup>r</sup>.

A.D. 1115.

The Normans do homage and promise fealty to William, the son of Henry.

A.D. 1116.

Henry assists his nephew, Theobald of Blois<sup>s</sup>, against the king of France; in consequence, "there were many conspiracies and robberies, and castles taken in France and in Normandy."

The whole monastery of Peterborough burnt, Aug. 3.

A.D. 1117.

Henry passes into Normandy, and remains there for three years<sup>t</sup> on account of the war with the king of France and the counts of Anjou and Flanders. "By this war was the king a great loser both in land and money. And his own men grieved him most, who often turned from him and betrayed him; and going over to his foes, surrendered to them their castles."

A.D. 1118.

Death of Queen Maud at Westminster<sup>u</sup>, May 1.

Henry is defeated before Alençon by the count of Anjou<sup>x</sup>, Dec.



Badge of the Templars.

The order of Knights Templars founded; their standard called Beauseant, "per fess, sable and argent;" and their badge "a cross patriarchal, gules, fimbriated, or."

A.D. 1119.

The count of Flanders (Baldwin VII.) dies of wounds received at Arques, in Normandy, June 17.

Henry's son William marries Matilda, daughter of Fulk, count of Anjou, in June, and does homage to the king of France for Normandy.

Henry defeats the king of France at Brenville, Aug. 20.

Pope Calixtus endeavours to prevail on Henry to set at liberty his brother Robert, as a pilgrim and sol-

<sup>a</sup> It was his inheritance, of which his father-in-law Elias had been deprived by William Rufus.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 1109.

<sup>p</sup> Owen, who had long been connected with the Normans, had some time before carried off Nesta, the wife of Stephen of Windsor, governor of Pembroke; he was now killed by him, while employed in concert against Griffin, although, by the king's command, they had been formally reconciled.

<sup>q</sup> Robert, after escaping from Tinchebrai, had entered the service of the King of France. Louis sent him on an embassy to Henry, who, however, refused to receive him as such, and had him tried on a charge of embezzling the royal revenue in former years when he held the earldom of Shrewsbury. Being found guilty, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and at last he died of voluntary starvation in the castle of Wareham, A.D. 1118.

<sup>r</sup> He was eventually consecrated by the pope, Oct. 19, 1119.

<sup>s</sup> Brother of Stephen, afterwards king, and of Henry, bishop of Winchester.

<sup>t</sup> Roger, bishop of Salisbury, governed in his absence.

<sup>u</sup> She had long quitted her husband's profligate court, and resided in the monastery, occupied with works of charity and devotion, personally tending the sick, and practising great austerities; her chief delight was in church music, the professors of which she liberally patronized.

<sup>x</sup> The townsmen had called in the count to protect them from the tyranny of their governor, Stephen of Blois. The royal garrison were besieged in the citadel, and in attempting to relieve them Henry met with a severe defeat.

dier of the Holy Sepulchre, but without effect.

A.D. 1120.

David is appointed bishop of Bangor by Griffin, prince of North Wales, after the see had been vacant eleven years; he is consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, April 4.

Peace is made with the king of France, and Henry returns to England.

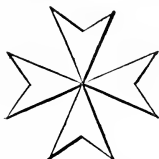
His son William, and two of the king's illegitimate children, with many young nobles, perish by shipwreck, Nov. 25.

A.D. 1121.

Henry marries Adelaïs of Louvain, Feb. 2.

Henry marches against the Welsh; "and after the king's will they agreed with him."

The hospitallers of Jerusalem become a military body, called the



Cross of the Hospitallers.

knights of St. John; their standard is "gules, a cross argent," their badge a white cross of peculiar form.

A.D. 1122.

Henry goes to Normandy, and reduces several rebellious barons.

A.D. 1123.

Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, dies suddenly, while hunting with the king, Jan. 10.

The count of Anjou demands the dower of his daughter, the widow of William, which the king refuses.<sup>7</sup>

Several barons in Normandy take arms in favour of William, the son of Robert. The king passes over in June, and strengthens many castles.

A.D. 1124.

Henry remains in Normandy, contending with the king of France and the count of Anjou, "but most of all with his own men."

Alexander of Scotland dies, April 27, and is succeeded by his brother David, who is also earl of Huntingdon in England.<sup>8</sup>

"Full heavy year was this: the man that had property was bereaved of it by violence, the man that had not was starved<sup>9</sup>."

A.D. 1125.

Severe punishment inflicted on the moneyers for issuing base coin, "so that a man that had a pound could not lay out a penny at a market<sup>10</sup>."

Henry the emperor (husband of Maud) dies, May 22.

A council held at London, in which the marriage of priests is condemned.

A.D. 1126.

Henry returns to England in September, bringing with him his daughter Maud, and many Norman prisoners, "whom he ordered to be kept in strong bonds."

David, king of Scotland, visits the king, and remains with him for some time.

Robert of Normandy is given into the custody of Robert of Gloucester, the king's natural son, and confined at Bristol.

Henry obliges his nobles to swear to receive his daughter Maud as their future queen<sup>c</sup>, Dec. 25.<sup>d</sup>

Thurstan of York contends for the primacy in the king's presence, at Christmas.

A.D. 1127.

Maud is betrothed on Whitsunday (May 22) to Geoffrey, the son of the

<sup>7</sup> The earl on this gave her younger sister, Sibylla, in marriage to William, the son of Robert of Normandy, and supported him with all his power for a while. At length he deserted him, to form a new alliance between his son and Henry's daughter, when William divorced his wife, and married the sister of the queen of France, which procured him the aid of Louis.

<sup>8</sup> He obtained the earldom by marriage with Maud, widow of Simon de St. Liz, and daughter of Waltheof. He transmitted it to his son Henry,

but on the death of that prince it came to Simon, the son of the former earl.

<sup>a</sup> Statements in substance the same occur in almost every year of this and the following reign.

<sup>b</sup> They were summoned to Winchester at Christmas, and there mutilated.

<sup>c</sup> Her uncle, the king of Scotland, first took the oath, then Stephen (afterwards king), and next Robert earl of Gloucester, her natural brother and most faithful friend.

<sup>d</sup> Some writers say January 1, 1127.



count of Anjou, who thereupon deserts the cause of William of Normandy.

William of Normandy is put in possession of Flanders by the king of France.

A.D. 1128.

Maud and Geoffrey of Anjou are married, in the spring.

Henry goes to Normandy, being at war with his nephew, William, count of Flanders.

William is wounded in battle, and dies, July 27.

Ranulph, bishop of Durham, dies, Sept. 5.

Hugh of the Temple visits Normandy, England, and Scotland, and collects many men and much money for the relief of the Holy Land<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 1129.

Henry releases some of the Norman prisoners; he takes earl Waleran into favour, "and they became as good friends as they were foes before." Maud is driven from Anjou by her husband, July.

A council is held at London against married priests.

Henry of Blois, the king's nephew,

is appointed bishop of Winchester Oct. 11, and consecrated Nov. 17.

A great earthquake in England, Dec. 6.

A.D. 1130.

Henry passes over to Normandy.

A.D. 1131.

Henry returns to England, bringing with him his daughter Maud, to whom fealty is again sworn at Northampton in September.

A.D. 1132.

Maud returns to her husband in the spring<sup>f</sup>.

The see of Carlisle is founded, April 11. Adelulf, the first bishop, is consecrated August 6, 1133.

A.D. 1133.

Henry goes to Normandy, and remains there until his death.

A.D. 1135.

Robert of Normandy dies in confinement, Feb. 10.

Geoffrey of Anjou quarrels with Henry, and seizes on several castles in Normandy.

Henry dies at Rouen, in the night of December 1.

EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

The Emperor Henry V. captures Rome, and is crowned there . . . . . A.D. 1111

The Venetians become powerful at sea . . . . . A.D. 1123

<sup>e</sup> The Saxon Chronicler speaks of the "great treasures in gold and in silver" that he received, but he probably exaggerates the matter, when he says, "There went with him and after him more

people than ever did before, since that the first expedition was in the days of Pope Urban."  
<sup>f</sup> He had now become count of Anjou, by the departure of his father, Fulk, for the Holy Land.



Great Seal of Stephen.

### STEPHEN <sup>a</sup>.

STEPHEN, the third son of the count of Blois of the same name, and of Adela, daughter of William I., was born probably about 1094. He was brought up at the court of his uncle Henry I., received many benefits from him, and professed himself a warm supporter of the succession of his cousin the empress Maud. Yet he supplanted her, as Henry had done his brother, and, in the words of the Saxon Chronicle, "in his time all was dissension, and evil, and rapine." He maintained his acquisition for a while by force of arms, but on the death of his son Eustace, he came to a compromise, in virtue of which he passed the last year of his reign in comparative peace, and died Oct. 25, 1154.

Stephen married Matilda, daughter of Eustace count of Boulogne, who energetically supported him in his

struggle for the crown; he had by her three sons and two daughters.

1. Eustace, his intended heir, a violent and profligate youth, died Aug. 18, 1153.

2. William, who received the patrimonial estates and the earldom of Surrey, and died in the service of Henry II. at the siege of Toulouse, in 1160.

3. Mary, who became a nun, but leaving her convent married Matthew of Flanders, count (in her right) of Boulogne.

4. Baldwin; and 5. Maud, who died young.

Two illegitimate sons are mentioned; William, of whom nothing remarkable is known, and Gervase, who died abbot of Westminster, in 1160.

The arms ascribed to this king differ greatly from those given to his prede-

<sup>a</sup> Stephen is usually styled an usurper, which is true, but the same reproach applies to the whole

Norman line, not one of them being the direct representative of his predecessor.

cessors. He is said to have borne "Gules, three sagittaries or;" but it has been conjectured that this is a mistake, and that he should be represented as bearing two lions, the sagittary being his cognizance.



Stephen is by the Saxon Chronicler represented as a "good man;" but it is added that he "did not execute justice;" thus chargeable with neglect of the imperative duty of a ruler, his claim to the appellation "good" is extremely doubtful. He, however, seems to have been of a placable temper, as he received into favour many who had most strongly opposed him, or deserted him; and he is not recorded to have dealt hardly with any of his opponents when they fell into his power.

## A.D. 1135.

Stephen of Blois declares that Henry had disinherited his daughter Maud, and coming to London is received as king. He is crowned, Dec. 26<sup>b</sup>.

Maud is acknowledged in Normandy.

## A.D. 1136.

A great council at Oxford, at which Stephen issues a charter, promising to respect the privileges of the Church, to do away with all injustices and exactions, to give up the forests formed by Henry, and to observe "the good and ancient laws and just customs, in murders, pleas, and other causes."

David, king of Scotland, invades England in February, but at Durham agrees to a truce.

Robert, earl of Gloucester, comes to England, and takes a conditional oath of allegiance to Stephen. The bishops also swear fealty to him "so long as he should maintain the liberty of the Church."

Baldwin de Rivers, and other nobles, declare in favour of Maud, and receive aid from David of Scotland.

The Welsh ravage the border counties.

Exeter, held by Baldwin de Rivers, is captured by Stephen.

Griffin ap Conan dies. He is succeeded by his son, Owen Gwynneth, who at once attacks the Normans and Flemings in South Wales, and expels them from many of their strongholds.

## A.D. 1137.

Stephen passes into Normandy, and spends Henry's treasure<sup>c</sup>, without securing adherents. He attempts to secure Robert of Gloucester, but fails, and returns to England.

## A.D. 1138.

Robert, earl of Gloucester, formally renounces the fealty he had sworn to Stephen, and prepares for an invasion of England. The king seizes his lands, except the castle of Bristol, which is successfully defended, and its garrison harasses his partisans.

David of Scotland invades England, but is defeated at the battle of the Standard, near Northallerton, August 22.

Several partisans of Maud declare themselves; Stephen marches against them, and captures some of their castles.

The nobles who adhere to Stephen extort lands and honours from him, and build castles at their pleasure.

A frightful state of confusion ensued. The nobles of both parties "cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-work, and when the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men<sup>d</sup>." They threw people into dungeons, and inflicted on them unutterable tortures. Every man robbed another who could. "Never yet was there more wretchedness in the land; nor ever did heathen men worse than they did; for after a time they spared neither church nor churchyard, but took all the goods that were therein, and then burned the church and all together." "They said openly, that Christ slept, and all His saints. The bishops and learned men cursed them continually, but the

<sup>b</sup> The years of his reign are reckoned from this day.

<sup>c</sup> "Much had King Henry gathered, gold and silver; but no good did men for his soul with it."

<sup>d</sup> These citations are from the Saxon Chronicle.

William of Malmesbury also says, "There were many castles throughout England, each defending its neighbourhood, or, more properly, laying it waste;" his picture of the sufferings of the people is substantially the same as in the text.

effect thereof was nothing to them, for they were all accused, and forsworn, and abandoned<sup>e</sup>."

The king summons the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln to a council at Oxford, at Midsummer, and compels them to surrender their castles; he also deprives the bishop of Ely of his see<sup>f</sup>.

A.D. 1139.

A council held at Winchester, under Henry of Blois, the bishop (Stephen's brother), as papal legate, in which the king's dealings with the bishops are condemned, Aug. 29.

Maud and her brother Robert of Gloucester land at Portsmouth, September 30.

Maud is besieged in Arundel castle<sup>g</sup> by Stephen, but is allowed to retire to Bristol.

Robert of Gloucester takes the field, whilst Maud remains, assuming royal state, at Gloucester.

Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford, is killed by the Welsh.

A.D. 1140.

Stephen passes part of the year in the Tower of London, attended only by the bishop of Seez, "for the others disdained or feared to come to him."

Henry of Blois attempts to induce Stephen and Maud to come to terms, but without success.

A.D. 1141.

Stephen grants honours to Ralph de Gernon, earl of Chester, and entrusts to him the castle of Lincoln. Afterwards, at the instigation of the people of Lincoln, he besieges him there, occupying the cathedral as a fortress.

Ralph escapes, and procures succour from Robert of Gloucester<sup>h</sup>, when Stephen is attacked and captured, Feb. 2: he is carried prisoner to Bristol. The citizens of Lincoln are slaughtered by the victors.

Henry of Blois joins Maud, and receives her into Winchester, March 3.

Maud is recognised as "Lady of England" by a synod at Winchester, April 7.

The citizens of London, and Matilda, Stephen's queen, claim his release, ineffectually, April 9. Many of Stephen's party excommunicated, April 10.

Maud holds her court at London at Midsummer, but giving offence by her haughty manner, she is shortly driven out by the citizens, and retires to Oxford.

Robert de Sigillo, who had been appointed bishop of London by Maud, is seized by Geoffrey de Magnaville, and committed to the Tower, July 2.

Maud names Geoffrey de Magnaville<sup>i</sup> earl of Essex by letters patent, this being the first instance of such mode of creation.

Maud quarrels with Henry of Blois. He retires to Winchester, makes an agreement with Matilda, the wife of Stephen, and absolves his friends.

Maud besieges him in the castle of Winchester, but is herself besieged in the palace, by William of Ypres, the general of Matilda.

Winchester is burnt by the combatants, Aug. 2.

Maud makes her escape from the city during the truce on Holy Cross-day (Sept. 14), but Robert of Gloucester is captured in covering her retreat.

Robert of Gloucester is exchanged for Stephen, Nov. 1, and joins Maud at Gloucester.

Henry of Blois holds a council at Westminster, in which he excommunicates Maud's adherents, Dec. 7; an emissary of Maud openly reproaches him "with great harshness of language," for his inconstancy.

A.D. 1142.

Maud removes to the castle of Oxford, while Robert seeks ineffectually aid from her husband Geoffrey.

Olaf does homage to Magnus V. of Norway, for Man and the Isles; he is killed by his nephews, June 29. Godred, his son, succeeds.

\* It is remarkable, however, that a greater number of religious houses was founded in this than in any preceding reign.

<sup>f</sup> Roger, bishop of Salisbury, had been the minister of Henry I.; Nigel of Ely and Alexander of Lincoln were his nephews. The strong castles of Sherborne, Salisbury, Malmesbury, Devizes, Newark, and Sleaford were in their hands. The bishop of Salisbury died Dec. 4, 1139; but his

nephews regained their possessions when Stephen himself was made prisoner in 1141.

<sup>g</sup> It was the property and residence of Adelais of Louvain, her stepmother.

<sup>h</sup> Ralph had married Robert's daughter, and she was then in the castle.

<sup>i</sup> Also called Mandeville. Some writers say that he had already received the title from Stephen A.D. 1136.

Maud is besieged in Oxford by Stephen, in September.

Robert returns, bringing with him Prince Henry, and some troops, but is unable to relieve the castle.

Maud, after a while, escapes to Walingford, Dec. 20.

A.D. 1143.

Maud retires to Gloucester, and is generally acknowledged as sovereign in the western counties; Stephen holds London and the eastern and central counties; David, king of Scotland, rules beyond the Tees.

The partisans of Stephen and Maud devastate the country between them.

The Normans storm St. Asaph. Gilbert is consecrated its bishop by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury.

Godred of Man invades Ireland.

A.D. 1144.

Owen captures Aberteivi from the Normans.

A.D. 1145.

Sigfrid, bishop of Chichester, is driven from his see<sup>k</sup>.

Robert of Gloucester dies, October 31; Maud withdraws to Normandy<sup>l</sup>.

Owen is successful against the Normans, and takes the castles of Carmarthen and Mold from them.

A.D. 1146.

Bernard of Clairvaux preaches a new crusade, which is headed by the emperor Conrad and Louis VII. of France<sup>m</sup>, but effects nothing of importance.

A.D. 1147.

Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, oppressed by Henry of Blois, the papal legate, and driven into exile. He returns, and places the king's demesnes under an interdict.

A.D. 1149.

Henry, the son of Maud, visits Scotland, and is there knighted by King David. He makes an inroad on the

north of England, but without success and soon returns to Normandy.

Madoc prince of Powys, and the earl of Chester, invade North Wales; they are defeated by Owen at Consilt, near Flint.

A.D. 1150.

The Norman settlements in South Wales greatly harassed by the sons of Griffin, the son of Rhys ap Tudor<sup>n</sup>, the last prince of the country.

A.D. 1151.

The earl of Chester is imprisoned, and obliged to give up the castle of Lincoln and other strongholds.

Theobald and the other prelates refuse to crown Eustace, the son of Stephen.

Death of Geoffrey of Anjou, Sept. 7.

A.D. 1152.

Henry, the son of Maud, lands in England, and the war is renewed.

The castle of Tenby captured by the Welsh.

A.D. 1153.

David of Scotland dies, May 24. He is succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm IV.<sup>o</sup>

Eustace, the son of Stephen, dies, Aug. 18; in consequence a treaty is made, Nov. 7, which provides for the succession of Henry to the throne on the death of Stephen. Fealty is accordingly sworn to him as the future king. He remained some time in England, and the Saxon Chronicler remarks, "All men loved him, for he did good justice, and made peace."

Eystein, king of Norway, ravages the coast of England, and destroys Scarborough.

A.D. 1154.

Henry returns to Normandy after Easter.

Stephen dies at Dover Priory, Oct. 25, and is buried at Feversham<sup>p</sup>.

Henry is summoned from Normandy; he lands in England Dec. 7.

<sup>k</sup> He was deposed by a synod, (on what charge is unknown,) and died in 1151.

<sup>l</sup> She was in peril of shipwreck on her voyage, and she founded a religious house on the spot where she landed, near Cherbourg.

<sup>m</sup> The king of France was accompanied by his wife, Eleanor of Guienne, but he divorced her soon after his return, and she then married Henry

of Anjou, (afterwards Henry II.)

<sup>n</sup> See A.D. 1111.

<sup>o</sup> His son Henry, earl of Huntingdon, had died shortly before.

<sup>p</sup> At the suppression of the monastery in the time of Henry VIII. the tomb was destroyed, the leaden coffin stolen, and the king's bones thrown into the sea.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Conrad founds the Hohenstaufen dynasty . . . . .	1138	mence . . . . .	1144
The kingdom of Portugal founded . . . . .	1139	The Almohades commence their rule in Spain . . . . .	1145
Civil wars of the Italian cities com-		The second Crusade . . . . .	1147

## NOTE.

## THE CINQUE PORTS.

EVER since Norman times a peculiar organization has been given to certain towns on the south-east coast of England, which appeared best situate for the defence of the country from foreign invasion<sup>1</sup>. Proceeding from east to west, these towns are, Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, New Romney, and Hastings, and though to these there have since been added the "ancient towns" of Winchelsea and Rye, the old appellation of the Cinque Ports is retained. The organization as a whole appears only to date from the time of King John, but most, if not all, of the ports had separate charters of privilege long before. The district in which they are situate, extending from the mouth of the Thames as far westward nearly as Brighton, is in reality a county palatine, presided over by a high officer of State, the lord-warden, in whose hands are still placed much of the civil, military, and naval powers elsewhere entrusted to several individuals.

This district has, however, suffered vast changes in the course of ages that have elapsed since the Norman invasion. Its duty of guarding the coast has been assumed by the general government, and, as a necessary consequence, its peculiar privileges have almost entirely passed away. But a more serious disaster has happened from another cause, for the sea has receded, and not a single safe natural harbour is now to be found along the whole line of coast.

Sandwich, Dover, and Romney are mentioned in Domesday Book, and it is clear that Sandwich was once the head of the confederacy; Hastings succeeded, but was in turn supplanted by Dover, which last has long been regarded as the principal port. The great duty of the Cinque Ports was to provide a fleet for the defence of

the narrow seas, and we learn from an ordinance of Henry III., in 1229, the relative importance of each town at that time. Dover is ordered to provide twenty-one ships, having twenty-one men and one boy on board each of them; Winchelsea ten; Hastings six; Sandwich, Hythe, Romney and Rye five each; these vessels were to serve for fifteen days at the expense of the towns, but to be paid by the king if required beyond that time. The total number was 57 ships and 1,254 men and boys; and this arrangement continued until the abolition of the feudal system.

The district had many peculiar courts and important privileges, and the inhabitants were so jealous of these, that no man was allowed to be a freeman in any other town; a record at Sandwich shews that, in 1532, a man was disfranchised for suing in the "foreign courts" at Westminster; and in 1668 another was fined for preferring an indictment at the quarter sessions of the county. A participation in their privileges was eagerly sought by "foreigners," and these "advocants," or clients, in time became so numerous that a regulation forbidding any more to be received was passed in a general assembly of the Ports in 1434; before this, however, several places had been accepted as subordinate members, or "limbs," of the chief ports, some of them lying considerably inland<sup>2</sup>.

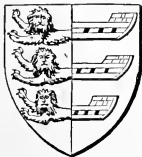
Most of the courts of the Cinque Ports have fallen into disuse, although legal process from the courts of Westminster has still to be executed by the bodar of Dover Castle, who is an officer of the lord-warden. The courts of Brotherhood and Guestling, held in turn yearly in each port, used to determine the mode of rendering the naval service to which they were

<sup>1</sup> As already remarked (p. 5), there appears good reason for believing that something similar existed under the Romans. We, however, find no mention of anything of the kind during the Saxon period, and the mode of government by mayors or bailiffs and jurors, which prevailed until recently in each town, is confessedly of Norman origin.

<sup>2</sup> Of these "limbs" Seaford was probably once the most important, as it also sent barons to parliament. Each coast-town from Pevensey to Faversham is a member, as also is Brightlingsea, in Essex, and, among other places, Tenterden, Lydd, Sarr, Fordwich, and Grange, or Grenche, near Chatham, which are remote from the sea.

bound, and still meets occasionally, for certain purposes, at New Romney; the court of Shepway was the only one in which their freemen could be impleaded, and was originally held at Shepway-cross, near Hythe, but afterwards removed to various places, all, however, within the jurisdiction; the court of Chancery, now disused, was held at Dover; and in that town are still held the court of Admiralty, and the court of Lodemanage, for regulating pilots. The Admiralty court was once held on the open shore at Sandwich, but was removed to Dover at least as early as the thirteenth century.

The ships of the Cinque Ports formed for many ages a most important part of every English fleet; the records of each reign shew how well they performed their duty, and accordingly we find them frequently rewarded by charters and immunities. As one instance, Edward I., by his charter of May 20, 1277, gave them jurisdiction over the distant port of Yarmouth, in return for their aid against Llewelyn; but this supremacy was strenuously resisted, was by a charter of Elizabeth, 1576, limited to a co-ordinate jurisdiction, and has long been abandoned, (in 1663); the last great charter (that of Charles II., Dec. 23, 1668,) gives the limit of their rule as from Shore-beacon, Essex (at the mouth of the Thames), to the Red Cliff, at Seaford. They had, however, almost a monopoly of the trade with France and Spain, and down to a comparatively late period they were careful to distinguish their ships and men from any others. Thus in the Cinque Ports' Register, under the year 1514, we



Arms of the Cinque Ports.

read, "Every person that goeth into the navie of the portis shall haue a cote of white cotyn, with a red crosse, and the armes of the portis underneath, that is to say, the halfe lyon and the halfe ship." They looked on themselves as peculiarly "King's Men"—the Royal Navy of the time—and assumed a superiority over the mariners of other ports, which often led to fierce battles. The Ports continued distinct from other places until the passing of the Municipal Corporations Reform Act, by the operation of which many of the peculiarities of their local government, and most of their exclusive privileges, have been abolished.

The office of lord warden of the Cinque Ports has ever been held by men of high rank, and some of the first names in English history are to be found on the roll; but, like the Ports themselves, it has now ceased to have any political importance, and is generally bestowed on the prime minister for the time being on the occasion of a vacancy. Thus it has been held by William Pitt, and the earl of Liverpool, and, more appropriately, by the late duke of Wellington; it is now enjoyed by Earl Granville, whose official residence is Walmer Castle, near Deal.

Of the present state of the Ports little need be said. They return eight members to parliament, who are still styled barons, and have the right (not exercised, however, of late) to an important place at coronations\*; and they are yet distinct from the counties in which they are situate, and have gaols, coroners, &c., of their own; but as far as commerce and navigation are concerned, they have long been the mere shadows of what they once were, being in many cases eclipsed by their members, which have risen in proportion as the head Ports have decayed. For instance, Margate and Ramsgate have ten times the population and trade of their legal superior, Sandwich, though Ramsgate is still governed by a deputy from the mayor of that town. Dover, Hythe, and Hastings, however, enjoy some importance as sea-bathing resorts.

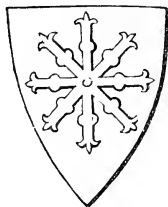
\* Up to the coronation of George IV. in 1821 they bore canopies with silver bells over the sovereign in the procession, and received them for their fee. In ancient times these were usually bestowed on the shrine of some saint, very commonly on that of St. Thomas at Canterbury; more

recently, they have been broken up and sold, but a few of the bells are to be found preserved in the town-halls of one or two of the ports. The barons were formerly sixteen in number, but they were reduced one half by the operation of the Reform Act of 1832.

## THE PLANTAGENETS.



Arms of Geoffrey, count of Anjou.



The Escarboucle.

THIS celebrated line of kings sprang from the marriage of the empress Maud with Geoffrey, son of Fulk, count of Anjou, who also had the office of seneschal of France, and eventually became king of Jerusalem. The name is evidently derived from *planta genista*, the broom-plant, a sprig of which,



*Planta genista.*

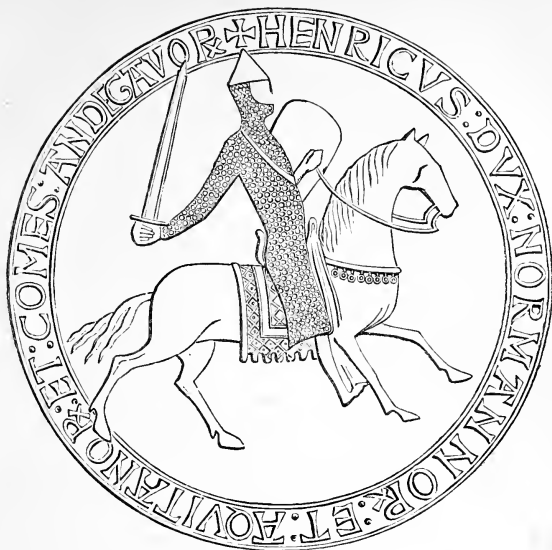
it seems, was usually worn by Geoffrey in his cap, or other head-gear; but whether it is to be taken as an indication of his love for field sports, or was assumed as a token of humility or badge of penance, is doubtful; the latter, however, being the most probable.

The Plantagenet kings were fourteen in number, and their rule extended over a period of 331 years (A.D. 1154—1485). Some of our ablest monarchs are found among them; but they were almost incessantly engaged in fierce struggles with either their subjects or their kindred, in many cases with disastrous results to them-

selves. Henry II. and John sank broken-hearted (the latter perhaps poisoned) under their difficulties; Richard I. and Richard III. fell in the field; Edward II. was murdered; and Richard II., Henry VI., and Edward V., lost their crowns, if not their lives. Yet, to the great body of their subjects, the results of these dire convulsions were eminently beneficial; they first weakened, then shook to its centre, the feudal system, and admitted the municipal bodies and the commons of the land to a share in the government, which was so enlarged under succeeding kings, as at length to render it impossible that England should ever again be ruled merely by the sword.

The great foreign events of the Plantagenet era were, the annexation of Wales and the partial conquest of Ireland; the loss of the continental possessions of the house, and the long series of attacks upon Scotland and France, which, happily for all parties, were ultimately unsuccessful. The kings of France formed counter projects for the conquest of England, which were but indifferently seconded by their nobles, who had no wish to lose the asylum which our island frequently afforded them from any violent exertion of the royal power, and therefore their efforts were altogether abortive.





Great Seal of Henry II.

## HENRY II.

HENRY, the eldest son of Maud, daughter of Henry I., and Geoffrey count of Anjou, was born at Le Mans, in Maine, March 5, 1133. He was brought to England in his 10th year, passed several years of his boyhood under the care of his uncle Robert, earl of Gloucester, and acquired a greater degree of literary culture than was then usual among princes. In 1151 he contracted a politic, but unhappy and discreditable marriage with Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, with whom he obtained possession of Aquitaine\*, and succeeding shortly after, by compact, to the throne of England, he became one of the

most powerful princes of his time. His first step towards remedying the disorders of his kingdom was forcing the most turbulent of his nobles to respect his authority, and to give up many of their strongest castles. He also dispossessed the Scots from the northern districts of England, made several strenuous but vain efforts to subjugate the Welsh, and formally annexed Ireland to his dominions. Several years of his reign were disturbed by contentions with the Church, and he suffered greatly by the rebellions of his sons, who, encouraged by their mother, leagued themselves with the kings of France and Scotland

\* She was the daughter of William V. of Aquitaine, and was born in 1122. She married Louis of France, by whom she had two daughters, and accompanied him to Palestine, but was divorced soon after his return to Europe on the formal plea of consanguinity, but in reality in consequence of her misconduct. Her marriage with Henry was also unhappy, and in the course of it she suffered

several years' imprisonment. She had a great share in the conduct of affairs during the reign of her son Richard, strenuously exerted herself to procure his liberation, and then reconciled him to his brother John. The latter years of her life were chiefly passed abroad, and dying in 1202, at the castle of Mirabel, in Anjou, she was buried at Fontevraud.

against him, and at last caused his death from grief and vexation.

Henry died at Chinon, in Touraine, on the 6th of July, 1189, and was

buried at Fontevraud, in Anjou. His marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine brought him five sons and three daughters.



Henry II.



Eleanor of Guienne.

From their monuments at Fontevraud.

1. William, born 1152, had fealty sworn to him in 1156, but died shortly after, and was buried at Reading.

2. Henry, born at London, Feb. 28, 1155, was in his childhood affianced to Margaret, the daughter of Louis VII. of France, and married to her at a very early age. He was crowned king by his father's command in 1170, but leagued with his brothers against him; in the midst of the contest he died, with strong marks of contrition, June 11, 1183. His widow married Bela, king of Hungary, and died a pilgrim at Acre, in 1198.

3. RICHARD became king.

4. Geoffrey, born Sept. 23, 1158, married Constance, the heiress of Conan le Petit, count of Brittany. In contests of his father and brothers, he changed sides so frequently as to become notorious for his treachery; he was thrown from his horse and killed at a tournament at Paris, Aug. 19, 1186. His children were the unfortunate Eleanor and Arthur, the victims of their uncle John<sup>b</sup>.

5. JOHN became king.

6. Matilda, born at London in 1156, was married to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, and after sharing many troubles with him, died June 28, 1189, shortly after his exile by the emperor Frederick I.

7. Eleanor, born at Domfront, in Normandy, in 1162, was married to Alphonso III. of Castile, with whom

she lived forty-three years, and died of grief, October 31, 1214, only twenty-five days after his decease.

8. Johanna, born at Angers in October, 1165, was married while a child to William the Good, king of Sicily; she was early left a widow, and afterwards married Raymond VI., count of Toulouse. She accompanied her brother Richard to the Holy Land, and did not long survive him, dying, after having assumed the habit of a nun, in Sept. 1199; she was buried with him at Fontevraud.

Henry had a number of illegitimate children, of whom two especially require notice.

William, called Longespee, received in marriage Ela, the heiress of William Fitz-Patrick, earl of Salisbury. He



Arms of William Longespee.

was an eminent military commander, and the main support, both by his arms and his counsel, of his brother John, by whom he appears to have been duly valued. He did much

<sup>b</sup> His widow married Ranulf, earl of Chester, but deserted him for Guy de Thouars, by whom she had a daughter Alice, from whom sprang the

dukes of Brittany, who bore a conspicuous part in the wars of Edward III.

damage to the towns, and burnt the fleet of France, but was himself captured at Bouvines; he died March 7, 1226. His son, of the same name, served in Egypt under Louis IX. of France, and was killed there in 1249.

Geoffrey, though not in orders, had the see of Lincoln bestowed on him in 1173, and held it till Jan. 6, 1182, when he resigned it, devoting himself to a secular life, and accompanied his father as his chancellor; his conduct contrasted so greatly with that of his brothers, that the king declared Geoffrey was his true son, and on his death-bed, which he alone attended, expressed a wish that he should become archbishop of York. Richard accordingly bestowed it on him, though when he went on the crusade he forbade Geoffrey to remain in England. Geoffrey, however, took possession after a short struggle with Long-

champ, the justiciary, and held his see till 1207, when opposing the exactions of John, he was driven abroad, and he died in exile in Normandy, Dec. 18, 1212.

Another natural son, Morgan, a priest, became provost of Beverley, and in 1215 was elected to the see of Durham, but rejected by the pope on the ground of his illegitimate birth, which he proudly refused to conceal, by taking, as the pontiff is said to have advised, the name of Bloet, that of his mother.

In this king's reign the royal arms of England assumed their present form, "Gules, three lions passant guardant, in pale, or," being, as is supposed, a lion added for Aquitaine to the two before used for Normandy and Poitou. Beside using the badge of his house, the broom-plant, the personal devices of an *escarboucle* and a sword



Arms and Badge of Henry II.



Plantagenista.

and olive-branch are attributed to him.

The character of Henry, judging from his actions, cannot be drawn in other than unfavourable colours. His contemporaries are almost unanimous in describing him as polished in his manner, though subject to occasional fits of ungovernable rage; faithless to his word, and even attempting to justify his conduct, by remarking that it was better to have to repent of words than

of deeds; crafty rather than brave, and, at least in one memorable instance, cruel in the extreme, when irritated by defeat<sup>c</sup>; licentious in his life, and most unwise in his treatment of his children<sup>d</sup>; and so covetous of empire as to marry a divorced wife for the sake of her patrimony. As to his personal government, his constant efforts to curb the power of his nobles must have been beneficial to the rest of his subjects<sup>e</sup>; and he has received the

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1165.

<sup>d</sup> They all rebelled against him; but the fault was not wholly theirs, or their mother's, whom historians in general blame so heavily. From his childhood Henry had encouraged Richard to look on himself as the future sovereign of Aquitaine, and he had early employed him against rebels in that quarter, which rendered the young prince unpopular there, yet he allowed Henry and Geoffrey to make war upon him, in their support; and his conduct was such regarding the possessions of Margaret and Adalais, who were betrothed to Henry and Richard, as to shew that views of territorial aggrandisement actuated him as much in the case

of their marriages as in his own.

<sup>e</sup> The practice of allowing the tenants of the crown to compound for their military service by the payment of a sum of money, termed *scutage*, introduced in this reign, may be regarded as the first great blow to the feudal system. At first it was doubtless a relief, but in aftertimes its effect was far from beneficial, as it placed funds in the hands of kings, which they often expended in hiring Brabançons and other foreign mercenaries; they thus were enabled to oppress all classes, and for a time to violate their oaths and disregard their charters with impunity.

credit, whether justly or unjustly, of putting an end to the extortions of such itinerant justiciaries as Flambard<sup>f</sup>; by the establishment of regular circuits of judges<sup>g</sup>; important matters, no doubt, but still affording very insufficient ground for the praises often lavished on him by writers, who, misled by pity for his unhappy end, or strong feelings on the conflict of ecclesiastical and regal power which marked his time, have described him as the greatest and best of English kings.

## A.D. 1154.

Henry is crowned at Westminster, by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, Dec. 19<sup>h</sup>.

## A.D. 1155.

Stephen's Flemish mercenaries are sent to reinforce their countrymen in West Wales (Pembrokeshire).

Henry renews the charter of liberties of Henry I.<sup>i</sup>, resumes many of the late king's grants, destroys most of the newly-erected castles<sup>j</sup>, and appoints justices to redress the disorders of the time.

Henry, bishop of Winchester (brother of King Stephen), quits the kingdom without permission, when his strong castles are seized by the king.

The king applies to the pope (Adrian IV.) for permission to undertake the conquest of Ireland, which is granted to him<sup>k</sup>, but he does not for many years avail himself of it.

Hugh Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, on the Welsh border, refuses to surrender his castles to the king, but is soon obliged to submit.

## A.D. 1156.

Godred of Man defeated by Sumer-

leid, lord of Argyll<sup>l</sup>, in a naval battle, Jan. 6; the Isles are in consequence partitioned.

Henry makes war on his brother Geoffrey, and drives him out of Anjou. He also deprives him of the castles of Chinon, Mirabel, and Loudun, which had been bestowed on him by their father<sup>m</sup>. Geoffrey seeks refuge in Brittany, where he becomes governor of the town of Nantes.

## A.D. 1157.

Henry compels the Scots to withdraw from the north of England, and in return confirms the earldom of Huntingdon to the Scottish king (Malcolm IV.)

William the son of Stephen, Hugh Bigod earl of Norfolk, and many other nobles, are obliged to surrender their castle.

Henry interferes in the quarrels of Owen Gwynneth and his brother Cadwalader<sup>n</sup>; he is in danger in the pass of Consilt, near Flint, but saves himself by flight<sup>o</sup>.

Henry is a second time crowned, at Lincoln, on Christmas-day, and a third time at Worcester, at Easter, 1158.

## A.D. 1158.

Geoffrey, his brother, dies, and Henry obtains possession of Nantes.

Sumerleid again defeats Godred of Man, who in consequence professes himself the tributary of the king of Norway (Magnus V.), and claims his assistance.

## A.D. 1159.

Henry claims Toulouse, in right of his wife, and lays siege to the city, but without success. He is accompanied by William the son of Ste-

<sup>f</sup> See p. 96.

<sup>h</sup> The years of his reign are computed from this day.

<sup>i</sup> See A.D. 1100.

<sup>j</sup> See A.D. 1138.

<sup>k</sup> The papal pretext was, "to extend the bounds of the Church, and to teach a rude people the rudiments of the Christian faith," as if the Irish were still pagans; that of the king, a desire to conquer a kingdom for his brother William. The real reasons apparently were, the craving of the king for larger territory, and the desire of the pope to see his supremacy formally recognised in Ireland, where as yet it was allowed only by the Ostmen.

<sup>l</sup> The ancestor of the potent Lords of the Isles of a later day.

<sup>m</sup> Henry thus early shewed that contempt for the most solemn promises which appears in so many actions of his life.

<sup>n</sup> Cadwalader lived many years after, detested by his countrymen as an ally of the Normans, and equally distrusted by the latter. At length he was summoned to England to answer certain charges of the Marchers, and was murdered on his return, though under the safe conduct of the king, Sept. 22, 1179.

<sup>o</sup> The battle of Consilt is the theme of a spirited ode by Cynddelw, a contemporary bard, who, addressing the king, says,

"Knighthood to the generous beast  
That saved thee, king, thou owest at least."

phen, and Thomas Becket, his chancellor<sup>p</sup>. The king of France (Louis VII.) supports the count of Toulouse, and war ensues.

A.D. 1160.

Peace is made with France, in October. Henry retains his conquests in the south of France, and arranges a marriage between his son Henry and Margaret, the daughter of Louis VII., children of tender age.

The children are married, by authority of the papal legate, Nov. 2; Henry thus obtains possession of the princess's dower, which gives occasion to a new war<sup>q</sup>.

A.D. 1161.

The French are defeated at Chaumont.

Peace is made in July, when the kings agree to receive Alexander III. as pope<sup>r</sup>.

Owen Gwynneth ravages South Wales.

A.D. 1162.

Thomas Becket is, by the king's

command, elected archbishop of Canterbury, May 24; he is consecrated on Whit-Sunday, May 27.

The archbishop, shortly after, resigns the chancellorship, which greatly offends the king<sup>s</sup>, who in consequence supports Roger de Clare and others in keeping possession of several manors and castles belonging to the see of Canterbury.

A.D. 1163.

The king returns to England, in January.

Henry of Essex, accused of treason at Consilt<sup>t</sup>, is defeated in single combat by Robert de Montfort; his life is thereby forfeited, but he is allowed to become a monk at Reading<sup>u</sup>.

An assembly held at Westminster, in October, at which complaints are made of the proceedings of the spiritual courts, and the bishops are required to observe the "customs" used in the time of Henry I.; they promise to do so, "saving the rights of their order," at which the king is displeased.

## THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON.

A.D. 1164.

A COUNCIL held at Clarendon (near Salisbury), Jan. 25, when certain articles are brought forward by John of Oxford, the king's chaplain, specifying the "customs;" the bishops are compelled by threats of violence to subscribe to them; the archbishop, however, formally retracts his consent.

These articles, known as the Constitutions of Clarendon, are sixteen in number. They are described as customs of the time of Henry I., but the

real state of the case is, that they revive claims which had embroiled Henry I. with Anselm and the popes, and had been formally abandoned. All controversies on ecclesiastical patronage are to be determined in the king's courts; churches in the king's demesne are only to be filled up by him; the clergy, both in person and property, are rendered amenable to the king's courts; they are forbidden to go abroad without his consent, or to appeal to Rome. Vacant bishop-

<sup>p</sup> This eminent man was born in 1118, his father, Gilbert, being a London trader, of Norman descent, who held the office of portreeve. He was brought forward by the Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, who made him his archdeacon, and introduced him to the king; by whom he was first named chaplain, but soon afterwards chancellor; he also acted sometimes as ambassador, sometimes as soldier. His income was great, and he maintained his household in almost regal magnificence, which was made a charge against him when he fell into disgrace; but there is neither evidence nor reasonable suspicion that he had applied the king's treasure to his own purposes.

<sup>q</sup> The princess had been placed in the hands of Henry for education, and her dower (the Vexin, see A.D. 1097,) put in charge of the Templars, to be delivered over on her marriage, which of course was expected to be deferred till the parties were of

a suitable age. Henry, however, by marrying them at once obtained the territory, which lay temptingly near his own.

<sup>r</sup> The emperor (Frederick I.) supported a rival pope, who was styled Victor IV.

<sup>s</sup> Almost immediately after his consecration the king became on ill terms with his former favourite; Becket's real offence being, that he would not sacrifice the rights of his new office to preserve the goodwill of the courtiers, now no longer his familiar associates.

<sup>t</sup> See A.D. 1157. Either from cowardice or treachery he threw down the king's standard, of which he was the bearer, and took to flight.

<sup>u</sup> Among his forfeited lands was Saltwood Castle, in Kent, which he held from the see of Canterbury. Becket claimed the forfeiture, but the king bestowed it on Ranulf de Broc, a knight of his household.

rics and other dignities may remain for an unlimited time in the king's hands; election thereto is only to be by his licence; and homage, fealty, and all other services are due for them as well as for lay fees, except sitting in judgment in matters of life and limb. The spiritual courts are forbidden to proceed to excommunication of the king's ministers or tenants in chief without the king's consent, all pleas of debt\* are to be judged only in the king's courts, and church-yards are not to afford shelter for the goods of offenders condemned therein; and, lastly, the ordination of the sons of villeins without their lord's consent is prohibited.

A.D. 1164.

A second council is assembled at Northampton, Oct. 7. Many charges are brought against the archbishop, chiefly concerning his administration of the king's treasure while chancellor. He pleads that all such matters had been settled with the king's justiciary before he became archbishop, but is nevertheless condemned in a very large sum, when he announces his intention of appealing to the pope, Oct. 13.

The archbishop leaves Northampton in disguise, the same night. He travels under the name of "brother Christian," and after some stay on the Kentish coast, lands near Gravelines, in Flanders, Nov. 2. He finds an asylum at Pontigny, in Burgundy, with the Cistercians.

The king banishes the family and friends of the archbishop, to the number of 400, obliging them to take an oath to repair to him in his exile<sup>7</sup>.

The Welsh, both of the south and the north, carry on the war against the marchers.

A.D. 1165.

Henry invades Wales with a large force, but is unsuccessful, and barbarously hangs many hostages formerly

placed in his hands; among others, several children.

The Welsh capture Basingwerk, near Flint, and other castles, but disagreeing about the spoil, their confederacy is broken up.

A.D. 1166.

A council held at Oxford, in which thirty German heretics are condemned. Being branded, and driven forth, they perish of hunger.

The archbishop excommunicates many of the king's friends, and also such of the bishops and clergy as had agreed to abide by the Constitutions of Clarendon, June 12.

A council held at London, which votes an appeal to the pope from the excommunications of the archbishop.

The king persecutes the Cistercians for affording him refuge. He in consequence quits Pontigny, November.

Dermot, king of Leinster, expelled by his fellow kings, repairs to Henry, and offers to become his vassal, if replaced. The king declines to engage in the matter, but allows him to apply to his nobles.

A.D. 1167.

Becket receives shelter at Sens from the king of France. Henry makes war on him, and captures and destroys the castles of Chaumont, Gisors, and others.

A.D. 1168.

Many of the nobles of Brittany, Poitou, and Guienne, join the king of France.

Henry marches against them, subdues them, and destroys their castles.

A.D. 1169.

Peace is concluded between Louis and Henry, Jan. 6. The archbishop has an interview with them, but nothing is concluded.

The pope (Alexander III.) appoints commissioners to effect a reconciliation, but they are distrusted by both parties.

The archbishop excommunicates Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, the king's chief adviser<sup>2</sup>.

\* It was then customary for a borrower to swear to make payment by a certain day; his neglect of his oath was a spiritual offence, which brought him into the power of the ecclesiastical courts.

<sup>7</sup> They were received with great kindness in France, and the king (Louis VII.) warmly es-

poused the archbishop's cause. The pope (Alexander III.) was then dwelling in France.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence was made known in Foliot's own cathedral by a young French priest, the archbishop's messenger, on Ascension Day (May 29).

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1169.

Dermot de Leinster procures aid from Richard de Clare<sup>a</sup>. Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen<sup>b</sup>, two of Clare's associates, are sent forward with a small body of Norman horse and Welsh foot; they land near Wexford, June 24, and establish themselves there.

The state of Ireland, mainly in consequence of the strange system of elective monarchy which prevailed there, had long been such as to favour any invasion from England, even, as was now the case, with comparatively small numbers. There were five native kings, commonly at war among themselves; and although one of them was nominally lord paramount, and styled *Ardriach*, his authority cannot have been much regarded, as the head of each sept, or tribe, was everywhere considered as an independent ruler. Each king's successor was chosen by popular election, during the lifetime of the king himself, being sometimes his eldest son, but more often not, and so frequently making war to obtain possession, that more than half of the Irish kings whose fate is known are ascertained to have met with violent deaths from this cause. Primogeniture was unknown, and on the death of any chief, his possessions were equally shared among all his male issue, whether legitimate or not. To add to the confusion, the Ostman kings and bishops were in constant communication with the kindred Norman rulers in England; and Norman mercenaries sold their services to every chief who could pay them.

A people thus divided into as many factions as families, of course could offer no more effectual opposition to

the new invaders than to their precursors; but though easily established, the rule of the English kings in Ireland was in reality for a long period restricted to very narrow limits; little more indeed than the Ostman seaports which had been reserved for the crown by Henry II. The natives, seeing their invaders begin to quarrel over their spoil, which they speedily did, reconquered much of the country that had been overrun, and disclaimed their recent formal submission. The king's officers were equally set at nought by the Norman settlers, who soon, in hatred to all newer comers and defiance of authority, became "more Irish than the Irish themselves;" they strove to dispossess the old inhabitants, but yet they intermarried with them, and adopted their language, with much of their manners and customs.

The kings of England took the title of Lords of Ireland, but their authority was little more than nominal. Statutes and proclamations for nearly 400 years speak of three classes in the country, the king's subjects, the king's rebels, and the king's enemies. The first, never more than an insignificant number, were the inhabitants of the English Pale, a limited district on the east coast, who, dwelling in, or immediately adjoining, Dublin, Drogheda, or other fortified towns, were thus by military force compelled to yield a semblance of obedience; the second ordinarily comprised, in the east and south, the Butlers and Fitzgeralds, in the north and west, the De Courcys, De Burghs, and other Anglo-Irish chiefs, who occupied in almost independent sovereignty the open country; the last were the na-

<sup>a</sup> He was a descendant of Richard of Brionne, a Norman, who fought at Hastings, and appears in Domesday Book possessed of manors in Kent, Suffolk, and seven other counties. His grandfather Gilbert made conquest of great part of West Wales, and received the title of earl of Pembroke, which is also sometimes given to him, but he is better known as Strongbow, or Richard of Strigul (Chepstow), from his place of residence. He was a man of broken fortune and in disgrace with the king, but his military skill and courteous manners gave him great influence, which he was induced to exert by the liberal promises of the fugitive. Strongbow

married Eva, the daughter of Dermot, and succeeded to his kingdom in 1170; he was obliged to surrender this to Henry II., but had the lands re-granted, except Dublin, Waterford, and the other Ostman seaports, which the king retained in his own hands. He died in Dublin in 1177. His granddaughter Isabel married William Marshall, who became earl of Pembroke, and was guardian of the realm in the minority of Henry III.

<sup>b</sup> They were the sons of Nesta, one of the mistresses of Henry I., and so half-brothers of Robert, earl of Gloucester. See p. 102.

tives, the "mere Irish," who fiercely contended for their rocky fastnesses and remote districts, in which struggle they received occasional assistance from both Scotland and Norway. Though emphatically styled the king's enemies, they really appear to have been less hostile to the royal government than the other classes, for they made frequent applications for the benefit of the laws and the king's protection, but failed to obtain either; they had then no hope but in arms, and thus they remained barbarous and poor, though probably not much more so than their opponents. Thus the history of Ireland is for ages nothing but a dreary picture of convulsions and blood, painful to peruse, and but slightly connected with that of any other country.

A.D. 1169.

Owen Gwynneth dies; his son David succeeds, after a civil war<sup>c</sup>.

The papal legates endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the king and the archbishop, who accordingly meet in November, at St. Denys, but part without any agreement<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 1170.

Henry, the king's son, is crowned by the king's command at Westminster, on Sunday, June 14, by the archbishop of York (Roger of Bishopsbridge) and other prelates. Becket complains to the pope, who forwards him a sentence of suspension against them, as invaders of the rights of the see of Canterbury.

The king and the archbishop meet at Mont Louis, near Tours, and are formally reconciled, July 22.

Richard de Clare goes to Ireland in

August, and captures Dublin. He is soon after besieged there by the Irish in conjunction with the Ostmen, but holds his ground<sup>e</sup>.

The archbishop's possessions are restored to him, Nov. 12. He returns to Canterbury, Dec. 3, and finds that the property of the see has been grievously wasted by Ranulf<sup>f</sup> and Robert de Broc, the sequestrators.

He publishes the sentence against the prelates, who repair to the king in Normandy, and beseech his protection. Henry gives utterance to angry expressions, which prove the immediate cause of the archbishop's death.

The archbishop proposes to visit the young king at Woodstock, but is prevented. His provisions are intercepted, and his life threatened. He preaches in the cathedral on Christmas-day, and afterwards excommunicates Ranulf and Robert de Broc.

Four Norman knights (Richard Brito, Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Moreville, and William Tracy) having secretly left the king's court, repair to Ranulf de Broc, at Saltwood, Dec. 28. On the following day they proceed to Canterbury, when, feigning a commission from the king, they in vain endeavour to induce the archbishop to recall the sentence against the archbishop of York and the other prelates. At length they follow him into the north transept of the cathedral, and there murder him near the altar of St. Benedict, Dec. 29. His body is hastily buried in the crypt, Dec. 30<sup>g</sup>.

A.D. 1171.

The king sends ambassadors to the pope, to deny all complicity in the archbishop's death; the pope pronounces a sentence of excommunication against the murderers in general,

<sup>c</sup> Several Welsh chieftains being exiles in consequence of this war, some of them sought the protection of the king, and did homage to him as their liege lord at Gloucester, July 25, 1173. One of the exiles, named Madoc, (probably a son of Owen,) is said by the bards to have preferred putting to sea with a few of his friends, and to have reached America; a statement which recent researches have shewn to be by no means improbable.

<sup>d</sup> They had had meetings before, as early as November, 1167, but without any good result, neither party being willing to put faith in the other.

<sup>e</sup> Dermot died soon after, and by the terms of their treaty de Clare became king. He, however,

lost no time in explaining to Henry that he only held his conquests in trust for him. The king, however, at once set on foot the army with which he invaded Ireland in 1171.

<sup>f</sup> The knight who had received Saltwood from the king seven years before. See A.D. 1163.

<sup>g</sup> There it remained until the year 1220, when it was with solemn pomp transferred to a splendid shrine which had been prepared immediately behind the high altar. Becket was canonized by Pope Alexander III., March 3, 1173, and although his shrine was destroyed, and his name erased from the Anglican calendar, by Henry VIII., no less than sixty-four churches still exist in England dedicated to him. The first was built by Richard de Lucy, the justiciary, in 1178.



and appoints legates to examine who are the really guilty parties<sup>b</sup>.

The king returns to England in August, equips an army, and invades Ireland; he lands at Waterford, Oct. 18.

The Irish prelates hold a council at Armagh, in which all English slaves are ordered to be set at liberty; in another council, held at Cashel, Nov. 6, Henry is acknowledged as king; he arrives in Dublin, Nov. 12.

A.D. 1172.

The king leaves Ireland, April 17, and returns to Normandy in May. At a council held at Avranches, May 21, he is formally absolved from all guilty knowledge of the archbishop's death.

A.D. 1173.

Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, the king's sons, flee to the court of the king of France, March 8. Eleanor, their mother, endeavours to join them, but being captured, is imprisoned during the remainder of the king's life<sup>1</sup>.

The kings of France and Scotland support the young princes, and a civil war breaks out both in England and Normandy.

Richard, prior of Dover, is elected archbishop of Canterbury, "and immediately," says Roger of Wendover, "the bishop-elect swore fealty to the king, 'saving his order,' and no mention was made of observing the customs of the kingdom. This took place at Westminster, in the chapel of St. Catherine, with the consent of the king's justiciary<sup>k</sup>."

Roger de Mowbray, who had fortified the isle of Axholme for Prince Henry, is obliged to surrender; the earl of Leicester is captured, Oct. 16.

Hugh Lacy is appointed governor of Ireland, receiving the district of Meath as his fee.

A.D. 1174.

Carlisle is besieged by the Scots.

Norwich burnt by Hugh Bigot, a partisan of Prince Henry.

Henry comes over to England, and does penance at the tomb of the archbishop, July 12.

The king of Scotland (William the Lion) is captured by surprise at Alnwick, on the next day, July 13. David, his brother, retreats.

The Irish make a desperate effort to drive out the Normans, and cut off many of their garrisons.

The king returns to Normandy; he raises the siege of Rouen, Aug. 14; is reconciled to his sons, Sept. 29.

Richard and Geoffrey do homage for their counties, Oct. 11.

The king of Scotland, who had been imprisoned at Falaise, is released, Dec. 8, on doing homage to Henry and his son, and promising to surrender the castles of Jedburgh, Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling.

The Scottish kings had before done homage to the kings of England, but, in all probability, only for the English lands which they held, as Cumberland and Huntingdon. This homage was, however, for the kingdom of Scotland, and its exaction was an ungenerous attempt to turn the personal misfortune of the king into a sacrifice of the rights of an independent nation. William the Lion paid a sum of money to Richard I. for the abandonment of the homage and the surrender of his castles, and thus placed the relations of the two crowns on their former footing.

The king returns to England, accompanied by the young King Henry.

A.D. 1175.

The bull of Pope Adrian IV.<sup>1</sup> is brought forward in Ireland; Roderic, king of Connaught, and many other chiefs, formally acknowledge Henry as their lord paramount.

At a council at Northampton, the archbishop of York (Roger of Pont l'Evêque) claims, in vain, canonical obedience from the Scottish prelates, Jan. 25.

The archbishop of York thrown down and trampled on by the par-

<sup>b</sup> The legates after a while expressed themselves satisfied that the only criminals were the above-named knights. Owing to the conflict of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction they seem to have escaped punishment.

<sup>1</sup> She was set at liberty for a short time in the

year 1184, on occasion of the visit of her daughter Matilda, and her husband, Henry of Saxony, but was again imprisoned on their departure.

<sup>k</sup> The pope (Alexander III.) consecrated him at Anagni, April 7, 1174.

<sup>1</sup> See A.D. 1155.

tisans of the see of Canterbury, at a council held in St. Catherine's chapel, Westminster Abbey, March 14.

A.D. 1176.

The king levels the castle of Leicester, and several other strongholds belonging to the favours of his sons.

A great council held at Northampton, at which England is divided into six districts, nearly corresponding to the judges' circuits of the present day, and three judges assigned to each<sup>m</sup>, with powers to hear and determine most of the causes that had formerly been cognizable only before the king<sup>n</sup>.

A.D. 1177.

A great council held at Oxford, in May, at which several Welsh chiefs attend, and do homage to the king.

Earl John is declared Lord of Ireland (Hugh Lacy being his deputy), and the whole country is allotted to various knights and nobles, who undertake to achieve its complete conquest<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1178

The kings of England and France are reconciled, and profess an intention to undertake a crusade together.

## THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM.

THE Christian kingdom in the Holy Land was at this time in imminent danger. Its king (Baldwin IV.) was a leper, unable to conduct the affairs of the state, and the regency was contended for by his sister Sibylla<sup>p</sup> and Raymond of Tripoli, his most powerful vassal; Raymond was unsuccessful, and is generally believed to have allied himself with the infidels, who, with Saladin<sup>q</sup> at their head, were preparing for the reconquest of the country. The promised crusade of the two kings, however, never took place; the king of France (who had indeed thirty years before served and suffered in Palestine<sup>r</sup>) died shortly after, and Henry, when pressed on the matter, positively refused to leave Europe, but the enterprise was carried out by their sons, Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion.

A.D. 1179.

The eleventh general council (of the

Lateran) held at Rome, on matters of discipline, March 5 to 19.

The king of France visits the tomb of Archbishop Becket as a pilgrim, in September.

A.D. 1180.

Richard, the king's son, ravages the territory of Geoffrey de Luneville, in Poitou, "scarce regarding the sanctity of the churches."

The king of France dies, Sept. 18, and is succeeded by his son Philip Augustus.

A.D. 1181.

The king issues an ordinance commanding every person to provide himself with arms, according to his degree. Complete suits of armour were to be provided for each knight and each freeman of the wealthier class, and lighter equipments for each burgher and poor freeman.

Pope Alexander III. dies, Aug. 30.

<sup>m</sup> Itinerant justices existed even in the time of Henry I., but apparently they had no fixed circuits. The regulation of their proceedings, not their institution, is owing to Henry II.

<sup>n</sup> The court styled *Aula Regis* consisted of the king himself, his justiciary, chancellor, and treasurer, the constable, chamberlain, marshal, and steward of his household; its powers were unlimited, and every kind of cause came under its cognizance. It apparently could only be held at the place where the king had his residence, and hence parties had to travel from England to Normandy and from Normandy to England in search of justice, and were commonly ruined before their suits were decided.

<sup>o</sup> Wales had been similarly partitioned by William Rufus and Henry I. (see A.D. 1090, 1105.)

<sup>p</sup> She was married to William of Montferrat, and

had a son who became Baldwin V.

<sup>q</sup> Saladin was a Koordish military adventurer, who, after serving in Egypt under the famous Nouredin, on the death of that prince, in 1173, made himself master of the whole country between the Nile and the Tigris. He shortly after attacked the Christians of Palestine, but at first with little success. In 1187 he again made war on them, and overran the whole country; Tyre, however, was held against him by Conrad of Montferrat, Acre and other coast towns were captured by Richard I., and Saladin died shortly after (March 4, 1193); the vast empire that he had acquired was broken up by his death; his brother Saphadin dispossessed his nephews, as Saladin himself had dispossessed the son of his master, Nouredin.

<sup>r</sup> See p. 115.

A.D. 1182.

The king gives a large sum for the service of the Holy Land, "in atonement," says Matthew of Westminster, "of the death of the blessed Thomas, the punishment for which he dreaded above all things, for himself and for his posterity."

A.D. 1183.

Henry and Geoffrey, the king's sons, make war on their brother Richard. Henry dies at Castle Martel, near Limoges, June 11, and the war is brought to an end.

A.D. 1184.

Geoffrey and John renew the war against Richard; the king at length commands them to desist, and the brothers are formally reconciled at a great council held at London, Nov. 30.

A.D. 1185.

Earl John repairs to Ireland, in March. He greatly offends the native chiefs who come to pay him homage, by his insolent behaviour, and he is recalled by the end of the year.

The patriarch of Jerusalem endeavours in vain to induce the king to proceed on his promised crusade, offering him the kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>s</sup>.

A.D. 1186.

Geoffrey is thrown from his horse

and killed at a tournament at Paris, Aug. 19.

A.D. 1187.

The Christians sustain a signal defeat at Tiberias, July 4; Saladin captures Jerusalem, Oct. 2.

Richard, the king's son, "the first of all the nobles beyond the sea, devoutly received the cross . . . murmuring at and reproaching his father because he declined to take upon himself the defence of the kingdom which was offered to him."

Conrad of Montferrat<sup>t</sup> successfully defends Tyre against Saladin.

A.D. 1188.

The emperor (Frederic I.) and the kings of France and England assume the cross, and make preparations for the crusade.

A quarrel arises between Henry and the king of France, regarding the lands of Adelais, Philip's sister, who had been betrothed to Richard.

Richard does homage to the king of France, in his father's presence, Nov. 18.

A.D. 1189.

Henry is expelled from Touraine by Philip and Richard, June 14; he soon after agrees to a peace, and pays a large indemnity to Philip.

Henry retires to the castle of Chinon, and dies there, July 6, his natural son Geoffrey alone being with him. He is buried with slight ceremony at Fontevraud, "Earl Richard following the corpse in much tribulation."

EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY

	A.D.		A.D.
Rivalry of the pope (Alexander III.) and an anti-pope (Victor IV) .	1159	Frederic . . . . .	1164
Milan taken and destroyed by the emperor, Frederic I. . . .	1162	Rise of Saladin to power . . .	1171
League of the Italian cities against		The emperor and the pope (Alexander III.) are reconciled . .	1178
		Jerusalem taken by Saladin . .	1187

<sup>s</sup> The throne was then held by Baldwin V., but he was considered to be on the point of death. On his decease the crown was bestowed on Guy de Lusignan, who had married Sibylla, Baldwin's mother.

<sup>t</sup> He was the brother of William of Montferrat, the first husband of Sibylla; and he was eventually chosen king by his immediate followers.



Great Seal of Richard the First.

## RICHARD I., CALLED CŒUR-DE-LION

RICHARD, the third son of Henry II., was born at Oxford, Sept. 13, 1157. The possession of Aquitaine, his mother's patrimony, seems to have been destined for him from his earliest days; hence his residence was usually on the continent; he was styled count of Poitou, and he acted like an independent prince, attacking without scruple the count of Toulouse when he gave aid to his revolted barons, and pushing his arms to the Pyrenees. His nature seems to have been generous and unsuspicious, and he thus became for a while the confederate of his more crafty brothers, who first induced him to rebel against his father, and then deserted and even made war on him. But his military prowess was far superior to anything that could be brought against him, and he retained Aquitaine, although

at the expense of doing homage to the king of France.

Even before he became king (in 1189) Richard's whole soul was turned to that great enterprise with which his name is indissolubly connected, the Crusade. Participating fully in the mingled grief and indignation which the news of the capture of Jerusalem diffused over Christendom, he was one of the very earliest to take the cross, and he thought no sacrifice on his own part, or on that of others, too great for the attainment of his object. Hence the reckless or violent means to which he resorted to equip his forces, and which had the effect of raising the most formidable fleet and army that had ever left the shores of England. But his success was unhappily rendered impossible by the envy of those who saw in his generous de-

votion a reproach of their own lukewarmness; he endured shipwreck and imprisonment, his kingdom was nearly wrested from him by the treachery of his brother, and he received his death-wound before the insignificant stronghold of a rebellious baron, in the tenth year of his reign, March 28, 1199, and died a fortnight after. He was buried at Fontevraud.

When a youth Richard was betrothed to Adelais, daughter of Louis VII. of France; from strong suspicion of impropriety on her part, the union did not take place, and he married Berengaria, sister of Sancho VII. of Navarre, who accompanied him to the Holy Land, but by whom he left no issue<sup>a</sup>.

A natural son, Philip, lord of Cuinac,



Arms and Badge of Richard I.

Some modern writers, who affect to despise the generous emotions which led men to the crusades, have depicted the Lion-hearted king as a mere brutal swordsman, and his reign as a calamity to his subjects. Such was not the view of his contemporaries. They saw in him a generous high-spirited prince, an eloquent orator, an accomplished poet<sup>b</sup>, and a knight without fear and without reproach. "Oh!" exclaims Richard of London<sup>c</sup>, in a passage which furnishes a summary of his reign, "Oh! how inequit-

is said to have revenged Richard's death by killing the viscount of Limoges; and a natural daughter, Isabel, married Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, prince of North Wales.

Henry II. added a third lion to the two of the Norman kings as the arms of England, but Richard, for some time after his accession, used the arms he had before borne in Aquitaine, "Gules, two lions combatant, or." After his return from the crusade, however, he bore the present arms of England. He also used as devices, a star issuing from between the horns of a crescent, the star and the crescent separately, a mailed arm holding a broken lance, and a sun on two anchors, with the motto "Christo duce."

ably was he recompensed for his exertions in the common cause! His inheritance was seized by another, his Norman castles taken, his rivals made cruel assaults on his rights without provocation, and he only escaped from captivity by paying a ransom to the emperor. To gather the money, the taxes were raised to the uttermost, a heavy tallage was laid on all his lands, and everything was put under contribution; even the chalices and hallowed vessels of gold and silver were gathered from the churches<sup>d</sup>, and

<sup>a</sup> She survived him till about the year 1230, but her dower of 1000 marks was very irregularly paid by his successor John, with whom Pope Innocent III. remonstrated in vain on the subject. She chiefly resided in her dower city of Mans, and was buried in the abbey of Lespan, to which she was a benefactor.

<sup>b</sup> A touching poem, which he wrote during his captivity, has been preserved, of which the first portion is here given, though the English translation does not preserve the measure of the original, and hardly does justice to its sentiments:—

"No wretched captive of his prison speaks,  
Unless with pain and bitterness of soul,  
Yet consolation from the Muse he seeks,  
Whose voice alone misfortune can control.  
Where now is each ally, each baron, friend,  
Whose face I ne'er beheld without a smile?

Will none, his sovereign to redeem, expend  
The smallest portion of his treasure vile?

"Though none may blush, that, near two tedious years,

Without relief my bondage has endured,  
Yet know, my English, Norman, Gascon peers,  
Not one of you should thus remain immured:  
The meanest subject of my wide domains,  
Had I been free, a ransom should have found;  
I mean not to reproach you with my chains,  
Yet still I wear them on a foreign ground!"

<sup>c</sup> The author of the "Itinerary of King Richard," wrongly ascribed to Geoffrey de Vinsauf.

<sup>d</sup> Restitution was made as soon as possible after the king's return; "for," says the chronicler, "he esteemed it a personal reproach that the divine offices should be conducted without their customary splendour on his account."

the monasteries parted with their ornaments; nor was this against the decrees of the holy fathers; nay, it was a duty, for no saint, many though there be, ever during life suffered so much for their Lord as did King Richard in his captivity. He who had gained so many triumphs over the infidels was basely circumvented by the brethren of his own faith, and seized by those who only in name

were members of Christ . . . . At last restored to his native soil, and the kingdom of his ancestors, he soon restored all things to tranquillity; then, crossing into Normandy to avenge himself on the king of France, he more than once defeated him, and by the power of his sword and his spear he recovered his alienated rights, even with augmentation."



Richard I.,  
from his monument at Fontevraud.

A.D. 1189.

Richard is received as sovereign of Normandy, July 20.

He liberates his mother from confinement, and appoints her regent in England; he also bestows the county of Mortain and great estates on his brother John.

Guy de Lusignan, the expelled king of Jerusalem, commences the siege of Acre, in August, but is shortly after himself assailed by Saladin, when English, French, and German crusaders hasten to his assistance.

Richard comes to England and is crowned, Sept. 3<sup>e</sup>; a number of Jews venture to appear at his coronation, which leads to a massacre among them in London.

The king raises money by violent means for his crusade. The earldom of Northumberland is sold to the bishop of Durham (Hugh de Puiset); and the castles on the Scottish border are given up, and the homage of the Scottish king for his kingdom, extorted by Henry II.<sup>1</sup>, renounced for a sum of money, Dec. 5.



Berengaria,  
from her monument in the abbey of Lespan.

He fills up several vacant bishoprics, and returns to Normandy in December.

A.D. 1190.

The massacre of the Jews is renewed in several places, particularly at York, where many, being besieged in the castle, commit suicide after killing their wives and children and destroying their treasures, March 17<sup>g</sup>.

Richard's fleet assembles at Dartmouth, whence it sails in April. It consisted of upwards of 100 large, and many smaller vessels, and was under the nominal command of Gerard, archbishop of Aix, and Bernard, bishop of Bayonne, assisted by Richard de Camville, Robert de Sabloil, and William de Fortz, who were styled "leaders and governors of all the king's ships," or "sea justices." The fleet, on its passage, assists the people of Lisbon against the Mohammedans, arrives at Marseilles, Aug. 22, and reaches Messina, with the troops on board, Sept. 14.

William de Longchamp<sup>b</sup>, chancellor, and bishop of Ely, is appointed

\* The years of his reign are computed from this day.

<sup>1</sup> See A.D. 1174.

<sup>g</sup> Richard sent his chancellor (William de Longchamp, who had served him in Poitou) to York to punish the rioters. Many fled to Scotland, and

others had to compound for their offence by heavy fines, beside paying the debts which they owed to the Jews, and of which they had hoped to get rid by murdering their creditors.

<sup>b</sup> He was a Norman, and had formerly been in the service of Geoffrey, the archbishop.

guardian of the realm during the king's absence. Earl John<sup>1</sup>, and Geoffrey, archbishop of York, are forbidden to repair to England, for the space of three years.

Richard assembles his army at Tours, and thence marches to Vezelai, where he joins the French forces, July 1; embarks, with his personal attendants only, at Marseilles, August 7, coasts Italy, and arrives at Messina, Sept. 23.

The inhabitants of Messina, "commonly called Griffons<sup>2</sup>, a wicked and cruel race, many of them of Saracen extraction," insult and injure the English crusaders. King Richard erects gibbets, and tries and executes the offenders; "for, esteeming the country of the guilty of no consequence, he considered every one his subjects, and left no transgression unpunished."

Richard seizes La Bagnara, a castle in Calabria, which he bestows on his sister<sup>3</sup> for a residence, Oct. 1, and occupies a monastery on the straits of Messina as a stronghold, putting the garrison to death.

The Messinese continuing their attempts to destroy his troops, Richard assaults and captures the city "in less time than a priest could chant matins," Oct. 4. He also builds a stout wooden fortress on the hill overlooking the city, styling it Mategriffon, and supports his men with provisions from the fleet, the Messinese refusing all supplies.

Henry II., count of Champagne<sup>4</sup>, is sent forward with a portion of the armament for the relief of Acre.

The kings of England and France quarrel, the latter siding with the Messinese.

Richard obliges Tancred to pay a heavy compensation to Queen Joanna, and in return engages to support him on the throne<sup>5</sup>.

Richard celebrates the Christmas festival in splendid style at his castle of Mategriffon, and bestows liberal gifts on his people. "The knights were amply relieved, who had spent great part of their substance, the footmen and attendants received 100 sols each at least, and noble women of Palestine, whether widows or virgins, who had been despoiled of their inheritance and exiled, were bountifully enriched."

A.D. 1191.

The king grants a charter admitting Rye and Winchelsea to many of the privileges of the Cinque Ports", March 27.

The French force sails from Sicily, March 30, and arrives at Acre April 20.

Queen Eleanor arrives at Messina with the princess Berengaria of Navarre.

The English fleet, which sails April 10, is scattered by storms. Richard reaches Rhodes April 22; his queen and sister are driven to Limasol, in Cyprus, but, distrusting the tyrant Isaac<sup>6</sup>, do not land; others of his ships are seized and plundered.

Richard repairs to Cyprus, dethrones Isaac, confirms their ancient laws to the people, and appoints Richard de Camville and Robert de Turnham governors of the island, with directions to form magazines for the support of his troops in Palestine.

The king marries Berengaria, at Limasol, May 12; she is crowned the same day.

The fleet sails from Famagusta, June 3, and off Beyrout captures a very large Saracen vessel, June 7.

Richard arrives at Acre, June 8.

Both the kings fell ill almost immediately after their arrival at Acre, but they vigorously pushed on the siege, and King Richard especially exerted

<sup>1</sup> Though John had been most generously treated, the estates bestowed on him amounting to nearly one-third of the kingdom, he had already begun to intrigue against his brother.

<sup>2</sup> A corruption of Greeks, by which name the inhabitants of southern Italy were generally known to, and despised by, the crusaders.

<sup>3</sup> Joanna, the widow of William the Good, king of Sicily. She had been despoiled of her dower and imprisoned by Tancred, his successor.

<sup>4</sup> He was the son of Mary, daughter of Queen Eleanor, by her first husband, Louis VII. of France, and consequently Richard's nephew.

<sup>5</sup> He thus made an enemy of the emperor, Henry VI., who claimed possession of Sicily in

right of his wife Constance, the aunt of Tancred.

<sup>6</sup> See Note, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> He belonged to the imperial family of Constantinople, and having been appointed viceroy of the island in 1182, made himself independent, and ruled the people with great cruelty. Being defeated and captured by Richard, he was committed to the charge of the Hospitallers, and imprisoned at Margath, a fortress on the Syrian coast. The Cypriotes rose on their new governors and chose another of the Comneni for king, but he was taken and hanged. Isaac escaped after a while by bribing his guards, and endeavoured to establish himself in Asia Minor; he was at last poisoned by one of his attendants.

himself in constructing mangonels and other battering engines, by means of which the city was speedily reduced to extremity, as the English fleet blockaded the harbour, and cut off the supplies it was in the habit of receiving by sea.

Several partisans of Earl John take up arms; he arrives in England, and seizes the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill.

Acre is surrendered<sup>p</sup>, July 12. Hostages are given for the delivery of the cross (captured at Tiberias<sup>q</sup>), the release of Christian prisoners, and the payment of a heavy ransom.

The kings of England and France quarrel about the claim of Conrad of Montferrat to the crown of Jerusalem<sup>r</sup>.

The king of France, after taking an oath not to injure the king of England in his men and possessions in Europe, sails from Acre July 31, "receiving, instead of blessings, execrations and maledictions from the army."

Disputes arise with Saladin, when he murders his prisoners, Aug. 18. Richard retaliates by executing the hostages, marches out of the town, and prepares for his advance on Jerusalem, Aug. 20.

"During the two winters and one summer, and up to the middle of the autumn, when the Turks were beheaded (as they deserved to be)," says Richard of London, "in the sight of God and man, in return for the ruin of our churches and slaughter of our men, many of the Christians, who at great sacrifice had engaged in the siege of Acre, died. The common men of so great an army who perished appears to surpass computation, but the sum total of the chiefs a certain writer has thus estimated: We lost in the army six archbishops and patriarchs, twelve bishops, forty counts, and five hundred men of noble rank; we lost also a vast number of priests and others who cannot be counted."

Richard, after waiting two days outside the city for his men, many of whom are unwilling to join him, commences his march along the coast towards Ascalon, August 22, his fleet keeping company; the Saracens harass his march. He passes Cæsarea, and at Arsouf defeats the Saracens, Sept. 7. James of Avesnes being killed in the battle is solemnly buried the next day at Arsouf, "in the church of Our Lady the Queen of Heaven."

Saladin destroys many of the fortresses, and Richard encamps at Joppa (Jaffa), Sept. 10. Many of his troops return to Acre, but are brought back.

Geoffrey, archbishop of York, comes to England, Sept. 14; he is seized and imprisoned by Longchamp, Sept. 19. Earl John espouses his cause, Oct. 4; Longchamp is expelled, Oct. 10, and retires to Normandy.

Richard, while hawking with a small escort, is surprised by the Saracens, and only escapes capture through the devotion of William de Pratellis (des Preaux)<sup>s</sup>, Sept. 29.

Richard advances towards Jerusalem, restores several of the ruined castles, and rescues a body of Templars from destruction by his personal efforts, Nov. 6.

Saladin makes overtures for peace.

Richard encamps at Ramla, and remains there six weeks; Saladin retires to Jerusalem. The Christians suffer much from bad weather, and their sick and wounded are waylaid and murdered. "But," says the Chronicler, "surely these are all to be accounted martyrs, and there is this consolation, that though the Turks slew them with evil intentions, yet they suffered but for a moment, and gained the reward of a long service."

A.D. 1192.

A council held, at which it is determined to abandon the march on Jerusalem, Jan. 13; the army retires

<sup>p</sup> The duke of Austria (Leopold V.), having captured one of the towers and placed his banner thereon, it was thrown down by Richard's order; hence the hatred of the duke, and Richard's captivity.

<sup>q</sup> See A.D. 1187.

<sup>r</sup> Guy's wife died during the siege of Acre, and his claim to the throne was generally considered to have expired with her; he was, too, despised as wanting capacity and courage, whilst Conrad was

popular from his gallant defence of Tyre, (see A.D. 1187). Conrad married Isabel, the sister of Sibylla, and obtained the nominal kingdom, but was soon after assassinated.

<sup>s</sup> He had long served in Palestine, and could speak the Saracenic language; he cried out that he was the melech (king), and was carried off. Richard gave ten Saracen chiefs in exchange for him, when about to quit the Holy Land.



to Ascalon, which it reaches, after much suffering from the weather, Jan. 20.

The fortifications of Ascalon restored.

Richard receives intelligence of the proceedings of his enemies in Europe, and prepares for his return, April.

Conrad of Montferrat chosen king of Jerusalem. He is assassinated at Tyre very shortly after, April 28.

Henry of Champagne is chosen king of Jerusalem; when Richard bestows Cyprus on Guy.

Richard captures the fortress of Darum, May 22.

The army resolve on the siege of Jerusalem, even though Richard should leave them.

Richard, being strongly exhorted by his chaplain, William of Poitiers, proclaims his intention (June 4.) of not quitting the army before the following Easter.

Richard sets out on his second march against Jerusalem, June 7. He encamps at Betenoble (about six miles from the city), June 11, and remains there until July 3; then, the capture of Jerusalem being found hopeless, he breaks up his camp, dismantles Darum, strengthens Ascalon and Joppa, and reaches Acre July 26.

Saladin attacks Joppa, July 26; he obliges the inhabitants to promise to surrender on August 1. On that day they are relieved by Richard, who restores their ruined walls.

Richard falls ill, and concludes a truce with Saladin, Sept. 2, according to which Ascalon is to be demolished, Joppa, with the sea coast as far as

Tyre, is secured to the Christians, and the freedom of pilgrimage to Jerusalem established<sup>1</sup>.

Various companies make the pilgrimage, and are kindly treated by Saphadin and Saladin, who control the fanaticism of their followers<sup>2</sup>.

"When the count [Henry of Champagne] and the bishop [of Salisbury] had returned from the sacred places," says Richard of Devizes, "they endeavoured to persuade the king to go up; but the worthy indignation of his noble mind could not consent to receive that from the courtesy of the Gentiles which he could not obtain by the gift of God."

Richard sets sail from Acre, Oct. 9<sup>3</sup>.

"All night the ship sped on her way by the light of the stars, and when the morning dawned, the king looked back with yearning eyes on the land he had left, and after long meditation he prayed aloud, in the hearing of several, in these words; 'Oh! holy land, I commend thee to God; and if His heavenly grace shall grant me so long to live that I may, in His good time, afford thee assistance, I hope to be able to be some day a succour to thee!'"

The king's fleet reaches Sicily, but his own vessel is driven to Corfu, Nov. 11; he is soon after shipwrecked in the upper part of the Adriatic, and attempts to make his way in disguise, as Hugh the merchant. He at length reaches Vienna, where, being recognised, he is seized by Leopold, duke of Austria<sup>4</sup>, Dec. 20.

The emperor (Henry VI.) claims the custody of Richard, Dec. 28, and con-

<sup>1</sup> Richard agreed to this truce with reluctance, for after it was concluded, "he sent ambassadors to Saladin, announcing to him that he had only asked this truce of three years for the purpose of revisiting his country, and collecting more men and money, wherewith to return and rescue all the land of Jerusalem from his domination." Saladin replied in terms of high commendation of Richard's valour.

<sup>2</sup> The first party of pilgrims, advancing without precaution, fell in with a large body of Turks, who, as Richard of London says, "grinned and frowned on them, and made them wish themselves back again at Acre." Saladin afterwards posted guards on the roads for their protection, but still they could only visit the holy places in haste and fear. "We saluted them with tears, and then we departed together with speed, for it was unsafe to go anywhere but in a body; the unbelievers secretly strangled three or four of our men who strayed into the crypts of the church on Mount Zion. . . . The Turks scorned us from them, and we grieved over the pollution of the churches and sepulchres,

now used as stables by the infidels."

<sup>3</sup> His queen, his sister, and the daughter of the dethroned tyrant Isaac, sailed with the main body of his fleet on Sept. 29, and landed in Italy soon after. They pursued their journey to Richard's castle of Chinon under the special charge of Stephen de Turnham, but did not reach it until May, 1194, as they had to remain six months in Rome, from fear of the emperor. Having at length reached Genoa, they took ship for Marseilles, where the king of Aragon (Alfonso II.) gave them his protection till they reached the lands of Raymond of Toulouse, who escorted them to Chinon, and subsequently married Queen Joanna.

<sup>4</sup> Richard of London.

<sup>5</sup> Though this prince has rendered himself detested for this base act, he had greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Acre. He was ordered by the pope (Celestine III.) to return to the Holy Land, and serve there as long as the king had been kept in captivity (June 6, 1194), but he was unable to do so, as he was thrown from his horse in the following December, and died shortly after.

finest him at Dürrenstein, on the Danube.

A.D. 1193.

Earl John surrenders part of Normandy to Philip and does homage to him for the remainder. Philip shortly after endeavours to seize the whole province.

Richard's prison is discovered by Longchamp. The queen-mother appeals to the pope (Celestine III.), who excommunicates his oppressors, but fails to obtain his freedom.

Richard is brought before the diet at Hagenau, after Easter (March 28), where he clears himself by oath from the murder of Conrad. A heavy sum is settled for his ransom, June 28.

Richard receives the nominal crown of Provence from the emperor, and does homage to him, Dec. 22.

Richard's ransom having been raised in England, Philip of France and Earl John promise large bribes to the emperor to keep him in prison. The emperor delays his release.

A.D. 1194.

The German princes compel the emperor, against his will, to release Richard, who is set at liberty<sup>a</sup>, Feb. 4.

The English fleet is despatched to Antwerp for the king, and he lands at Sandwich March 20<sup>b</sup>.

Richard captures the castle of Nottingham, and disperses the adherents of John.

Is a second time crowned at Winchester, April 17, the king of Scotland bearing a part in the ceremony.

Richard passes over to Normandy early in May. At the solicitation of

his mother, he pardons his brother John and his adherents.

Marches against the king of France, defeats him at Fretteval, in the Orleanais, and captures the records of his kingdom<sup>c</sup>, July 15. The French retire from Normandy, Touraine, and Maine, and beg a truce for a year, July 23.

David of Wales dies; he is succeeded by his nephew Llewelyn ap Iorwerth.

A.D. 1195.

Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who is also papal legate and guardian of the realm, raises enormous sums of money for the war against France; William FitzOsbert (called commonly William with the Beard) inflames the discontent of the Londoners against him.

A.D. 1196.

A truce concluded with the king of France, but soon after broken by him.

A tumult in London, in consequence of which FitzOsbert is seized and executed, April 6.

Richard demands the guardianship of Prince Arthur<sup>d</sup>, which the Bretons refuse.

A.D. 1197.

The counts of Flanders and Champagne, and the Bretons, join Richard against the king of France.

Philip, bishop of Beauvais, is captured; the pope ineffectually claims his release<sup>e</sup>.

An indecisive action is fought at Gisors, Oct. 28.

A truce for a year is agreed to. Richard builds a strong and stately castle at Andelys, on the Seine, above Rouen<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The whole of the ransom not being then raised (70,000 marks, equal to £600,000 at the present day), hostages were given for the remainder. The pope, however, interfered, and (June 6, 1194) commanded that they should be set at liberty, and the money received restored. Neither the duke nor the emperor would part with the money, though they dismissed the hostages. They both died shortly after (the duke killed by being thrown from his horse, Dec. 1194, and the emperor, Sept. 28, 1197), and their heirs were threatened with excommunication by Pope Innocent III. (May 30, 31, 1198) unless they made restitution; but it is not known that they did so.

<sup>b</sup> He was brought over in "Trenchemer," by Alan of Yarmouth, the same man and ship as had conveyed him to Palestine.

<sup>c</sup> This misfortune led in France to the abandonment of the practice of carrying all grants and charters about with the king. Commissioners were appointed, who laboured diligently to recover the

lost documents or procure copies of them from the grantees, and when this was accomplished they were deposited in the monastery of St. Denys, as the first Public Record Office, under the charge of Guy, archbishop of Sens.

<sup>d</sup> The young prince was only in his tenth year, having been born March 29, 1187.

<sup>e</sup> He had served in the crusade, and shewn himself hostile to the English. He remained in confinement until Richard's death, when he was released by John for a ransom of 2,000 marks; his imprisonment, however, had not quenched his martial spirit, as he fought at the battle of Bouvines, and there captured William Longespee, earl of Salisbury, the natural brother of the king.

<sup>f</sup> He planned it himself, personally superintended and urged on the workmen, and when it was completed within the year, he so admired it that he exclaimed, "My daughter of a year old, is she not a saucy castle?" (Chateau Gaillard, which name is still borne by its picturesque ruins.)

A.D. 1198.

Geoffrey FitzPeter appointed guardian of the realm in place of Archbishop Hubert, July 11.

The French are defeated at Gisors, Sept. 20, when Philip narrowly escapes with his life.

A.D. 1199.

A five years' truce is concluded by

the mediation of the papal legate, Jan. 13.

A rebellion breaks out in Poitou; Richard is mortally wounded before the castle of Chalus-Chabrol, March 28. He acknowledges his brother John as his successor, dies April 6, and is buried at Fontevraud, bequeathing his heart to the city of Rouen.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.
The third Crusade . . . . .	1189
The Order of Teutonic Knights founded . . . . .	1191
Naval war between the Genoese	

	A.D.
and Pisans . . . . .	1194
The Saracens successful against the Christians in Spain . . . . .	1197

## NOTE.

## THE SIEGE OF ACRE.

THE author of the Itinerary of Richard, King of the English, and others to the Holy Land, gives a most spirited and interesting picture of the chief feature of Richard's crusade, the siege of Acre. A few brief extracts will shew his style of narrative:—

"King Richard arrived at Pentecost with an army, the flower of valour, and learning that the king of France had gained the favour of all by giving his soldiers each three aurei a month, he, not to be equalled in generosity, proclaimed by his heralds that all in his service, of whatever nation, should have four pieces of gold. His generosity was extolled by all, and he outshone every one else in merit as he did in gifts and magnificence. 'When,' they enquired, 'will the attack be made by the man whom we have so long and so eagerly expected—the first of kings, and the most skillful warrior in Christendom? God's will be done, for our hopes all rest on King Richard.'"

Richard fell ill, but urged on the preparation of machines to batter the city; the king of France meanwhile made an assault, and being shamefully repulsed, and his engines destroyed, he fell sick also. He, however, recovered before Richard, and began to construct machines anew:—

"These he determined to ply night and day, and he had one petrairia of vast force, to which the army gave the name of Bad Neighbour. The Turks also had one, which they called Bad Kinsman, which by its violent casts often crippled Bad Neighbour, but the king of France repaired it again and again, until by many blows he had broken down a part of the city wall, and had shook the tower Maledicta. On one side was plied the petrairia of the duke of Burgundy, on another that of the Templars, while the engine of the Hospitallers never ceased to scatter dismay around. Beside these, there was one petrairia, built at the common expense, which they styled God's petrairia. Near to it there constantly preached a priest, a man of great probity, who thus collected money for its needful repairs, and to hire labourers to supply it with stones for casting. By means of this engine a part of the wall of the tower Maledicta was at last hurled down, for about ten yards in length. The count of Flanders also had a large petrairia, which King Richard purchased after the death of the count, and also a smaller one, which two were plied incessantly, close to one of the gates. But the great machines were two of choice materials and workmanship, which would throw stones to an almost incredible distance, and these King Richard had erected. He had also another, very firmly built, which they called Bercefired: it had steps to mount it, was covered with raw hides and ropes, and being of most solid wood, was neither to be destroyed by the force of blows, nor burnt by the streaming Greek fire. He also erected two man-

\* A contemporary anonymous account of Richard's death has been published by Labbe, in his *Bibliotheca MSS.* t. ii. p. 302, and carefully investigated by an eminent French antiquary of the neighbourhood, M. Verneilh, from which it appears that the king had forced his way into the inner court of the castle, but one small though lofty round tower (still existing) held out. "In the said tower were two knights, with about 38 other men and women. One of the knights was called Peter Bru, and the other Peter de Basile, of whom it is said there he shot the arrow from the cross-bow that struck the king, and of which he died within twelve days, namely, on the 8th day of April, the 10th hour of the night. In the interval while he was ill, he ordered his people to besiege the castle

of the viscount [of Limoges], called Nuntrum, and a certain other tower called Montagut, which they did, but the death of the king being heard of, they retired in confusion. The king himself had proposed in his heart to destroy all the castles of the said viscount." Nuntrum or Nontron, and Montagut or Piégut, (*pay* and *mont* are synonymous,) are a few miles from Chalus. There are remains of all these castles; those of Chalus are considerable. All these places, as well as Basile-Champagnac, a small town of the same neighbourhood, belonged to the viscount of Limoges, who was half brother of Aymer, count of Angouleme, and both were bitter enemies of Richard. See De Caumont's *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xiv. pp. 426—36.

gonels, one of which was of such force, that what it hurled reached the market-place of the city. These engines were plied by night and day, and it is well known that a stone from one of them killed twelve men at a blow; King Richard had brought this stone from Messina, when he captured that city, and it was sent to Saladin that he might behold it. The engines hurled such stones and flinty pieces of rock that nothing could withstand them, for they shattered in pieces whatever they struck, and indeed ground it to powder."

Time thus wore on; the French made another attack, and attempted to scale the walls, but were driven back with great loss, among others of "a man of renown for his tried valour and excellence," Alberic Clement; on which King Richard, though still sick, assaulted the city, "being carried to the breach on a silken bed, to honour the Turks with his presence and to encourage his own men;" he also employed his arbalest, and brought down a Saracen who was boastfully parading on the wall in the armour of Alberic. His sappers mined a tower, which was at the same time assaulted by the engines, and when it began to totter Richard offered first two, then three, then four pieces of gold for every stone torn from its walls:—

"Very many failed in this undertaking, while others were driven back by fear of death; for the Turks above manfully withstood them, and neither shields nor arms availed to protect them. The wall was high, and of vast thickness; yet the warriors tore many stones from it, and when the Turks rushed on them in clouds, and tried to cast them down, they strove to repel them, but many having in their eagerness left their arms behind, they were in a helpless condition, and at last were obliged to retreat, on which the enemy raised a loud shout."

Undismayed by this repulse, the "esquires of the army, eager for praise and victory, and equipped for war," now rushed forward, and forced their way into the tottering tower, but were driven back by the Greek fire, and the same ill-fortune attended a fresh assault by the Pisans. "The capture of the city would, however, have been that day accomplished, had the battle been fought with the whole army, but the greater part was at dinner at the time, and the attempt was too presumptuous, and therefore it failed." It, however, had the effect of inducing the Turks to treat for the surrender of the city, and many of the besieged "threw themselves down from the walls by night, and sought

with supplications the sacrament of baptism. There was little doubt that they presumptuously asked the boon more from urgent fear than from any divine prompting, but there are different steps by which men arrive at salvation."

At length the city was surrendered "on the Friday after the translation of St. Benedict," (July 12, 1191,) and

"the crusaders, with the two kings at their head, entered through the open gates without opposition, with joy, and dance, and loud exclamations, glorifying God, and giving Him thanks that He had magnified His mercies to them, and had visited and redeemed His people. Then the banners of the kings were raised on the walls and towers, and the city equally partitioned, . . . as were also the captives and hostages. The king of France had for his share the stately house of the Templars, and King Richard had the royal palace, to which he sent the queens and their damsels and attendants. The army was distributed through the city, and gave itself up to indulgence; and on the following night Saladin retired from his camp and occupied a far-distant mountain."

Thus closed this memorable siege, and it is pleasing to find our author, who had fought against them, giving full credit to the valour of the defenders. "Never were there braver warriors of any creed; the memory of their actions excites both respect and astonishment." "What can we say of the unbelieving race that thus defended their city? Truly, they must be admired for their valour, and they were the glory of their nation; and had they happily known the true faith, they would not have had their superiors in the universe." They exhibited, too, a firmness in adversity which extorted his admiration, for he says,

"When the day arrived that the Turks, so renowned for valour, so active in war, so famous for magnificence, assembled on the walls ready to quit the city, our men went forth to look on them, and as they remembered the deeds that they had done they honoured them. They were greatly astonished at the cheerful aspect of those who were now driven naked and penniless from their stronghold, yet exhibited no change of demeanour; for though they had been compelled by dire necessity to allow themselves vanquished, and to sue for their lives, they now came forth, exhibiting no marks of care nor any signs of dejection at the loss of all their possessions; indeed by the firmness of their countenances and their courageous demeanour they still seemed to be conquerors; but their superstitious idolatry and their miserable state of error and sin dimmed their martial glory."



Great Seal of John.

## JOHN.

JOHN, the youngest son of Henry II., was born Dec. 24, 1167, at Oxford. Though very early the nominal governor of Ireland, he was not the holder of any great fiefs, as his brothers were, and hence the name of Sansterre, or Lackland, by which he is commonly known. He did not openly oppose his father, but he treacherously allied himself with his enemies; hence, although liberally treated by his brother Richard<sup>a</sup>, he was distrusted by him, and forbidden to come to England during the latter's absence on the crusade. This injunction he disregarded, and he had hopes of placing himself on the throne, when Richard's return disconcerted his schemes and drove him into exile. He was soon

pardoned by the generous king, and, by the influence of his mother, was even named his successor. This involved the setting aside of his nephew Arthur, and in the war thereby occasioned the greater part of the French possessions of the crown were lost. The remainder of John's reign was filled up with quarrels with the pope (Innocent III.), vain attempts to recover his lost possessions, and such oppression of his subjects as led them to seek foreign aid against him; and when his troubled life was brought to a sudden close, Oct. 19, 1216, Louis of France was the acknowledged master of a great part of England.

John, when a child, was contracted

<sup>a</sup> See A. D. 1189.

to Alice, daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy, but the arrangement was broken soon after; he afterwards married his cousin Isabel (or Hawise, as she is sometimes called), grand-daughter of the celebrated Robert, earl of Gloucester, receiving with her the earl-



John,  
from his monument in Worcester Cathedral.

children, who were all by Isabel of Angouleme, were—

1. HENRY, who became king.
2. RICHARD, earl of Cornwall, born



Arms of Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

in 1209. He served with reputation and success both in France and the Holy Land, and he was in many respects a perfect contrast to his brother the king, being wise, valiant, and rich<sup>d</sup>, and he often acted the part of a mediator between him and his subjects. Richard was induced to aspire to the imperial dignity, and bore the title of King of the Romans, but derived little else from his profuse expenditure of money abroad. He fought on his brother's side at Lewes, and was made

dom, but he divorced her after his accession, on the plea of consanguinity<sup>b</sup>, to marry Isabel, daughter of the count of Angouleme, although she was already betrothed, if not married, to Hugh de Lusignan, or le Brun, count of La Marche<sup>c</sup>. His legitimate



Isabella of Angouleme,  
from her monument at Fontevraud.

prisoner. He was struck by palsy at his manor of Berkhamstead, Dec. 12, 1271, and died there April 2 of the next year. He married first Isabel, daughter of William Marshall, earl of Pembroke; secondly Sanchia, sister of his brother's wife, Eleanor of Provence; and thirdly, Beatrice, niece of the archbishop of Cologne. He had several children, of whom one, Henry, was murdered in a church at Viterbo, by his fugitive cousins the Montforts, in 1271, and another, Richard, was killed at the siege of Berwick in 1296.

John left three daughters, of whom Joan was married to Alexander II. of Scotland; Isabel, to the emperor Frederick II.; and Eleanor, first to William Marshal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and next to Simon de Montfort.

This king had many illegitimate children, of whom may be mentioned, Richard, who put to death Eustace the Monk; Oliver, who served at Damietta in 1249; and Joan, married to Llewelyn II. (ap Jorwerth), prince of North Wales.

<sup>b</sup> She afterwards married Geoffrey FitzPeter, who became earl of Gloucester in her right; and subsequently Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent.

<sup>c</sup> After John's death she married Hugh, and had by him a numerous family, who were so greatly favoured by their half-brother Henry as to cause much discontent among his people. She also induced Henry to go to war with Louis of France in support of her husband, who had rebelled, and caused so much mischief by her intrigues that the French turned her name of Isabel into Jezebel. Hugh, after acting most treacherously by his English allies, was obliged to submit to Louis and to accompany him to Egypt, where he was killed,

being, as his contemporaries assure us, purposely placed in the front rank as a suspected man. His widow took the veil, and dying soon after was buried at Fontevraud.

<sup>d</sup> Much of this wealth, however, was discreditably acquired. Beside plundering the Jews, who were considered fair prey for all, he gained large sums by purchasing from the pope the power to release from their vows, on his own terms, such as wished to be excused from going on the crusade: "from one archdeaconry only," says Matthew Paris, "he is said to have carried off £600." William Longespee also raised money by like means, but he expended it in the holy war.

The arms borne by John are the same as those used by Richard I. in the latter part of his reign, "Gules, three lions passant gardant in pale,

or." His badge appears to have been a star issuing from between the horns of a crescent.



Arms and Badge of John.

No English king has been handed down to us with so bad a character as John, but we can hardly expect a perfectly fair account, when we remember that all our early historians belong to a body with which he was at open variance for the greater part of his reign. The treachery and ingratitude which he is accused of displaying to his father and his brother Richard seem undeniable, as well as a licentious life, and many acts of cruelty and oppression when he had become king; but he probably was not the mere cowardly, incapable ruler which he is usually represented by English writers; foreign annalists, on the contrary, speak of him as a fierce and warlike king. It is certain that he made campaigns in Scotland and in Ireland with success, and the cause of his failure in France and in Wales, is probably to be found quite as much in the disaffection of his followers, arising from his misgovernment at home, as in any want of courage or conduct on his own part.

A.D. 1199.

Earl John is received as duke of Normandy at Rouen, April 25. Ar-

thur, his nephew, is acknowledged in Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and supported by the king of France (Philip II.)

Archbishop Hubert, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter<sup>e</sup>, and William Marshal, being despatched to England, obtain the recognition of John as king at a council at Northampton.

John lands at Shoreham, May 25; is crowned at Westminster, May 27 (Ascension-day<sup>f</sup>). He returns to Normandy before the end of June, and concludes treaties with the counts of Boulogne and Flanders for help against France.

A.D. 1200.

John comes to England in February, and makes a progress through the country; meanwhile, the king of France garrisons Arthur's possessions, and attacks Normandy.

John goes to Normandy at the end of April; Philip makes peace and acknowledges him as king, May 23.

John divorces his wife, and marries Isabel of Angouleme, who was betrothed to Hugh Lusignan<sup>g</sup>, count of la Marche; is crowned with her at Westminster October 8.

The king of Scotland does homage to John at Lincoln<sup>h</sup>, Nov. 22.

<sup>e</sup> He was invested as earl of Essex shortly after, his wife Beatrice being the grandniece of the first earl, Geoffrey de Magnaville. He remained faithful to the king; but his son, who succeeded him Oct. 2, 1213, and married Isabel, countess of Gloucester, the divorced wife of John, joined the party of the barons, and was one of those named to enforce the observance of Magna Charta.

<sup>f</sup> The years of his reign are calculated from one Ascension-day to another, and as this is a movable feast, their commencement varies from May 3 to June 3.

<sup>g</sup> Hugh had been accepted as the king's liege-

man, Jan. 28; he now renounced his fealty, and joined the party of Arthur.

<sup>h</sup> What this homage was for is uncertain, such points being often purposely left in obscurity. Scottish writers maintain that it was for the earldom of Huntingdon and other lands in England, regarding the homage for the kingdom of Scotland extorted by Henry II. (see A.D. 1174) as relinquished by Richard I. (see A.D. 1189). Edward I., however, maintained that the old claims of England as the feudal superior of Scotland remained in the same force as before the capture and submission of William the Lion.

A.D. 1201.

John returns to Normandy in May. He visits the king of France at Paris in July, and endeavours to induce him to abandon the cause of Arthur.

A.D. 1202.

The king of France, urged by Hugh, count of la Marche, makes war on John, and endeavours to establish Arthur in Poitou.

Arthur is summoned to do homage at Argentan, March 27. Instead of attending, he and Hugh besiege Queen Eleanor in the castle of Mirabel. John marches to her relief, defeats the French and Poitevins, July 31, capturing Arthur and his sister Eleanor, Hugh de Lusignan and his brother, and above two hundred other knights<sup>1</sup>.

A.D. 1203.

The Bretons take up arms in the name of the princess Eleanor, and the king of France invades Normandy.

John, on the complaint of the bishop of Rennes, is summoned by the king of France to answer for the presumed death of Arthur. He neglects the citation, and at length is branded as a felon and traitor, and adjudged to have forfeited all his lands in France.

John passes his time idly at Rouen for a while, and then retires to England in December.

A.D. 1204.

The conquest of Normandy is effected by the king of France in July; Anjou, Maine, and Touraine also submit to him.

A.D. 1205.

Reginald, king of Man<sup>k</sup>, is taken under the king's protection, Feb. 8.

John prepares a force for the inva-

sion of Normandy in May and June, but abandons the design.

Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, dies, July 13. The monks choose one successor (Reginald, their sub-prior), the king another, (John de Grey, bishop of Norwich,) but both are set aside by the pope (Innocent III.)

A.D. 1206.

John invades France with a large army, landing in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, in June. He captures Montauban, Aug. 1, and burns Angers in September; then concludes a two years' truce, by which he renounces all the country north of the Loire, and returns to England in December.

The pope confers the archbishopric on Stephen Langton<sup>1</sup>, which gives rise to a breach between the king and the Holy See.

A.D. 1207.

The king seizes a thirteenth part of all property, whether secular or ecclesiastical; Geoffrey, archbishop of York, in consequence excommunicates the king's advisers, is deprived of his see, and flees to France<sup>m</sup>.

The monks of Canterbury, having accepted the pope's nominee, are expelled, and their possessions seized by the king, July 15.

A.D. 1208.

The pope places England under an interdict, March 23<sup>n</sup>.

In return, the king seizes the goods of the clergy, who obey it, and refuse to perform divine service<sup>o</sup>.

John exacts a fresh oath of allegiance from his subjects, and demands bonds and hostages from his barons; "but the more powerful nobles, when the king required hostages, refused them to his face, saying, 'How can

<sup>1</sup> Arthur was sent to Falaise, and thence to Rouen, and, although the particulars are not known, there can be no reasonable doubt that he soon came to an untimely end, probably in April, 1203. His sister was removed to England, and kept sometimes at Salisbury, sometimes at Corfe castle, sometimes at Bristol, until her death in 1241; from entries on the Rolls she appears to have been treated as became her rank. Many of the other prisoners were confined in Corfe castle, where they are believed to have been starved to death; and there is proof on the Patent Rolls that Hugh de Lusignan was long kept in fetters at Caen.

<sup>k</sup> He was a natural son of Godred, the last king, and had expelled Olaf, the true heir, who sought assistance from his feudal lord, the king of Norway.

<sup>1</sup> He was consecrated at Viterbo by the pope (Innocent III.) June 17, 1207.

<sup>m</sup> He died in exile in Normandy, Dec. 18, 1212.

<sup>n</sup> It was not removed until the year 1215.

<sup>o</sup> This caused a division among the clergy, some obeying the pope, others the king. Popular tumults followed, which the king endeavoured to check by issuing a proclamation from Marlborough, April 11, threatening hanging on the nearest oak to any one who injured religious persons or clerks.



we trust him with our children, when he wickedly slew his nephew with his own hand?" Some strengthen their castles, others flee to Ireland or to Scotland. Many of the bishops also leave England.

A.D. 1209.

John marches into Northumberland, and obtains homage and tribute from the king of Scotland<sup>p</sup>, in August; the fugitives retire to Ireland.

John is threatened with excommunication by the pope in November.

He continues his exactions from the Church, and also extorts large sums from the Jews, who begin to retire from England.

A.D. 1210.

John goes to Ireland early in June, and reduces the English settlers to his obedience<sup>q</sup>. He returns to England in August, bringing with him numerous captives, many of whom are imprisoned at Corfe or Windsor castles, and are believed to have been starved to death<sup>r</sup>.

Some of the fugitives turn pirates, against whom a fleet of galleys is fitted out.

The king summons an assembly of the prelates, abbots, and other heads of religious communities, and extorts a very large sum of money from them.

A.D. 1211.

John invades Wales, but is obliged to retire from want of supplies.

He again takes the field in July, and penetrates to the region of Snowdon, ravaging the country. Llewelyn is obliged to promise submission, and to give many hostages from the families of his chiefs<sup>s</sup>.

Durand, a knight hospitaller, and Pandulph<sup>t</sup>, a cardinal, are sent by the pope to endeavour to bring about a peace between the king and the Church, but without success.

<sup>p</sup> He is also said to have captured Berwick, and to have built a castle there.

<sup>q</sup> Hugh and Walter de Lacy, the sons of the late deputy, as well as others, had already adopted much of the manners of the native chiefs, and acted like independent princes.

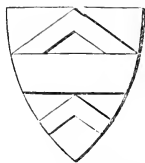
<sup>r</sup> Among them were the family of William de Braose, a potent lord in Ireland; he escaped to France, and died there soon after. One of his sons found refuge in Wales for a time, and committed many ravages in the marches, but at length, according to one of the Royal Letters in the Public Record Office, he was hanged in the presence of a large assembly at Crokin, apparently by order of Llewelyn.

A.D. 1212.

The pope, failing to procure any concession from John, absolves his subjects from their allegiance; he also forbids all persons, under pain of excommunication, to hold communication with him.

Llewelyn ravages the marches, when John has all the hostages hung, and prepares for a fresh expedition against him, but is deterred by the information from his daughter Joan, that his barons have resolved to betray him into the hands of the enemy.

Robert Fitz-Walter<sup>u</sup> and other nobles, being thus compromised, flee to



Arms of Robert Fitz-Walter.

the continent, when the king seizes their estates, and hires mercenary troops.

A fleet of galleys despatched to ravage the coast of Wales in August.

Philip, king of France, prepares to invade England.

The king's natural brother William, earl of Salisbury, William of Wrotham, the warden of the Cinque Ports, the governors of Nottingham and other castles, the chancellor (Walter de Grey), the justiciary (Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex), the bishops of Norwich (John de Grey) and Winchester (Peter des Roches), the chief forester, and many Norman and Flemish military adventurers<sup>v</sup>, ad-

<sup>u</sup> The peace was granted at the request of his wife Joan, who was John's natural daughter.

<sup>t</sup> Pandulph Masca, afterwards bishop of Norwich.

<sup>v</sup> Fitz-Walter belonged to the Clare family. He returned in 1214, and headed the "army of God and Holy Church," which extorted Magna Charta from the king. He was taken prisoner at Lincoln, in 1217, and soon after went to the Holy Land, where he died.

<sup>w</sup> These men became so obnoxious, that their dismissal forms one of the articles of Magna Charta, although some of them had been in the king's service almost from the beginning of his reign.

here to him, and raise forces and a fleet for his service.

The earl of Salisbury sails with the Cinque Ports fleet, and ravages the coast of France, burning Barfleur, Dieppe, and other towns, and bringing home many prizes.

A.D. 1213.

The king of France marches against the count of Flanders (Ferrand), who is an ally of John, and captures Bruges and other towns.

The earl of Salisbury burns the French fleet at Damme, (probably early in April, but the exact date is unknown,) which obliges Philip to withdraw.

Pandulph, the papal legate, is received by John. The king is solemnly reconciled to the Church at Dover, May 13; he does homage for his dominions to the pope, and binds himself and his successors to an annual payment to the Holy See, May 15.

The king issues letters of recall to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Bath, Ely, Hereford, Lin-

coln, and London, and the prior and monks of Canterbury, May 24.

John prepares for an invasion of France, in August, but his barons refuse to follow him.

The bishop of Winchester (Peter des Roches) is made chief justiciary, October.

The pope, in virtue of the king's resignation of his realm, takes him under his protection, Nov. 4.

A.D. 1214.

John invades France, landing in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, Feb. 15.

The citizens of London denounced as rebels to the king, and his protection withdrawn, May 20<sup>w</sup>.

The king of France gains the battle of Bouvines over the English and Flemings, July 27. The earl of Salisbury is there captured by Philip, bishop of Beauvais; the count of Flanders is also taken.

John is repulsed before the castle of Roche aux Moines, in Anjou, in July. Hearing of the battle of Bouvines and the captivity of his brother<sup>x</sup>, he makes a truce, and returns to England in October.

## MAGNA CHARTA.

A.D. 1214.

Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the barons, meet at St. Edmundsbury, Nov. 20, and agree on demands for a redress of grievances from the king.

A.D. 1215.

The barons present their demands<sup>y</sup> to the king at the New Temple, in London, Jan. 6; he defers his answer till Easter.

The king endeavours to divide the confederates. He grants free election to the Church, Jan. 15; exacts anew the oath of allegiance, and assumes the cross, March 4, (being

Ash-Wednesday,) in the Tower of London.

The pope censures the archbishop and the barons, May 19; but they assemble at Stamford, and demand an answer from the king.

The king continuing to temporize, the barons march to London, which they enter, May 24.

The king meets the barons at Runnymede (near Egham), and concedes Magna Charta, June 15, but not in good faith. He at once appeals to the pope, and begins to hire fresh mercenary troops, which the barons suspecting, they have frequent angry conferences with him.

<sup>w</sup> They were then in league with the barons, who in the following year obtained the Great Charter. The barons had entered the city, May 10.

<sup>x</sup> He was liberated in February, 1215, in exchange for Robert, son of the count de Dreux, and cousin of the king of France, who had been captured the year before in Brittany.

<sup>y</sup> These demands, which form the basis of Magna Charta, contradict the assertion sometimes made, that the barons had the interests of their own class only in view. They claim that no right shall be sold, delayed, or denied; that the law courts shall no longer follow the king's person; that no penalty

shall be laid on any free man, but by the judgment of his peers and according to law; that for all offences only reasonable fines shall be imposed according to each man's degree, and "a villein also shall be amerced in like manner." They demand that new afforestations and weirs in rivers shall be abolished; that weights and measures shall be justly fixed, merchants protected, and freedom of passing to and from the land secured, except in case of war. They also insist on the surrender of the hostages and bonds that the king had obtained from them, and that he shall dismiss his mercenary troops.

This celebrated charter<sup>a</sup> professes to be granted by the king "in the presence of God, and for the health of our soul, and of the souls of all our ancestors, and of our heirs, to the honour of God and exaltation of holy Church and amendment of our realm," by the counsel of the archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, seven other bishops, "Master Pandulph, our lord the pope's subdeacon and familiar," brother Emeric, master of the Temple, the earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Warren, and Arundel, Alan of Gallo-way, constable of Scotland, Hubert de Burgh, seneschal of Poitou, "and others of our liegemen."

By modern writers Magna Charta has been divided into sixty-three chapters, according to the various subjects embraced. It is often erroneously considered as a grant of new privileges, but such is not the case as regards any class; it is rather a restoration of some portions of the Anglo-Saxon constitution, which had been suspended by the Norman kings, and a redress of injustices perpetrated by John himself. Following out the declaration, "to none will we sell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right or justice," like the charters of former kings, it promises peace and freedom of election to the Church, a legal course of government, and a full redress of all grievances. It then proceeds to concede all the barons' demands; gives up their hostages and bonds<sup>b</sup>; abandons new-made forests and fisheries, amends weights and measures, and dismisses mercenary troops<sup>c</sup>; also makes special mention of, and promises redress for, many unjust acts, not only of the king, but of his predecessors, committed against Alexander of Scotland and Llewelyn of Wales.

Magna Charta also requires the

great tenants to concede to their dependants all customs and liberties as freely as they are granted to themselves<sup>d</sup>; thus the humbler classes were interested in its due execution, and failed not to support those who in later times laboured for that end<sup>e</sup>. Several copies of it were made, in order that one might be preserved in each cathedral, and a body of twenty-five barons was appointed, whose duty it was to enforce its observance on all parties.

Beside binding himself by oath not to attempt the revocation of the charter by means of an appeal to the pope (a promise he at once set about breaking), the king was obliged to agree that the Tower should be put into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the city of London confided to the care of Robert Fitz-Walter, "marshal of the army of God and Holy Church," as pledges of safety to the barons; a necessary precaution, as the document itself furnishes the clearest evidence of the tyranny he had before exercised, and of the grievous abuses that had been engrafted on the original requirements of the feudal system.

John, knowing that the mercenaries are near, positively refuses to abide by the charter, exclaiming, "Why do not these men ask my kingdom?" and withdraws to the Kentish coast at the end of August.

The mercenaries arrive in September. John formally appeals to the pope, Sept. 13, and immediately begins to ravage the barons' estates; he takes the castle of Rochester, after an eight weeks' siege, Nov. 30.

"Now King John, accompanied by that detestable troop of foreigners, whose leader and general was Falkes de Breauté<sup>e</sup>, a man of ignoble birth,

<sup>a</sup> The charter was sealed, like other grants of the time, not signed, as is often stated; the earliest royal signature known is one of Richard II.

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1208, 1214.

<sup>c</sup> "All foreign knights and bowmen" are to be removed. Among their leaders are mentioned Gerard de Atyes, Andrew, Gyon, and Peter de Cancel, Cyon and Engelard de Cygony, Philip Marc, and Geoffrey de Martin. Gerard had been in the king's service in Poitou in 1204; the others had apparently joined him more recently, as their names do not appear on the Patent or Close Rolls before 1211. In spite of the stipulation, they were still employed, and Engelard was warden of the

honour of Windsor in the next reign.

<sup>d</sup> Some writers have maintained that this clause was inserted by the king, against the wish of the barons; but its equivalent appears among their demands. See p. 140.

<sup>e</sup> Though endeavours were constantly made by several succeeding kings to set it aside, they all eventually failed, and each monarch was obliged to learn that his most popular and politic act was a solemn confirmation of Magna Charta.

<sup>f</sup> He had long been in the king's service, and was bailiff of Glamorgan in 1208; he was also one of his executors. After the war was over, he held Bedford castle, plundering parties from which did

and a bastard, and carried away by his fury, began to lay waste the northern parts of England, to destroy the castles of the barons, or compel them to submit to his order, burning without mercy all their towns, and oppressing the inhabitants with tortures to extort money."

The pope annuls Magna Charta, and suspends the archbishop. He also excommunicates the barons; at first generally, but afterwards by name, December 16.

A.D. 1216.

The barons surrender Northumberland to Alexander of Scotland, and do homage to him.

John advances into Scotland, ravaging the country, in January.

The barons, who occupy London, ravage the surrounding districts. "They plundered the farmers and the citizens, scarcely sparing the churches, and made themselves masters of everything. From Yarmouth, Ipswich, Colchester, and other towns, they exacted a heavy ransom."

The king marches southward; De Breauté plunders the isle of Ely, and profanes the minster.

The king reaches Enfield, March 30. The barons despatch envoys and hostages to offer the crown to Louis, the son of the king of France.

John repairs to the Kentish coast, but, distrusting his mercenaries, on the approach of Louis he withdraws westward; he passes some time at Corfe castle, and then marches to Shropshire.

Louis accepts the barons' offer, in spite of the prohibition of the papal legate, April 26. He sends aid to the barons, and lands himself at Sandwich<sup>f</sup>, May 21.

He takes Rochester, and receives the barons' homage at London, June 2.

Louis besieges Dover ineffectually; the Cinque Ports fleet captures his ships.

Louis takes Winchester in June, and other castles shortly after, but is repulsed at Windsor.

John, being joined by some of the barons, who distrust their French allies, crosses the country, and captures Lincoln, Sept. 22.

He marches southward, ravaging the country, and reaches Lynn Oct. 9, where the inhabitants welcome him<sup>g</sup>, and remains there three days.

He loses much of his baggage and treasure in his march on the shore of the Wash towards Holbeach, Oct. 11.

Is seized with illness at Swineshead, Oct. 12, but proceeds through Sleaford to Newark, Oct. 16; dies there Oct. 19. He is buried at Worcester, according to his own wish<sup>h</sup>.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
The Latin empire of Constantinople founded . . . . .	1204	Ghengis Khan invades China . . . . .	1210
The Inquisition established . . . . .	1206	The Almohades driven from Spain . . . . .	1212

much mischief to the abbey of St. Alban's; and hence perhaps he is represented as worse than all his fellows by Matthew Paris. After a long career of violence he was driven from the kingdom by Hubert de Burgh. See A.D. 1224.

<sup>f</sup> The inhabitants opposed him, and the town was burnt in the struggle.

<sup>g</sup> The town received from him its present name of King's Lynn, and also a sword and cup, which it long preserved; what are now shewn are, in the opinion of antiquaries, of later date. Indeed, however hated by other classes, John seems to have been attached to, and a personal favourite with, the seafaring people, much of his time in each year

being ordinarily spent on the coast, as appears from the Close and Patent Rolls. This probably gave occasion to the statement (now known to be incorrect) of Matthew Paris, that the king, immediately after the granting of Magna Charta, retired to the Isle of Wight, and there passed his time in familiar association with mariners and fishermen.

<sup>h</sup> He bequeathed his body to St. Wulstan, the patron of that cathedral, although he had before founded a Cistercian monastery at Beaulieu (near Lyndhurst in Hampshire), intending it for his place of burial. In 1228 his son made application to the pope for permission to transfer the body to Beaulieu, but the removal was not effected.



Great Seal of Henry III.

### HENRY III.

HENRY, the eldest son of King John and Isabella of Angouleme, was born at Winchester, Oct. 1, 1207. The kingdom to which he succeeded in his 10th year was little more than nominal, but the vigour and ability of his guardians, Gualo the papal legate, and William Marshal earl of Pem-

broke<sup>a</sup>, soon effected a change; they regranting Magna Charta, on which the English barons, distrustful of their French allies, very generally returned to their allegiance, and Louis retired from the field.

On Pembroke's death, Hubert de Burgh (formerly seneschal of Poitou)<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> He was the grandson of John the Marshal, a zealous partisan of the Empress Maud, and obtained the



Arms of the Earl Marshal.

earldom of Pembroke by marrying Isabel, daughter of Richard de Clare. He served the young Henry, Richard, and John, with great fidelity, and obtained from the latter king a grant of the whole province of Leinster. On John's death, he took such measures as caused the youthful Henry III. to be received as king, and acted as Protector of the kingdom until his own death, which occurred in the year 1219. He left, beside daughters, five sons, who all in succession became earls of Pembroke. See A.D. 1245.

<sup>b</sup> He was frequently employed in foreign embassies by King John, and strenuously supported his cause against the barons. He was the chief ruler of the kingdom during the early years of Henry III., held a number of the most important offices, (as justiciary, warden of the marches of

and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, ("a man well skilled in war<sup>c</sup>,") shared between them the rule of the kingdom for a while, and, though hostile to each other, they kept the refractory barons in check; but as they failed to observe the provisions of Magna Charta, fresh quarrels continually arose. At last, Des Roches was obliged to go on a pilgrimage, and De Burgh ruled alone, till he also was deprived of power and imprisoned.

Henry, when freed from tutelage, shewed himself quite unequal to his station, and the whole after-part of his long reign presents a melancholy picture of the evils that may fall on a nation from the weakness of its rulers. He engaged in tedious wars with France for the recovery of Normandy, but only succeeded in endangering Guienne; took part with the popes against the emperor Frederick II. and his family, although that emperor was his brother-in-law; made frequent attacks on the independence of Wales, "but without effecting anything worthy of his rank;" chose his counsellors and servants rather among foreigners than Englishmen; and, to supply means for all these idle projects, so grievously oppressed every class of his people, and so utterly disregarded

all his oaths and obligations, that in 1258 he was in fact deposed, all power being placed in the hands of twenty-four counsellors, of whom the chief was his brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort<sup>d</sup>.

In 1261 Henry attempted to resume the royal power, but was soon obliged to give way. His queen and his son Edward, however, procured the aid of Mortimer and the other marchers, and in 1264 Henry again took the field; he was defeated and taken prisoner at Lewes, May 13, by De Montfort, and compelled to accompany him to Wales in a campaign against his own adherents.

In 1265, by a sudden change of fortune, De Montfort was killed at Evesham, and the king set at liberty, but the war lasted nearly three years after. At length some judicious concessions were made to the malcontents, and the few remaining years of Henry's reign passed without any very memorable incident. He died Nov. 16, 1272, at Westminster, and was buried in the abbey church there four days after, but his heart was removed to the abbey of Fontevraud in 1291.

Henry married Eleanor, the daughter of Raymond V., count of Provence. She appears to have been a woman

Wales, constable of Dover and other castles, and sheriff of several counties,) and received the earldom of Kent; but at length he fell into disgrace, was accused of enormous crimes, stripped of most of his possessions, and thrown into prison. He escaped into Wales, and after a time was restored to the king's favour, but again falling into disgrace, through affiancing his daughter Margaret to the earl of Gloucester without the royal licence, he was obliged to surrender several strong castles, and died shortly after, May 12, 1243. He had been married four times, one of his wives being Isabel, the repudiated queen of John, and another, Margaret, sister of Alexander II. of Scotland.

<sup>c</sup> He was a Poictevin, and a knight, being styled Sir Peter des Roches, but obtained the see of Winchester in 1205 by a papal provision. He was long the rival in the government of Hubert de Burgh, but being at length driven from court, he went to the Holy Land; he again became a courtier, was again expelled, and died soon after, June 9, 1238. His numerous benefactions to religious houses are praised by Matthew Paris, who adds that notwithstanding "he left to his successor a rich bishopric, with no decrease of its plough-cattle."

<sup>d</sup> Simon de Montfort was a younger son of Simon de Montfort so well known for his crusade against the Albigenses, and who had possessed the earldom of Leicester in the time of King John, but had forfeited it on a charge of treason. On occasion of a quarrel with the queen of France, he came to England, was favourably received by the king, recovered (with the consent of his elder brother, Almeric,) the earldom, had important posts bestowed on him, and at length by marrying Eleanor, the

widow of William earl of Pembroke, became allied to the royal family. He governed Gascony with



Arms of De Montfort.

vigour and wisdom for several years, also made a journey to the Holy Land; but being at length deprived of his province, he headed the discontented barons, received also the support of the great body of the clergy, expelled the king's foreign favourites, and may almost be said to have ruled in his stead. Some of his confederates, however, deserting him, Mortimer and the marchers made head against him, and defeated and killed him at Evesham, Aug. 4, 1265. His body was barbarously mutilated, and denied Christian burial by the victors, while his partisans esteemed him a martyr, and circulated reports ascribing miracles to him.

of beauty and spirit, but the excessive partiality of the king for her kindred rendered her unpopular, and she was once in danger of her life from the hatred of the Londoners. She became a nun at Amesbury in 1286, and died there June 24, 1291.

Their children were, beside Robert, John, William, Henry, and Catherine, who died young,

1. EDWARD, who became king.

2. Edmund, earl of Lancaster<sup>e</sup>, born 1245. The title of King of Sicily was bestowed on him by the pope (Alexander IV.), but he never obtained possession; he went to the crusade with his brother Edward, and died in 1296, while commanding an army in Gascony. One of his sons was Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who bore so great a part in the troubles of the reign of Edward II.



Arms of Edmund of Lancaster<sup>f</sup>.

3. Margaret, born 1240; married in 1251 to Alexander III. of Scotland, and died in 1275.

4. Beatrice, born 1242; married in

1260 to John de Dreux, son of John I., duke of Brittany, and died in 1275.

Henry bore the same arms and device as his father, King John.



Henry III., from his Monument in Westminster Abbey.



Arms of Henry III.

The character of Henry had many glaring defects, among which his utter want of courage and regard for his word may be particularly noticed. He suffered his people to be oppressed with impunity by the agents of the papal court, and extorted large sums from them himself, the greater part of which he wasted on his foreign favourites, but some he usefully em-

ployed on works of devotion and charity. Beside decorating various shrines, he nearly rebuilt the church of Westminster, founded a house for converts from Judaism, and left a sum of money by his will for the succour of the Holy Land.

A.D. 1216.

Westminster being in the hands of

<sup>e</sup> He was called "Crouchback," as having taken the cross. John of Gaunt, however, pretended that he was really the elder son, but set aside as a cripple, and on this fancy was founded the claim to the throne "by right line of the blood from good

King Henry," which Henry of Bolingbroke urged, as his mother was the great granddaughter of Edmund.

<sup>f</sup> This singular figure, termed the tricorporate lion, is found on his seal.

the barons, Henry is crowned at Gloucester, Oct. 28<sup>g</sup>, by Peter, Bishop of Winchester, in presence of Gualo, the papal legate. "He did homage to the holy Roman Church and to Pope Innocent for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and swore that as long as he held those kingdoms he would faithfully pay the thousand marks which his father had given to the Roman Church<sup>h</sup>." The legate and the earl of Pembroke assume the direction of affairs. A council held at Bristol, Nov. 12, when Magna Charta is confirmed, with certain alterations, giving it a still more popular character.

Louis, who had abandoned the siege of Dover early in November, captures the castles of Hertford and Berkhamstead (Dec. 6 and 20), but refusing to entrust them to any but his own knights, many of the English forsake his party. He retires to London.

#### A.D. 1217.

Louis, being threatened with excommunication by the legate, agrees to a truce until Easter (March 26) and crosses over to France; many more of his English adherents leave him.

The king's party besiege the castle of Mountsorel; it is stoutly defended by Henry de Braybrooke.

Louis returns to London, and despatches the count of Perche, Robert Fitz-Walter, and others, with a band of 20,000 "wicked French freebooters," to raise the siege; they accomplish this, and then march to besiege the castle of Lincoln.

The legate excommunicates Louis and the barons by name, April 18.

The earl of Pembroke, assisted by Peter, bishop of Winchester, raises a force, with which he attacks and totally defeats the barons' army in the town of Lincoln, May 20. The count of Perche is killed, Robert Fitz-Walter, Gilbert de Clare, and many other barons taken, and the city plun-

dered; "nor did the cathedral escape, but suffered as the other churches, for the legate had ordered the knights to treat all the clergy as excommunicated, inasmuch as they had been enemies to holy Church and to the king from the commencement of the war. When nothing remained in any corner of the houses, they each returned to their lords as rich men, and peace with King Henry having been proclaimed through the city, they ate and drank amidst mirth and festivity. This battle, in derision of Louis and the barons, they called 'the Fair.'"

The French fleet toward London, many being cut off by the townspeople on the way. The castle of Mountsorel is abandoned by its garrison, and is ordered to be demolished by the king.

Louis sends for succour to France. The fleet sent to his relief is defeated by Hubert de Burgh, near Dover, Aug. 24; Eustace the Monk, its commander, is captured and put to death<sup>i</sup>.

The earl of Pembroke besieges Louis in London. A treaty is concluded between them, Sept. 11, and Louis leaves England.

The treaty stipulated for the restoration of all prisoners, the absolution of Louis and his adherents from spiritual censures, his immediate withdrawal from England, and his best endeavours to induce his father, the French king, to restore the English provinces; King Henry promising on his part to restore their estates to the barons, and to observe the provisions of Magna Charta. Roger of Wendover says that "Louis received £5,000 to meet his necessities, and then, under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke, went with all speed to the sea-coast, and thence, with lasting ignominy, crossed to France." It would seem, however, from a document on the Close Rolls, dated Feb. 12, 1218, that his withdrawal was procured by at least the promise of a further sum, for in it the king says, "We owe a heavy debt

<sup>g</sup> The years of his reign are reckoned from this day.

<sup>h</sup> Roger of Wendover.

<sup>i</sup> He is said to have abandoned the cloister to seize the estate of his deceased brother, and when he had dissipated it he turned pirate. In 1205 he was captured by the Cinque Ports mariners, but

was taken into the service of King John; in 1214, having joined the French, he commanded the fleet which brought over Louis to Sandwich, and did much damage to his former captors. Fearing their vengeance, he now hid himself in the hold of his vessel, but was dragged out and beheaded by Sir Richard, a natural brother of the king.



unto Louis, the French king's son, by agreement made between us, that he would depart out of our realm, which at length the Lord hath marvellously and mercifully procured."

The evils of the civil war were, however, by no means over. The regent Pembroke had scarcely the power to keep the treaty with such of Louis's adherents as submitted, for Falkes de Breaute and other of the king's castellans held the castles that had fallen into their hands alike against him and the rightful owners; and many knights and nobles of both parties "whose chief delight had been to live by plunder," continued to pillage the people. The legate also, refusing to abide by the treaty, took the most vigorous measures against the clergy, who had favoured Louis: he deprived many of their benefices, and bestowed them on foreigners; from others he extorted large sums; the cases of some he remitted to Rome. Those who resisted were excommunicated, and by an order from the king (to be found on the Close Rolls), dated Stoke, Feb. 18, 1218, were directed to quit the realm before the following Midlent Sunday (March 25); the sheriffs being commanded to seize and imprison all clerks whom they might find abiding in excommunication on that account after the day named.

A.D. 1218.

The earl of Winchester, Robert Fitz-Walter, and other leaders of the barons, go to the crusade, at Damietta.

Trial by ordeal formally abolished.

Gualo, the papal legate, withdraws, and is succeeded by Pandulph<sup>k</sup>.

A.D. 1219.

Damietta is captured by the crusaders.

Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, on the death of the earl of Pembroke, becomes guardian of the king with Hubert de Burgh. Great rivalry springs up between them.

Reginald of Man formally surrenders the isle to the pope, and also acknow-

ledges himself the vassal of the king of England<sup>l</sup>.

A.D. 1220.

The king is crowned a second time at Westminster, on Whitsunday, May 17.

The castles of Rockingham and Salcey recovered out of the hands of the earl of Albemarle, June 29.

The remains of Thomas Becket translated, July 7.

A.D. 1221.

The earl of Albemarle plunders the country around Burlington, and carries off the spoil to the castle of Biham; he is supplied with men by Falkes de Breaute and other of the king's castellans, and seizes the castle of Fotheringhay. He is besieged in Biham, by the justiciary, and obliged to surrender, Feb. 8, but is pardoned on account of his former services.

Peace is made with Scotland, and the king's sister Joan married to Alexander II. at York, June 25.

The king marches against the Welsh in September, raises the siege of Builth, and builds a new castle at Montgomery.

A.D. 1222.

A tumult between the citizens of London and the people of the abbot of Westminster, Aug. 1. Constantine, the leader of the Londoners, raises the cry "Monjoie," (the cry of the French party); he is seized and hung, with several of his friends; others are mutilated, and the city magistrates displaced.

A.D. 1223.

The archbishop of Canterbury (Stephen Langton) and the nobles claim the full execution of the charter, January.

Philip, king of France, dies, July 14. He is succeeded by Louis, his son, who refuses to restore the English provinces in France, alleging that the terms granted to his adherents had not been kept, particularly mentioning the case of Constantine and the Londoners.

<sup>k</sup> Pandulph held the legateship until July, 1221. He then went to Rome, and was there consecrated (May 29, 1222) to the see of Norwich, which had been vacant nearly eight years. He died September 16, 1226, and was buried in his own cathedral.

<sup>l</sup> The documents are dated at the Temple in London, Sept. 21. Olaf, under the style of King of the Isles, protested against the submission, and avowed his feudal dependence on Norway (see A.D. 1208, 1205).

The king endeavours to induce the Norman barons to swear fealty to him, promising them the return of their forfeited English lands, July 23.

A council held at Northampton, in December, where it is determined to force Falkes de Breauté and others to give up the royal castles. The earls of Chester and Albemarle attempt to resist, but being threatened with excommunication they submit.

#### A.D. 1224.

The French king seizes on Poitou.

De Breauté, having attacked the king's justiciaries, who had given judgments against him, imprisons one of them, Henry de Braybroke<sup>m</sup>, in his castle of Bedford.

The castle is besieged by the king and the justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, from June to August; it is defended by William de Breauté, but being surrendered, Aug. 15, he and many of his knights are hanged. Falkes de Breauté, who had fled into Burgundy, is there captured, when he is deprived of all his possessions and banished, and his wife is, at her own request, divorced from him<sup>n</sup>.

#### A.D. 1225.

Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests confirmed by the king, Feb. 11, and a fifteenth of all moveables in the kingdom granted to him to enable him to recover the English possessions in France.

Earl Richard, the king's brother, is sent to Bordeaux, in March. He defeats the French, and establishes the English power in Gascony.

#### A.D. 1226.

The pope (Honorius III.) demands two prebends from each cathedral church, and a similar contribution from every monastery.

The earl marshal<sup>o</sup>, being suspected of hostile designs, is ordered to sur-

render his castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan, July 10.

Death of Louis VIII. of France, at the siege of Avignon, September.

#### A.D. 1227.

At a council held at Oxford in February, the king declares himself of age, and refuses to abide by the Forest charters<sup>p</sup>. He also dismisses Des Roches, who goes on a pilgrimage, and puts himself entirely under the guidance of Hubert de Burgh.

Earl Richard, having a quarrel with the king about the manor of Berkhamstead, joins the discontented nobles, who force the king to do him justice.

#### A.D. 1228.

The king marches against Llewelyn, prince of Wales, but soon concludes a disgraceful peace, August and September.

#### A.D. 1229.

The Gascons invite the king to come to them, as do deputies from Normandy, promising him their aid in regaining the English provinces.

The pope (Gregory IX.) levies a tithe on all moveables in England.

The king collects an army at Portsmouth for the invasion of France, but suddenly quarrels with De Burgh, and allows his troops to disperse, September, October.

#### A.D. 1230.

Reginald of Man is killed in battle by Olaf, Feb. 14<sup>q</sup>.

The king passes over to Brittany, with a large force, May<sup>r</sup>. He marches through Anjou, to Poitou and Gascony, where he receives the homage of the people; in October he returns to England. The earl of Chester makes incursions in Anjou and Normandy.

#### A.D. 1231.

A scutage of three marks raised for a fresh expedition to France.

<sup>m</sup> The baron who defended Mountsorrel against the king. See A.D. 1217.

<sup>n</sup> She was the widow of the son of the earl of Devon, and had been forcibly married to him. Falkes went to France, and endeavoured to excite Louis to attempt another invasion; he also appealed to the pope regarding his divorce, but while the cause was pending he died of poison.

<sup>o</sup> William, the eldest son of the Protector.

<sup>p</sup> He issued a declaration which says,—"Whosoever and wheresoever, and as often as it may be our pleasure, we may declare, interpret, enlarge,

or diminish the aforesaid statutes and their several parts, by our free will, and as to us shall seem expedient for the security of us and our land."

<sup>q</sup> Olaf, after many years' exile (see A.D. 1205), had obtained a fleet and army from Norway, and he was now received as king.

<sup>r</sup> He landed at St. Malo, May 5, and was joined by the duke (who was his vassal, as earl of Richmond), and many Breton and Norman nobles. The duke was Peter I., the husband of Alice, who was the half-sister of Arthur and Eleanor.

William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, dies\*.

A truce agreed to between the kings of England and France, July 5.

The king invades Wales; he sustains considerable loss, but strengthens the border castles.

The payment of tithe and revenues to Rome resisted, and many agents of the pope maltreated.

A.D. 1232.

The king quarrels with Hubert de Burgh, charging him with many grievous offences; Stephen de Segrave is made justiciary in his place, July.

Hubert demands time to answer, and takes sanctuary at Merton; he obtains a further time to answer, but before it expires is dragged out of a chapel and imprisoned in the Tower. He is released the next day, through the interference of the Bishop of Lincoln (Hugh Wells), and sent back to the chapel; is obliged by hunger to surrender himself, when he is again conducted to the Tower, and put in fetters.

The king seizes Hubert's treasure, and places him in the castle of Devizes, in October, allowing him to retain his patrimonial lands.

A.D. 1233.

The king makes Des Roches, bishop of Winchester, his chief counsellor, and by his advice dismisses the officers of his court and garrisons his castles with Poitevins (Des Roches' countrymen) and other foreigners.

Richard, earl of Pembroke, but usually styled the earl marshal†, and other nobles, remonstrate with the king, and being repulsed, take measures to drive out the Poitevins.

The king demands hostages from the nobles, and appoints a conference in London for the redress of grievances.

The earl marshal, apprehensive of treachery, flees to Wales and is declared a traitor. He makes a league with Llewelyn.

Hubert de Burgh escapes from prison, Oct. 12. He is dragged from sanctuary, and ordered to abjure the realm, Oct. 15; but is sent back on the intercession of the bishops of Salisbury and London, Oct. 18. He escapes to Wales to the earl marshal.

The earl marshal surprises the king's army at Grosmont (near Monmouth) and puts it to flight, Nov. 11. He also defeats the Poitevins at Monmouth, Nov. 25, and Dec. 26.

A.D. 1234.

The earl marshal and Llewelyn ravage the estates of Des Roches and their other enemies, and burn Shrewsbury, in January. The king retires to Winchester.

The bishops remonstrate with the king on the violent proceedings of Des Roches and his confederates. They and the Poitevins are in consequence dismissed, and a truce made with the nobles.

The earl marshal passes into Ireland, and, listening to the treacherous advice of Geoffrey Marsh and others, who had been corrupted by Des Roches, attempts to subdue the country.

He is invited to a conference with Maurice the justiciary, betrayed by Geoffrey Marsh, desperately wounded, and made prisoner, April 1. He dies April 16, and is buried at Kilkenny.

A peace arranged with Llewelyn, and the proscribed nobles, including ~~Hubert de Burgh~~, admitted to the king's peace, May 28.

The duke of Brittany (Peter I.) makes his peace with the king of France‡.

A.D. 1235.

Olaf of Man is engaged to defend parts of the English and Irish coasts\*, June 11.

The king's sister Isabel married to the emperor (Frederick II.) at Worms, July 20.

\* He had married Eleanor, the king's sister, and he charged his brother Richard, who succeeded him, to pay her dower from his vast estates in Ireland. This Richard neglected to do; and within a very short time of his brother's death he is denounced in a document in the "Fœdera" as the liegeman of the King of France (May 25, 1231). It would thus appear that private matters brought him into the controversy which ended in his death, rather than his wish to maintain the liberties of the

kingdom, as usually stated.

† The second son of the Protector.

‡ His English earldom of Richmond was thus forfeited, and he revenged himself by piracy.

§ Haco V., king of Norway, had restored Olaf (see A.D. 1230), and now threatened both England and Scotland. Olaf, however, being thus induced to renounce his fealty, the intended enterprise was abandoned.

A.D. 1236.

The king marries Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, Jan. 14.

Earl Richard and many nobles assume the cross.

The king of Scotland (Alexander II.) demands the county of Northumberland as the marriage portion of his wife, (Joan, the king's sister).

A.D. 1237.

The charters again confirmed, Jan. 28, and a thirtieth of all moveables granted to the king.

A madman attempts to murder the king at Woodstock, Sept. 9.

Cardinal Otho, a papal legate, is invited to England by the king, much to the discontent of both clergy and laity. He holds a council in London in November, "to strengthen and reform the state of the Church in England."

A.D. 1238.

The king gives his sister Eleanor (widow of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke) in marriage to Simon de Montfort, Jan. 7. Earl Richard and the other nobles are greatly displeased; Hubert de Burgh alone adheres to the king.

The legate visits Oxford, when a quarrel arises between the students and his attendants\*. He lays an interdiction on the University, but removes it after a while on the submission of the scholars.

The legate reforms the statutes of the Benedictines.

Olaf of Man dies. His son Harold succeeds, and disclaims dependance on England†.

A.D. 1239.

The Tower strengthened, which causes alarm to the people of London.

The king's eldest son, Edward, is born, June 18‡.

The Jews throughout England are cruelly oppressed, and obliged to surrender one-third of all their effects to the king, on a charge of having committed a murder in London, June 21, 22.

The king suddenly quarrels with Simon de Montfort, and drives him and his wife from England, August.

The legate goes to Scotland, but is very coldly received there, and soon returns to England.

The English nobles appeal to the pope against the proceedings of the legate.

A.D. 1240.

The king causes an oath of fealty to his son Edward to be taken by the citizens of London "and many other nobles of the kingdom."

The king sends justiciaries throughout England, who, "under pretence of administering justice," says Matthew Paris, "collected an immense sum of money for the use of the king, but he squandered it away." The legate also exacts large sums for the pope.

Earl Richard proceeds on the crusade.

Llewelyn of Wales dies, April 11. A civil war breaks out between his sons, David<sup>a</sup> and Griffin.

Boniface of Savoy, uncle of the queen, is chosen archbishop of Canterbury<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1241.

The legate quits England, Jan. 7, having been a few days before placed by the king in his royal seat at table, to the great offence of his subjects.

Peter of Savoy (uncle to the queen) comes to England, and receives the earldom of Richmond<sup>c</sup>.

Twenty thousand marks extorted from the Jews, under pain of banishment.

The new walls of the Tower fall

\* The master of the legate's cooks, who was also his brother, (appointed, Matthew Paris says, to that office to guard him from being poisoned, which he greatly feared,) threw boiling water in the face of a poor Irish chaplain, who craved food in God's name, and was himself killed by another clerk from the Welsh border. The legate was obliged to flee for his life, and the king sent the earl of Warrene to Oxford, who brought many of the scholars away as prisoners.

† He regarded the king of Norway as his feudal lord. See A.D. 1205.

‡ The king extorted costly presents from those

to whom he communicated the news, so that, Matthew Paris says, one of them remarked, "God gave us this child, but the king sells him to us."

<sup>a</sup> To procure the assistance of the king, David agreed to do homage for his lands, May 15.

<sup>b</sup> He was not consecrated until 1245. He passed most of his time abroad in wars and negotiations, and acted with much insolence and cruelty to his clergy, "being ignorant of their rules and customs, and also destitute of learning." He died in the castle of St. Helen, in Savoy, July 13, 1270.

<sup>c</sup> Lately forfeited by the duke of Brittany. See A.D. 1234.

down; the joy of the citizens displeases the king, and he exacts a large sum from them, "contrary to their known customs and liberties."

The Preacher and Minorite brethren excite the people to assume the cross, and then absolve them from their vow, by which means they raise a large sum of money in England, but incur much odium.

The king of France bestows Poitou on his brother Alphonso, June 24.

The king assembles an army on the borders of Wales in August. David owns himself his liege man<sup>d</sup>, and surrenders a part of his territory, called the Four Barriers; Griffin, his brother, whom he had imprisoned, is carried to London, where he is confined in the Tower.

A.D. 1242.

Earl Richard returns to England, from the crusade, Jan. 7.

The count of la Marche and the Poitevins request the king to assist them against the French. He is willing to do so, but the parliament summoned refuses to grant money ("for," says Matthew Paris, "they knew that the king had often harassed them in this way with false pretences,") and is dismissed in anger, February.

The king of France equips a fleet to guard Poitou against invasion.

The king, accompanied by Earl Richard, passes over to Gascony, leaving Walter Gray, archbishop of York, regent of the kingdom.

William Marsh, an outlaw, seizes Lundy island, and turns pirate; he is captured, and executed shortly after.

The king renounces the truce with France. The king of France wishes to preserve peace. He feared the hostility of several neighbouring kings and princes, who were in some way connected with the king of England; "but, above all," says Matthew Paris, "he feared to break the oath of his father Louis, before his departure from England, by which he bound himself to restore to the king of England his rights, if he survived his father<sup>e</sup>; and his father, when about to die, at Avig-

non, had enjoined on him, his son, the fulfilment of that oath: he therefore considered it just and pious to release the soul of his father from such a bond."

The king of England, however, "urged by those crafty traitors, the Poitevins," openly defies him, and the war commences.

The king of France captures Frontenay and other castles, and is received into Taillebourg.

The king advances against him, but being betrayed by the Poitevins, is only saved from capture by a truce of a single day, granted at the request of Earl Richard<sup>f</sup>, July 20.

A party of the English defeated in Saintonge, July 22.

The count of la Marche submits to the king of France.

The king retires to Blaye, then to Bordeaux, and the whole of Poitou is occupied by the French.

A five years' truce agreed on.

Earl Richard and many nobles and knights return to England, but the king remains behind at Bordeaux, wasting vast sums of money on the Gascons. He wishes to confiscate the possessions of those who quit him, but is restrained by the archbishop of York.

A.D. 1243.

Some of the Gascon towns rebel, but are reduced by the king.

The Cinque Ports mariners and the French carry on a naval war, which degenerates into piracy; the archbishop is therefore unable to send the succours he had prepared to the king.

The truce is confirmed, April 7; the king of France retaining all his conquests, and receiving a payment of £1,000 yearly.

The king at length returns to England, landing at Portsmouth Sept. 25.

He extorts large gifts from the clergy; "whoever refused, found him not a king, but a tyrant." He also laid a heavy ransom on the Jews, in gold and silver. "The king received

<sup>d</sup> By charter dated at Alney, near St. Asaph, Aug. 29, 1241. The pope, however, declared this submission null (see A.D. 1244), and Wales maintained an appearance of independence for forty years longer.

<sup>e</sup> See A.D. 1217.

<sup>f</sup> The truce was granted as an acknowledgment of many services which the earl had rendered to the French while on his crusade.

*Jews*

from each Jew, whether man or woman, the gold into his own hand, acting the part, not of king, but of tax-gatherer, but the silver was gathered by others."

A.D. 1244.

The pope (Innocent IV.) sends one of his clerks, Master Martin, into England, who extorts rich gifts from the clergy, and seizes on vacant benefices, which he bestows on his friends and relatives.

Griffin of Wales is killed in endeavouring to escape from the Tower, March 1.

The king is obliged to remonstrate with the pope on the exactions of his agents.

The pope takes David of Wales and his territory under his protection, and for the annual tribute of 500 marks, annuls the act of submission which he had made to the king<sup>g</sup>.

The Welsh, under David, ravage the marches, June.

A quarrel with the king of Scotland, who is charged with receiving English fugitives, is arranged by the mediation of Earl Richard, August.

A.D. 1245.

The war is continued between the Welsh and the marchers.

Master Martin, warned by the king, flees in haste from England. A formal complaint of the papal exactions is made to the council at Lyons by William de Powick and other procurators of the king, July.

The king ravages Wales, and strengthens the castle of Gannock, near Conway; his troops suffer se-

verely from want, and he returns to England in October.

Walter and Anselm, the last surviving sons of William Marshal, die within a very short time of each other, and without issue<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1246.

A tallage of 1,000 marks levied on the Londoners.

A parliament held in London at the end of March, which despatches messengers to the pope to complain of the extortions of his legate.

The king forbids the payment of money to the pope during the absence of the messengers.

David, prince of Wales, dies. Llewelyn, the son of Griffin, escapes from England, and is chosen to succeed him.

The messengers return with an angry message from the pope, when the king and parliament give way, "and the graspings of Roman avarice were satisfied."

A.D. 1247.

A parliament held at London, Feb. 3, which again remonstrates with the pope on his exactions<sup>i</sup>.

Ecclesiastical judges prohibited by the king to try any other causes than marriage or wills where laymen are concerned.

A parliament held at Oxford, early in April, when a sum of 11,000 marks is granted by the bishops to the pope.

Guy de Lusignan, William de Valence, Aymar, a priest, and Eliza, the half-brothers and sister of the king, arrive in England<sup>k</sup>.

William de Bueles, a Norman, and,

<sup>g</sup> See A.D. 1240.

<sup>h</sup> This extinction of the earl's male line is recorded by Matthew Paris as an evident judgment for his seizure of two manors from the bishop of Fernes, who, failing to procure redress, excommunicated him. The marshalship was given to his son-in-law, Roger Bigod, and the earldom of Pembroke was granted by the king to his own half-brother, William de Valence, who had married a niece of the last earl.

<sup>i</sup> The document runs in the name of "the community of the clergy and people of the province of Canterbury," and concludes, "As our community has no seal, we send these presents to your holiness under the mark of the community of London;" a proof of the consideration to which municipal bodies had already attained.

<sup>k</sup> William de Valence was soon married to the daughter of Warin de Montchesnil, "for the sake of her rich inheritance," and was also created earl of

Pembroke; Eliza (or Alice) was married to John, earl of Warrenne, and Aymar was made bishop of Winchester. Guy shortly left England, but with so large a sum of money received from the king that he was obliged to increase the number of his pack-horses.



Arms of William de Valence, earl of Pembroke.

says Matthew Paris, "after the manner of his countrymen, great in talk, but slow in deeds, and pusillanimous," is appointed governor of Gascony. By his bad conduct he exposes the province to great dangers.

Earl Richard, by authority of the pope, "whose demands he had secretly and wisely satisfied," raises large sums for himself from those who wish to be absolved from their vow of proceeding on the crusade<sup>1</sup>.

A vessel said to contain some of the blood of Christ being sent to the king, he carries it in solemn procession from St. Paul's to Westminster, and there offers it at the altar of St. Edward the Confessor, Oct. 13<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 1248.

Simon de Montfort<sup>a</sup> and many other nobles assume the cross.

A parliament assembles at London in February. The nobles remonstrate with the king on his partiality for foreigners; he promises amendment.

The parliament re-assembles in June, when the king positively refuses to alter his conduct, and the assembly separates in anger, without granting any supplies.

The king sells his plate and jewels, and extorts money from the Londoners for buying them. A force is thus raised for the defence of Gascony, and Simon de Montfort takes the government of the province.

The king of France (Louis IX.) departs on the Crusade, and winters in Cyprus.

A.D. 1249.

The king continues to extort money from the Londoners, and begs relief from the nobles, prelates, and abbots<sup>b</sup>.

De Montfort reduces the Gascons to obedience.

A.D. 1250.

The king asks pardon of the Londoners for his extortions, March 7; "but," adds Matthew Paris, "no restitution was made of the property he had taken from them." He on the same day assumes the cross.

Large sums of money are wrung from the Jews; one of their number accusing the rest of forging deeds and clipping the coin.

Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, visits the London regular clergy by force, and violently assails the canons of St. Bartholomew, May 13<sup>p</sup>.

William de Raleigh, bishop of Winchester, dies, Sept. 1; the king prevails on the monks to demand Aymar, his half-brother, as his successor<sup>c</sup>.

Winchelsea and other towns greatly injured by floods.

A.D. 1251.

De Montfort comes to England to ask for aid in subduing Gascony. He receives 3,000 marks from the king, but raises much more from his own estates, with which he hires Brabancos and other mercenaries, and returns to his government; the Gascons resolutely oppose him.

Several of the bishops meet at Dunstable, Feb. 24, and make a formal protest against the visitatorial power

<sup>1</sup> He was imitated by William Longespee, the disinherited son of the famous earl of Salisbury, but with the object of equipping himself for the holy war, in which he died, under the banner of Louis of France.

<sup>a</sup> The clergy were dressed as for a festival, says Matthew Paris, with banners, crosses, and lighted tapers, but the king walked in a poor cloak without a hood, and held the vessel above his head the whole way. The bishop of Norwich (Walter de Southfield) preached a sermon on the occasion, and announced free remission of penance for six years and 140 days to "all who came to worship the most holy blood." Some of his auditors obstinately doubted, and asked, "How could the Lord, when He rose again full and entire of body on the third day after His passion, have left His blood on the earth?" but the bishop of Lincoln (Robert Grosseteste) "at once determined the question to a nicety." The historian was present, and was directed by the king to make a record of the whole transaction.

<sup>b</sup> His wife did the same, their marriage being by many regarded as sinful, as the countess had taken a vow of widowhood on the death of her first hus-

band, the earl of Pembroke.

<sup>c</sup> Matthew Paris dilates on the conduct of this "beggar-king," as he terms him, and records the spirited reply of the abbot of Ramsey to an application of the king in person; "I have sometimes given, but never lent, nor will I now," he, however, borrowed at heavy interest the sum of £100 and gave it to him. Others, who absolutely refused, were loaded with reproaches.

<sup>d</sup> The monastic orders had very generally obtained an exemption from episcopal visitation, and were responsible only to the papal legates.

<sup>e</sup> He first sent his favourite clerks, John Mansel and Peter Chacepore, but as they produced little impression, he himself repaired to Winchester, and taking the chief seat in the chapter, "as if a bishop or a prior, he began a sermon to them, prefacing it with the text, 'Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.'" The royal sermon, as reported by Matthew Paris, is a compound of threats and promises, and the monks, "overcome by the king's importunity, and despairing of assistance from the pope . . . demanded Aymar, although not a priest, and neither by age nor knowledge fitted for the office."

claimed by the archbishop of Canterbury.

The English laws introduced into Wales. The districts near Chester are intrusted to Alan de la Zouche, who farms the revenue, for the sum of 1,100 marks.

Henry de Bath, one of the justiciaries, being accused of corrupt practices, is protected by Earl Richard, and soon restored to the king's favour.

Vast numbers of shepherds assemble in France for a new crusade, led by an impostor. They commit many outrages, but being withstood by De Montfort and others, are at length dispersed.

Margaret, the king's daughter, married at York to Alexander III. of Scotland, Dec. 26.

A.D. 1252.

The Gascons send messengers to complain of the government of De Montfort.

The king solemnly renews his vow to go to the crusade, April 14.

De Montfort returns to England, and answers the accusations of the Gascons. The king sides with them, when the earl demands repayment of the sums he had expended for the royal service; a sharp altercation ensues, Earl Richard and the other nobles supporting De Montfort.

The king bestows Gascony on his son Edward.

The pope (Innocent IV.) offers the kingdom of Sicily (then possessed by Manfred, a natural son of the emperor Frederick) to the king, for his brother Richard, August 3.

De Montfort returns to his government, and defeats the Gascons.

A parliament held at London, in October, at which the king, by virtue of a mandate from the pope, demands the tithes of the Church for three years, to accomplish his pilgrimage.

The bishops decline to grant his request; the nobles support them, and depart in anger, reproaching the king, as only wishing to extort money without any intention of going to the Holy Land.

The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop-elect of Winchester quarrel, and thus divide the king's foreign favourites into the Provençal and Poictevin parties.

The bishop of Lincoln (Robert Grosseteste<sup>\*</sup>) makes a computation of the revenues of the foreigners intruded by the pope into benefices in England; they amount to 70,000 marks, or more than three times the clear revenue of the king.

A.D. 1253.

The Jews expelled from France.

A parliament held at London after Easter, when a sum of money is promised for the king's pilgrimage, "to be expended at the discretion of the nobles;" and in return Magna Charta is solemnly confirmed, May 13<sup>a</sup>.

De Montfort resigns the government of Gascony. The king of Castile (Alphonso IV.) claims the country, and gives support to Gaston de Bearn and the other malcontents.

The king induces Alphonso to abandon the Gascons, by proposing a marriage between Prince Edward and Alphonso's sister.

A force assembled for the relief of Gascony. The king passes over with it to Bordeaux in August<sup>†</sup>. He captures some castles, but at once gives them up to his Poictevin favourites.

The king ravages the vineyards, at which the people are greatly enraged; the English are in danger of being driven out.

De Montfort raises troops at his own expense, and offers his services to the king, who now gladly receives him; on which the Gascons feign submission.

<sup>\*</sup> This celebrated prelate and scholar held the see of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253. He vehemently opposed the exactions of the Roman court, was the great friend and adviser of De Montfort, and was said to have prophesied that he and his son should lose their lives in contending for the liberties of the Church and the kingdom.

<sup>†</sup> Matthew Paris fully describes the remarkable scene on this occasion. Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, denounced excommunication against all violators of the privileges of the Church, and

infringers of Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests. Every person except the king held a lighted candle in his hand, and at the end of the sentence threw it down: "on being extinguished they gave forth a stench, and all exclaimed, 'Thus perish and stink in hell all who incur this sentence!' the king, with his hand on his breast, said, 'So help me God, all these things will I faithfully observe, as I am a man, a Christian, a knight, and a crowned and anointed king.'"

<sup>†</sup> He sailed from Portsmouth, Aug.



Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, dies Oct. 9.

A.D. 1254.

Gaston de Bearn attempts to surprise Bayonne, in February.

The king passes the year in Gascony. He makes repeated applications for aid to England, and obtains part of the sums granted for his pilgrimage, which he wastes at Bordeaux.

Earl Richard having declined the crown of Sicily, the pope offers it to the king's second son, Edmund, March 6.

The queen and her sons pass over to the king in Gascony; Prince Edward goes to Burgos, and marries Eleanor of Castile.

The king of France returns from his crusade, in July.

The king returns to England at the end of the year; he passes through France, and is splendidly entertained at Paris by "the kind-hearted king of the French," as Matthew Paris calls him.

A.D. 1255.

Being overwhelmed with debts (mainly contracted in supporting the pope against the Emperor Frederick and his family,) the king renews his exactions from all classes. "He demanded from the Jews 8,000 marks, which they were to pay quickly, on pain of hanging. Instead, they desired licence of the king to leave England, never to return; but the king delivered them over to Earl Richard [Feb. 24] to torture them and extract money from them, and in consequence, the earl lent the king, on sufficient security, a large sum of gold."

The king desires assistance from his nobles, in a parliament held at London after Easter. The nobles demand the full observance of Magna Charta, and that they should choose the justiciary, chancellor, and treasurer of the kingdom, who should not be removed without their consent. The king refuses to agree to this, and the matter is postponed.

The king goes to Scotland and re-

leases the young king and queen (his daughter and son-in-law) from the tutelage of Robert de Ros, John Baliol, and other nobles". "On his road back he visited abbeys and priories, commending himself to their prayers, and at the same time enriching himself with their money".

The Jews at Lincoln being accused of having crucified a Christian boy<sup>r</sup>, eighteen of them are hanged there, and more than eighty others imprisoned in the tower of London.

The pope (Alexander IV.) sends Rustand, a Gascon, to raise money in England; he also releases the king from his vow to go to the crusade, on condition of assisting in the conquest of Sicily.

Both the parliament and the assembly of the prelates refuse to second the pope's views, but the king accepts the offer<sup>z</sup>.

A.D. 1256.

A quarrel arises between the king and his son on account of the king's exactions from the Gascons. "The king, taking prudent counsel, made amends; but Edward, as if doubtful of his safety, increased his household, and rode out in public attended by 200 horsemen."

The pope endeavours to conciliate the clergy by issuing a bull in confirmation of King John's charter<sup>a</sup>, March 30.

Magnus, king of Man, taken under the king's protection, April 21.

The pope threatens the king with excommunication for not taking steps to seize on Sicily.

William, count of Holland, named king of Germany through the influence of the pope, being killed by the Frieslanders, the crown is offered to Earl Richard, and accepted by him.

The Welsh, headed by Llewelyn, rise against the oppressions of Geoffrey Langley, the king's officer. Edward, "whom they would not own as their lord," borrows money from Earl Richard, but is unable to subdue them.

A statute passed ordaining that the extra day in leap-year and the

<sup>a</sup> The royal pair, however, were not fifteen years of age.

<sup>r</sup> He carried off from Durham by force a large sum belonging to the bishop of Ely and others, but afterwards repaid it, as it had been placed under the safeguard of St. Cuthbert.

<sup>z</sup> Hugh, the son of Beatrix of Lincoln.

<sup>a</sup> He, however, went neither to Sicily nor to the Holy Land, though he made many promises to do so.

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1215.

day preceding shall be reckoned as one day.

A.D. 1257.

The king obtains a grant of 52,000 marks from the clergy for his son Edmund, the titular king of Sicily.

Earl Richard is chosen king of the Romans ; is crowned at Aix la Chapelle, May 17.

A quarrel arises in the king's presence between William de Valence and Simon de Montfort.

The Welsh ravage the march lands as far as Chester. The king in consequence invades Wales, but soon retreats without effecting anything. The war is then carried on between the Welsh and the marchers<sup>b</sup>: "the country was rendered almost a desert; the people fell by the sword, castles and towns were burnt, the woods were felled, and the flocks and herds annihilated, either for food or by starvation."

A.D. 1258.

The king being refused further aid by the parliament for the conquest of Sicily, (May 2,) sends his clerk, Simon Passelew, "a crafty and lying man," to extort money from various religious houses, but with little success.

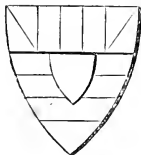
After much altercation the parliament is adjourned, to meet at Oxford. De Montfort, the earl of Gloucester (Richard de Clare<sup>c</sup>), and others arm themselves against the king's half-brothers and his other favourites.

The parliament re-assembles, at Oxford, June 11.

This assembly was as tumultuous as the preceding one, but the confederated barons had brought with them large bodies of retainers, under the pretext of proceeding against the Welsh; they were also in possession of the seaports, and had the city of London on their side. They therefore did not confine themselves to remonstrating with the king on his misgovernment, and the continual breach of his promises and oaths; they virtually deposed him, and drove out all who refused to swear to observe their ordinances, styled the Provisions of Oxford. The chief provisions were, that four knights should be chosen in each county to point out matters which needed redress; that the sheriffs of counties should be annually chosen by the freeholders; that the revenues of the counties should not be farmed; that no new forests or warrens should be created; that none of the king's wards should be entrusted to foreigners; that the parliament should meet frequently; and that the great officers of state should be appointed anew.

In consequence, a council of state was formed, by a rather complicated mode of election, with Simon de Montfort at the head, which named the chancellor, justiciary, and other great officers, and it at once assumed all the functions of government<sup>d</sup>. The Poic-

<sup>b</sup> The most potent of the marchers was Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore. Beside sustaining an almost perpetual war with the Welsh, he served in



Arms of Mortimer.

Gascony, where he resisted the authority of De Montfort. He opposed the Provisions of Oxford, fought on the king's side at Lewes, and though defeated there, soon renewed the war, and killed De Montfort. He then quarrelled with his confederates about the spoil of the defeated barons, and withdrew to the marches. His power was lessened by the vigorous government of Edward I., and he died Oct. 27, 1282.

<sup>c</sup> He was the son of Gilbert de Clare, one of the barons who extorted Magna Charta from King

John. He was placed in the guardianship of Hubert de Burgh, to whose daughter he was affianced, but the king interfered, set aside the contract, and compelled him to marry Maud, daughter of the earl of Lincoln. He went to the Holy Land, and on his return joined the party which opposed and at length expelled the king's foreign favourites.



Arms of Clare, earl of Gloucester.

He was long an active supporter of De Montfort, but at length quarrelled with and brought many heavy charges against him. He died June 18, 1262.

<sup>d</sup> One of its most important acts was a decree that the parliament should meet thrice in the year, being however composed only of the council and

tevin nobles refused to swear to this new constitution, though the king and Prince Edward had done so, and withdrew in haste to Winchester; but being at once followed thither by the barons, with the king as a prisoner in their hands, they fled to France, taking with them large sums of money, by the middle of July.

The citizens of London publicly receive the Provisions of Oxford, July 22.

The Welsh are treacherously attacked by the marchers, but give them a signal defeat.

The king issues his charter for reformation of the state of the realm, Oct. 18.

A.D. 1259.

Earl Richard (king of the Romans) returns to England, but is obliged to swear to observe the Provisions of Oxford, Jan. 28.

De Montfort goes abroad, in consequence of a quarrel with the earl of Gloucester, but returns early in the next year.

The king goes to France in November. He does homage for Gascony, and resigns all claim to Normandy for a sum of money and the promise of Poitou after the death of Louis.

A.D. 1260.

John Legras, a foreigner, who had received a prebend in St. Paul's church, London, from the pope (Alexander IV.<sup>e</sup>) attempting to take forcible possession, is murdered in the street, Feb. 26.

Prince Edward borrows money, and assembles mercenary troops; De Montfort and the other barons are at variance, and a war between them is about breaking out.

The king returns from France at the end of April, but fearing treachery from his son, remains for a fortnight at the house of the bishop of London (Henry de Wingham), not venturing to go to his palace at Westminster or

the Tower. He also borrows money from the king of France, July.

The barons hold a great armed assembly at London, May 1, but separate after a quarrel between De Montfort and the earl of Gloucester.

A council held at St. Paul's, at which Prince Edward clears himself of any traitorous designs, and is reconciled to his father.

De Montfort also is accused by the earl of Gloucester of many offences against the king, but the charges are abandoned. He takes the command against the Welsh, but soon makes a truce with them.

A.D. 1261.

The king openly refuses to abide by the Provisions of Oxford, and attempts to resume his authority, February<sup>f</sup>. He seizes the Tower, and employs the treasure found therein in strengthening it and the walls of London, and calls on the citizens to enter his service for pay.

The barons encamp round London, and the king retires to Dover, leaving John Mansel<sup>g</sup>, his chief adviser, in charge of the Tower; Prince Edward refuses to accept absolution from his oath, and adheres to the barons.

The king hires a body of mercenaries from France, and seizes many castles and cities from the barons. The barons advance against him, when he dismisses his troops, and again shuts himself up in the Tower, in November<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1262.

The king goes to France in July, and remains till December. On his return he again consents to abide by the Provisions of Oxford.

Llewelyn ravages the marches, and destroys several of the castles, November, December.

A.D. 1263.

Prince Edward, with a large force

twelve barons to represent the whole community: this limitation became unpopular, more members were added, and at length even representatives from the towns were admitted, thus laying the foundation of the modern House of Commons.

<sup>e</sup> It was the one that had been held for several years by Rustand the Gascon. See A.D. 1255.

<sup>f</sup> He procured absolution from their oath for himself and his son from the pope (April 13).

<sup>g</sup> He was a priest, but had long served the king in embassies, had more than once been the keeper of the great seal, and was also distinguished for his courage in the field. He was provost of Beverley, and is said by Matthew Paris to have held at one time the enormous number of 700 benefices.

<sup>h</sup> He had before this sent his jewels for safety to the queen of France.

of English and French knights, invaded Wales, but effected little.

The barons, headed by De Montfort, attack the king's foreign favourites. They seize and imprison Peter Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, and capture Gloucester, Bridgnorth, and other places garrisoned by his mercenaries.

John Mansel flees from the kingdom, but is seized at Boulogne.

Prince Edward garrisons Windsor with his foreign troops; he is soon obliged to surrender it; the queen on her passage to join him is insulted by the Londoners, and withdraws to the continent.

The king, who had remained in the Tower, surrenders to the barons, and again promises to observe the Provisions of Oxford.

A great council held in London, Sept. 8, when the Provisions of Oxford are publicly promulgated. Restitution ordered to be made to some of the king's party, and the bishop of Hereford and others released.

The Norwegians send a fleet to the west of Scotland, but are defeated at Largs, on the Clyde, by Alexander III., Oct. 3<sup>1</sup>.

The king and the barons appeal to the king of France to arrange their differences. He, at a council at Amiens, (Jan. 23, 1264,) annuls the Provisions of Oxford, as subversive of the royal authority, but decrees that an amnesty shall be granted to their upholders, and that the people shall preserve their ancient liberties<sup>k</sup>.

Whilst the king and Prince Edward remain in France<sup>l</sup>, the war is carried on between Mortimer and Llewelyn. De Montfort joins Llewelyn, and burns Radnor and other castles belonging to Mortimer.

Prince Edward returns, and assists Mortimer; Worcester, Gloucester, and other cities are taken by him, and large sums exacted from the burgesses.

The Londoners ravage the posses-

sions of the king's adherents, and imprison his justiciaries and the barons of the exchequer.

A.D. 1264.

The king having returned from France, is joined by Prince Edward at Oxford, in March. The scholars are driven from the city, which is turned into a garrison.

The pope (Urban IV.) formally sets aside the Provisions of Oxford, March 23, 25.

The king captures Northampton, April 13, taking young De Montfort and other nobles prisoners. He is received into Nottingham, where he is joined by John de Baliol, Robert de Bruce, and large forces from the north.

Prince Edward takes Tutbury, "and wherever the army of the king and prince advanced, three companions attended it, rapine, conflagration, and slaughter."

Warwick captured by John Giffard, the governor of Kenilworth, De Montfort's stronghold.

Some Jews detected in plots against the barons are put to death in London, and their treasure seized, before Easter, (April 20).

De Montfort and the Londoners march after Easter to besiege Rochester Castle<sup>m</sup>. It is relieved by the king, who also captures Tunbridge, and ravages the sea-coast; "and of the barons of the Cinque Ports some submitted to the king, and some did not, and these last withdrew themselves by sea, having loaded some vessels with their property."

The barons, assisted by the Londoners, totally defeat the royal army at Lewes, May 14. The king and his brother Earl Richard are made prisoners<sup>n</sup>.

A truce (termed the Mise of Lewes) is agreed on, May 15, by which the king is nominally set at liberty, his brother being committed to the Tower,

<sup>1</sup> Their king (Haco V.) died at Kirkwall, in Orkney, Dec. 16, and his successor (Magnus VII.) ceded his nominal supremacy over Man and the Isles to the Scots for a sum of money in 1266.

<sup>k</sup> This reasonable award was not agreeable to either party.

<sup>l</sup> The king remained from Sept. 18, 1263, to Feb.

14, 1264, but the prince returned at some earlier date, which is not accurately known.

<sup>m</sup> Henry, son of Earl Richard, John, earl of Warrenne, and the earl of Arundel, had seized it shortly before, and were then in it, levying contributions on the surrounding country.

<sup>n</sup> Several of the nobles on the king's side fled

and Prince Edward and Earl Richard's son Henry confined at Dover.

A council of nine prelates and nine laymen named by De Montfort for the government of the realm, June 23.

Mortimer and other marchers, who had escaped from the battle, renew the war in Wales, but are compelled to surrender their castles and give hostages to De Montfort and Llewelyn.

The queen prepares a foreign force to invade England, September. De Montfort forms a great camp on Barham Down, near Canterbury, to oppose them.

The queen's fleet, being closely watched in the Flemish harbours by the Cinque Ports mariners, is unable to put to sea, and the troops disperse.

The pope (Urban IV.) pronounces a sentence of excommunication against all who adhere to the Provisions of Oxford, October. His legate (Cardinal bishop of Sabina<sup>o</sup>) not being allowed to land in England, summons some of the bishops to Boulogne to receive the document, but on their return it is seized at Dover and torn to pieces.

The marchers break the truce. They are declared outlaws, and De Montfort marches against them, taking the king with him. They attempt to prevent his passing the Severn, but are defeated, and obliged to surrender many of their castles.

De Montfort, now "in all but name a king," keeps his Christmas in regal state at Kenilworth.

A.D. 1265.

The parliament assembles, Jan. 28.

This assembly was differently constituted from any former one, and its meeting is an important constitutional

epoch. Only eleven prelates and twenty-three peers were summoned in the ordinary way by writs, but to them were added more than one hundred of the inferior dignified clergy, two knights from each county, and two representatives from each city, borough, and cinque port. The whole appear to have formed but one house. This innovation was apparently too popular to be set aside when the king resumed his authority, and the three estates of parliament, lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, have ever since continued an integral part of the constitution.

Prince Edward is released from his confinement at Wallingford, on surrendering his castles, and promising not to leave England for three years, nor to plot against the barons, March 8. He is sent to reside, in "free custody," at Hereford.

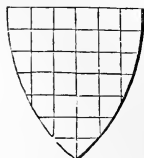
The earl of Gloucester<sup>p</sup> quarrels with De Montfort, and joins his forces to those of the marchers; William de Valence also lands in South Wales with a body of foreign crossbowmen. Prince Edward escapes from his guards, May 28, and joins Mortimer.

De Montfort, taking the king with him, marches against them. He is successful at first, but is surprised, defeated, and killed by Prince Edward at Evesham, August 4, and the king set at liberty.

Prince Edward captures Dover, and releases many of his partisans. He then reduces the other Cinque Ports; Winchelsea makes a stout defence, but is taken by assault, "and at his entrance much blood was shed."

The pope (Clement IV.) writes (Sept. 13) to the clergy, warning them to forsake the barons' party. He also writes to the king (Oct. 4) and to the prince

disgracefully from the field. Of this number was



Arms of Earl Warrenne.

John, earl of Warrenne and Surrey. He was grandson of the great earl of Pembroke, and had married, when very young, Eliza, the king's half-sister. His character was fierce and turbulent, and on one occasion he stood a siege in his castle of Reigate against Prince Edward. He was afterwards employed against the Scots, with considerable variety of fortune, and sustained a great defeat from them at Stirling in 1297; one of his daughters was the wife of John Baliol. He died Sept. 27, 1304.

<sup>o</sup> Guy Foulquois, who in the next year became pope (Clement IV.); he died in 1268.

<sup>p</sup> Gilbert de Clare, the son of Richard, who died in 1262.

(Oct. 8), exhorting them to use their victory with moderation, and to incline to clemency.

A parliament held at Winchester, early in September, at which severe measures are taken against the vanquished barons, and the Londoners.

These violent measures did not close the contest. The dispossessed knights and nobles spread themselves as a banditti all over the country; the earl of Derby (Robert Ferrers<sup>9</sup>) held the castle of Chesterfield; Simon de Montfort the younger seized the isle of Axholme, and was not reduced until the end of the year, his resistance producing this benefit, that his adherents were allowed to redeem their forfeited estates by heavy fines; but many were unwilling or unable to do this, and they retired, some to the castle of Kenilworth, some to the isle of Ely, and continued to defy the power of both the king and the legate.

A.D. 1266.

The castle of Kenilworth is besieged by the king for several months without effect; it is at last surrendered through famine, in November.

Whilst the siege was proceeding an assembly of clergy and laity was held at Coventry, which drew up the terms of accommodation known as *Dictum de Kenilworth*. This document, which is one of the Statutes of the Realm, is dated Oct. 15, 1266. It provides that the liberties of the Church shall be preserved, as also the Great Charters, "which the king is bound expressly by his own oath<sup>r</sup> to keep;" it also

declares that there shall be no disherison, but instead, fines of from seven years' to half a year's rent<sup>s</sup>. The family of De Montfort and the earl of Derby are excluded from this benefit, and all persons are forbidden, under both civil and spiritual penalties, to circulate "vain and foolish miracles" regarding Simon de Montfort, who was currently spoken of by his adherents as a saint and martyr.

Many of the defenders of Kenilworth refuse the terms offered, and join their friends in Ely.

The Hebrides and the Isle of Man ceded by the Norwegians to the Scots<sup>t</sup>.

A.D. 1267.

The king marches against the isle of Ely. In his absence the earl of Clare seizes London, and besieges the legate in the Tower<sup>u</sup>, who defends himself there until relieved, and places London under an interdict.

Many of the nobles from Ely join the earl of Gloucester in London; they are welcomed by the Londoners, and together plunder the palace at Westminster.

The king sells the jewels of the church of Westminster, and hires forces both from France and Scotland, May.

Prince Edward at length reduces the isle of Ely, and grants the terms of the edict of Kenilworth to its defenders, July 25.

Peace is made with Llewelyn, who acknowledges that he holds his principality of the king, Sept. 29. He

<sup>9</sup> He was a grandson of the great earl of Pembroke. He professed to belong to neither party, but made war on his own account, ravaged Worcester and other places, and long after De Mont-

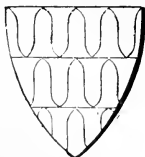
imprisoned for a while, and so heavy a ransom was laid on him that he was unable to raise it, when his lands were forfeited, and granted to the king's son Edmund. He tried to recover them by legal process, but was unsuccessful, and died in poverty in 1278.

<sup>r</sup> See A.D. 1253.

<sup>s</sup> The reason for this is given in the document itself:—"Because the king is bound to many that helped him and faithfully stood by him, for whom he hath provided no lands, and some have more than they should have, let the king provide that he largely reward them of the ransoms to be taken, lest it turn to a matter of new war."

<sup>t</sup> The people of Man resisted the transfer, and, though subdued in 1270, never became reconciled to the Scottish rule. In 1290 they were taken under the protection of Edward I.

<sup>u</sup> A number of the Jews, with their wives and families, took refuge with him, "and one quarter of the castle was committed to them, which, being in desperate circumstances, they defended vigorously."



Arms of Ferrers, earl of Derby.

fort's death maintained himself and a numerous band by plunder. He was at last captured, and

promised to pay a sum of money, and was to receive in return the district called the Four Barriers, which had been seized by the English in the time of Prince David\*.

The earl of Gloucester is reconciled to Mortimer and the other marchers, and gives security for his future conduct.

A parliament held at Marlborough, in November, at which various provisions are made to preserve the peace, and curb the excesses of the victorious royalists.

A.D. 1268.

The legate holds a council at London, April 16, which publishes a decree to remedy the evils of the civil war. He holds another at Northampton, at which Prince Edward and his brother Edmund, together with the earl of Gloucester and many other nobles, assume the cross.

John, earl of Warrenne, having wounded Alan de la Zouche, the king's justiciary, in Westminster Hall, is besieged in his castle of Reigate by Prince Edward, and obliged to surrender.

The earldom of Richmond granted to John, duke of Brittany<sup>†</sup>, July 15.

A.D. 1269.

A treaty of amity and commerce made with Magnus VII. king of Norway, Aug. 21.

Prince Edward agrees to go on the

crusade with the king of France (Louis IX.), May 27.

A.D. 1270.

The charters of the city of London are restored, July 16.

Prince Edward sails from Dover for his crusade, Aug. 19.

King Louis dies before Tunis, Aug. 25. Tunis is taken shortly after, when the French abandon the crusade, but Prince Edward proceeds with the English to Palestine.

The Scots complete the conquest of the Isle of Man<sup>‡</sup>.

A.D. 1271.

Henry, son of the king of Germany, is killed at Viterbo in March, by Guy and Simon de Montfort.

Prince Edward captures Nazareth, in May, and gains several battles against the Saracens.

A.D. 1272.

An attempt made to assassinate Prince Edward at Acre, June 17<sup>a</sup>. He soon after makes a truce with the Mohammedans, and sails for Italy, Aug. 15.

The king dies at Bury St. Edmund's<sup>b</sup>, Nov. 16. He is buried at Westminster, Nov. 20, fealty being at once sworn to his son Edward, "though men were ignorant whether he was alive, for he had gone to distant countries beyond the sea, warring against the enemies of Christ."

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Egypt invaded, and Damietta taken by the Crusaders . . . . .	1219	The caliphate destroyed by the capture of Bagdad by the Mongols . . . . .	1258
The Mongols advance into Russia . . . . .	1224	The Latin empire of Constantinople overthrown . . . . .	1261
The Mongols ravage Hungary, Poland, and Silesia . . . . .	1242	Antioch retaken from the Crusaders . . . . .	1268
Russia tributary to the Mongols . . . . .	1243	The Hohenstaufen dynasty ended by the execution of Conradin . . . . .	1268
The Karasmians capture Jerusalem . . . . .	1243		
Formation of the Hanseatic League . . . . .	1245		

\* See A.D. 1241.

† It had been forfeited by his father in 1234. He at once transferred it to his son John, who had married the king's daughter, Beatrice.

‡ They ruled it until 1290, when the inhabitants took advantage of the disturbed state of Scotland to claim the protection of Edward I.

<sup>a</sup> He was supposed to be in imminent danger of death, and made his will the following day; but the statement that he owed his life to his wife Eleanor sucking the poison from his wound is, at the best, doubtful.

<sup>b</sup> He had gone to Norwich, to punish some rioters who had done great damage to the abbey there.

## NOTE.

## THE JEWS IN ENGLAND.

THE reign of Henry III. is remarkable for the systematic oppression of the Jews (see A.D. 1239, 1241, 1243, 1250, 1255, 1264), which seems then to have reached a higher pitch than under any of the preceding kings, and their expulsion from England was effected by his successor. This, therefore, seems the suitable place for a brief notice of their condition during the six or seven centuries that they were allowed to remain in the land.

Probably the earliest mention of the Jews in connexion with English history occurs in the Penitential wrongly ascribed to Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 668 to 690), but which may fairly be taken to reflect the feeling of Anglo-Saxon times. Speaking of them as "the perfidious Jews," the writer, whoever he may be, shews that they must have been well known in his time; he forbids, under a heavy penance, any Christian to accept food or drink from them, or to sell any Christian into slavery to them; he also forbids their burial in consecrated ground. In the next century, the Penitential which bears the name of Egbert, archbishop of York (A.D. 734 to 766), not only repeats most of these prohibitions, but adds a remarkable denunciation, against Christians who embrace Judaism. The Jews, however, were not deterred from repairing to England as well as other European countries, and remaining there; and the laws ascribed to Edward the Confessor expressly state them to be under the king's safeguard. They were looked on with deep distrust, if not absolute hatred, by the people, but their wealth enabled them to gain the favour of the Norman kings, who, however, sold their protection at a heavy price, and at best only shielded them from any other oppression than their own. The early Plantagenets pursued the same policy, and we find Richard I., in a writ issued from Rouen, March 22, 1190, expressly confirming all the privileges that his father had granted to the Jews in England and in Normandy. King John, of whose rapacity towards them many stories are told, in a letter from Montfort, July 29, 1203, blames the Londoners for their ill usage of them; but in another document, April 15, 1204, he speaks of Jews imprisoned by himself, who are not to have any benefit from a pardon then granted.

The public records abound in instances of oppression practised towards the Jews, and in the Castle of Canterbury are still to be seen many inscriptions in Hebrew

which testify to their imprisonment there. Yet they maintained their ground, and most of the great abbeys appear to have been their debtors. The term "Jewry," still existing, shews that they had something like a separate quarter in London and many other towns, and the stone mansions at Lincoln and Bury St. Edmund's, called Jews' houses, prove that they were allowed to build dwellings almost resembling small fortresses for the protection of their treasures.

The kings, from the time of John, if not before, appear occasionally as their patrons, regulating their ecclesiastical affairs, confirming, if not appointing their high priests, and lending the assistance of the civil power to enforce excommunication of Jews by their own masters of the Law. Thus John (Jan. 5, 1207) confirms a certain Josce as high priest; and Henry III. (July 20, 1257) allows them to choose whom they will for the office; but Edward I. (May 5, 1281) appoints Hagin, the son of Deulaeres, to be high priest for life.

Such favour, however, was no protection against popular fury, for whenever this was roused they seem to have been put to death without mercy, and without any attempt on the part of the government to save them. The ordinary complaints against them were usury, and clipping the coin, and, as the public records shew, large numbers of them were usually in confinement on these grounds; but now and then the horrible charge of murdering Christian children was made, and St. William and Little St. Hugh of Lincoln were believed to have been put to death by the Jews, as a parody of the sufferings of Our Lord. The practice of magic arts was also laid to their charge, and to the apprehension of this is usually ascribed the tumult at the coronation of Richard I., which was followed by massacre at York and other places.

In 1218 (March 30) the Jews were ordered to wear two white tablets on their breasts to distinguish them from Christians, and all through the reign of Henry III. the exactions to which they were exposed were so severe, that they repeatedly solicited permission to leave the kingdom, but this indulgence was not allowed them. The hope of converting them was entertained by the king, and accordingly, in 1233 (April 19) he granted the forfeited house and garden of a Jew, in the New Street (now Chancery Lane) to the Friars Preachers, who were to labour for the conversion of



Jews and infidels; the establishment was placed under a warden, and was styled the House of Converts, a certain number of whom were to receive support therein. Edward I. bestowed on it deodands and forfeitures, with the direction that the converts were diligently to attend the preaching of the Friars (Jan. 2, 1280).

The project of conversion, however, had little success<sup>c</sup>, and the whole body of Jews was driven from England ten years later. Edward III. gave the House of Converts as a repository for the rolls of his chancery, and the site is now occupied by the Public Record Office.

The Jews remained a proscribed race until the time of the Commonwealth, when, in 1655, a proposition for their re-admission to England was often discussed by the council, and by committees of lawyers and divines, but nothing was formally concluded. The matter had been recommended by both Blake and Monk during the Dutch war, as a means of damaging the commerce of Holland, and Cromwell appeared favourable to it. Its chief promoter, Manasseh ben Israel, had a pension of £100 a-year allowed him by the Protector (March 23, 1657), commencing Feb. 20, 1657; and the Jews, encouraged by this, began again to settle in England in small numbers. At first this seems to have been little noticed, but soon after the Restoration we find among the State Papers loud complaints on the subject. Thus a remonstrance, dated Nov. 30, 1660, charges them, not only with injuring the trade of the kingdom by their usurious practices, but asserts that they had offered to buy St. Paul's for a synagogue from Cromwell, and begs that they may be banished. The Levant Company also complained (May 18, 1661) that Jews' goods

were fraudulently brought in ("coloured," it is termed, *i.e.*, represented as belonging to Englishmen, and so escaping heavy duties,) and they order their agents abroad to endeavour to check the practice. No notice appears to have been taken by the Government of these complaints, any more than of some applications by professed converts (Peter Samuel and Paul Jacob, July, 1660) for a share of the benefits of the House of Converts founded by Henry III. The dislike to the Jews, however, continued, and the farmers of the customs charged them with frauds, beside alleging that both their lives and estates were forfeit under the edict of Edward I. There is in the Public Record Office a petition to the king, dated Aug. 22, 1664, from Emanuel Martinez Dormido and others, in behalf of the Jews trading in and about London, saying that the earl of Berkshire (Thomas Howard<sup>d</sup>) alleges that he has the king's verbal order to prosecute them (apparently for residing in England without licence) and seize their estates, unless they come to an agreement with him. The answer is, that the king has given no such order, and they may remain so long as they demean themselves peaceably and obey the laws. Henceforth they seem to have been allowed to remain on the same legal footing as other aliens, except that by a statute of 1702 [1 Ann. c. 24] they were compelled to support any of their children who might become Christians.

In 1753 an act was passed for the naturalization of Jews, but it gave rise to much popular clamour, and was repealed in the following year; and it was not until 1858 that the privileges of British-born subjects were conceded to them. The number of Jews in Great Britain is roughly estimated at 50,000.

<sup>c</sup> Some few converts are mentioned in the public records: as John the Convert, who gave information about the death of Hugh of Lincoln, and received a pardon, Jan. 10, 1256; and Henry the Convert, who had been knighted by Henry III.;

he had bought clippings of silver coin, but his offence was pardoned May, 1278.

<sup>d</sup> He had a grant of power to enforce the observance of the statutes respecting the import and export of goods, and was entitled to a share of any penalties incurred.



Great Seal of Edward I.

## EDWARD I.

EDWARD, the eldest son of Henry III. and Eleanor of Provence, was born at Westminster, June 18, 1239, and was baptized four days after in the conventual church. As early as 1252 the government of Gascony was nominally bestowed on him, and his marriage in 1254 with Eleanor of Castile, sister of Alphonso IV., was attended by the resignation of the pretensions of that monarch to the province<sup>a</sup>.

Edward took a very active part in the transactions of the latter years of his father's reign, and having replaced him on the throne after the death of De Montfort, he afterwards went on the

crusade in concert with Louis IX. of France, but his force was too small to effect anything of consequence, for before his arrival in the east the French had abandoned the enterprise, on the death of Louis. The prince's reputation was such that fealty was sworn to him in his absence, and he did not return to his kingdom till nearly two years after his father's death, employing the interval in reducing the Gascons to obedience, and settling some commercial disputes between his subjects and the Flemings.

Llewelyn, prince of Wales, had been an active ally of De Montfort, and he

<sup>a</sup> These claims were founded on an alleged grant by Henry II. to Alphonso III. who married his

daughter Eleanor, and they were favoured by the Gascons, who greatly disliked their English rulers.

had been included in the peace made before Edward's departure for the crusade. He was now summoned to attend the English parliament, but refused, alleging doubts as to his safety; his refusal was punished by the invasion of his country, and he was speedily reduced to subjection. The unbearable oppressions of the marchers compelled him to resume his arms, in the year 1282, but this step was soon followed by his own death in the field, and the execution as a traitor of his brother David<sup>b</sup>, when the land was filled with English strongholds, and the title of Prince of Wales was afterwards bestowed on the heir-apparent of the English crown.

Edward thus destroyed the Welsh princes for disputing his feudal superiority, but he resisted a similar claim on himself from the king of France. A piratical war having broken out between the Normans and the Cinque Ports men, Edward was summoned to Paris to answer for the conduct of his subjects; he refused, and his fiefs were declared forfeited. Gascony was, in consequence, overrun by the French, and Prince Edmund died in an attempt to recover it; but Edward, who had allied himself with the Flemings, carried on a fierce war with his and their liege lord<sup>c</sup>, and eventually obtained peace on his own terms, Gascony being restored to him, and the sister of the French king becoming his wife.

The success of his iniquitous enterprise against Wales probably inspired Edward with the hope of uniting the whole island of Britain under his sway. This he at first attempted by peaceable means, and afterwards by violence, but in neither was he successful.

When Alexander III. of Scotland died (1286) his crown fell to his granddaughter, a child of three years old, named Margaret, the Maid of Norway, and a marriage treaty, intended to unite the two kingdoms, was concluded between her and Prince Edward (Nov. 6, 1289), but this arrangement failed through her premature death. Numerous competitors arose for the crown, and to avert the danger of civil war the states of Scotland unwisely referred the decision of their claims to Edward. He had recently arbitrated between the kings of France and Arragon concerning the isle of Sicily, but here he was too deeply interested to be just. Having assembled a large army on the border, his first step was to assert that he came to decide the dispute in his quality of sovereign lord, a demand which, as he had not long before been understood to acknowledge that he had no such right<sup>d</sup>, excited much surprise and remonstrance; but the states and the competitors, being powerless before his superior strength, were ultimately obliged to agree to it, as also to place in his hands the royal castles. A decision was at length given in favour of John Balliol, who did homage for his kingdom. But though acquiesced in for a while, this state of vassalage was odious to the great body of his people: they, rather than the nobles, many of whom had lands in England, took up arms, formed an alliance with France, and superseded Balliol. Edward advanced against them, mercilessly ravaged their country from one end to the other, and formally annexed it to his dominions; he also captured and executed Wallace, who almost alone kept the field. Very shortly after this, Robert Bruce, the grandson of one of the competitors, and who had

<sup>b</sup> It has been alleged that he had become a vassal of Edward by accepting the nominal earldom of Derby forfeited by Ferrers in the Barons' War; but the statement does not appear to be borne out by any existing record.

<sup>c</sup> This was a very common state of things under the feudal system, when one sovereign was the vassal of another for certain lands; but Edward was probably the only king who, though guilty of it himself, punished such breaches of fealty in another prince with death.

<sup>d</sup> In the treaty concluded at Salisbury, July 13, 1290, the expression occurs, "The kingdom of Scotland [in the event of the contemplated marriage of Edward and Margaret] shall remain separate and divided from England, free in itself, and without subjection, according to its rights, boundaries and members as heretofore;" but there was added the

proviso, "saving always the right of the king of England and of any others, in the marches or elsewhere, or which *ought* to belong to him or them." This was the very phrase that Edward himself had employed many years before (see A.D. 1273) in doing homage to the king of France; and the Scots at least attached no practical importance to it, any more than the king of France had done. From documents in the Public Record Office it appears that Edward's claim, as the "Over Lord" of Scotland, was based, among other things, on the fanciful assertion, that Brutus the Trojan, when dividing his dominions among his three sons, Locrin, Albanact, and Camber, had made Locrin the superior lord of the whole island, and Edward had succeeded to his rights; consequently, Albanact's kingdom of Scotland, and Camber's dominion of Wales, were now feudal dependencies of England.

hitherto been on the English side, assumed the Scottish crown, and though most of his family fell into the hands of Edward, he still stubbornly maintained the contest, until at length his great enemy died on his borders, in

the twelfth year of the war, without having accomplished his object.

Edward died at Burgh on the Sands, near Carlisle, July 7, 1307, and was buried, contrary to his own directions, at Westminster, on Oct. 27.



Edward I., from his coins.



Eleanor of Castile, from her Monument in Westminster Abbey.

His first wife, Eleanor of Castile, accompanied him to the Crusade, bore him four sons and nine daughters\*,



Arms of Eleanor of Castile.

and died at Hardby, near Lincoln, Nov. 29, 1290†. He in 1299 married Margaret, sister of Philip IV. of France, who bore him two sons and a daughter, and survived him, dying in 1317.

Of his children by Eleanor,

EDWARD OF CAERNARVON became king.



Arms of Edward of Caernarvon.

The children of Margaret were,

(1.) Thomas of Brotherton, born June 1, 1300; he was created earl of Norfolk in 1313, and had the office of Marshal of England bestowed on him in 1315. He died in 1338, and was interred at Bury St. Edmund's.

(2.) Edmund of Woodstock, born Aug. 5, 1301, created earl of Kent in 1321. He was beheaded at Winchester, March 19, 1330, on a charge of conspiracy against his nephew Edward III.; his daughter Joan became the wife of Edward the Black Prince.

Eleanor‡, born 1264, married Henry III., duke of Bar, in 1293, and died in 1298.

Joan of Acre, born in Palestine in 1272, first married Gilbert, earl of Clare and Gloucester, and afterwards Ralph Monthermer, a private gentleman of her retinue. She died in 1307.

Margaret, born 1275, married John II. duke of Brabant, and died in 1318.

Mary, born 1278, became a nun at Amesbury in 1285, and died there, probably in the year 1332.

Elizabeth, born August, 1282, married first John, count of Holland, and afterwards Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, who was killed at Boroughbridge, in 1322. She died in May, 1316.

Edward I. bore the same arms as

\* John, Henry, Alphonso, Berengarin, Alice, Beatrice and Blanche died young.

† Several elegant crosses, known by her name, yet mark places where her corpse rested on its way to Westminster. These, however, are not

tokens of the affection of her husband, as usually stated, but were erected by the queen's executors in compliance with directions in her will.

‡ A second Eleanor, the daughter of Margaret of France, died young.

his father and grandfather, but the badge ascribed to him is a rose or, stalked proper.

The statute law of England assumed much of its present shape in this king's reign, but his own proceedings were usually of as arbitrary a character as those of any of his predecessors. His frequent wars led him to resort to the most violent means for raising money<sup>h</sup>, and he was obliged solemnly to confirm Magna Charta, to allay the discontents thus occasioned; but he obtained papal absolution for disregarding its provisions, and he is accused by the archbishop of Canterbury (Robert Winchelsey) of imprisoning freemen unconvicted of any offence for the mere purpose of extorting heavy ransoms for them.

The character of Edward I. presented a strong contrast to that of his



Arms of Edward I.

father, being resolute, unbending, and cruel; and his conduct in general was oppressive to his subjects, and unjust to neighbouring states<sup>i</sup>. His talents, however, were great, both for war and government; he favoured commerce and municipal institutions<sup>k</sup>, and remedied many abuses of the law; he withstood the exactions and demands of the pope, and thus secured the in-

dependence of his crown; he enlarged his domains by the conquest of Wales, and apparently he only failed in his design against Scotland from having there to contend with men as able as himself, and "thrice armed" in having "their quarrel just."

A.D. 1272.

Edward is proclaimed king, Nov. 20<sup>l</sup>. Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, the earls of Cornwall and Gloucester, are appointed regents, and Walter de Merton chancellor<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 1273.

Edward passes through Italy and France, where he does homage for his fiefs<sup>n</sup>. He then repairs to Gascony, which he reduces to obedience<sup>o</sup>.

Edmund, earl of Lancaster, suppresses an attempt to raise a civil war in the north of England.

A.D. 1274.

Edward settles some commercial disputes with the countess of Flanders (Margaret II.). He then returns to England, lands at Dover Aug. 2, and is crowned, with his consort Eleanor, Aug. 19.

Edward repairs to Chester, in September, when Llewelyn declines to meet him. He is in consequence summoned to attend the next parliament at Westminster<sup>p</sup>.

Robert Burnell (afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells) is appointed chancellor<sup>q</sup>.

A.D. 1275.

A parliament held at Westminster, near the end of April, when several reformatory statutes are issued; especially one to restrain the usurious

<sup>h</sup> See, in particular, A.D. 1294, 1297, 1300.

<sup>i</sup> A modern apologist, who styles Edward "the greatest of the Plantagenets," maintains that the good to be expected from the union of the three states of Britain is a sufficient justification of his conduct to the Welsh and the Scots. The argument, if sound, would justify the seizure of Gascony by the French king, which the same writer vehemently condemns, and which Edward successfully withstood.

<sup>k</sup> He founded several towns in Gascony and some in Wales, which proved of great importance in prolonging the English rule in the former country. Some interesting particulars concerning the Gascon towns will be found in "The Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages," vol. ii. pp. 169—173.

<sup>l</sup> The years of his reign are computed from this day.

<sup>m</sup> He was the founder of Merton College, Oxford, afterwards became bishop of Rochester, and died in 1277.

<sup>n</sup> He used the ambiguous terms, "My lord and king, I do you homage for all the territories which I ought to hold of you," which was considered as an assertion of his claim to Normandy and Poitou.

<sup>o</sup> Gaston de Bearn, one of the chief malcontents (see A.D. 1254), escaped to France. He was, however, sent back to Edward, by whom he was long imprisoned, but in 1283 he was in the service of the king of Castile, and in 1284 John de Haverling, the seneschal of Gascony, was ordered to make amends for injuries done to him.

<sup>p</sup> He was required to do homage, and also to answer some complaints which his brother David had made to the king as his liege lord.

<sup>q</sup> He held the office until his death, at Berwick, Oct. 27, 1292.

of the Jews<sup>r</sup>. Llewelyn does  
it<sup>s</sup>.

Eleanor de Montfort and her brother Almeric (formerly treasurer of York) are captured at sea, near Bristol, by one of the king's ships<sup>t</sup>.

A.D. 1276.

Llewelyn is again summoned to the parliament. He instead sends messengers to offer a ransom for Eleanor and her brother; it is refused; he is declared by the parliament to have forfeited his lands, and a force ordered to be raised against him.

At the same parliament justices are appointed to hear and determine suits of trespasses committed in the last twenty-five years. They have power to inflict fines, but are ordered to remit very grave cases to the king in parliament<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1277.

Edward removes the courts of law to Shrewsbury, and leads a large army against Llewelyn, whilst the Cinque Ports fleet ravage the Welsh coast.

Llewelyn retires to Snowdon, but at length submits to the king, September. He is carried to Westminster, and obliged to surrender all his territories except the district of Snowdon and the isle of Anglesey<sup>r</sup>, Nov. 10. After a considerable delay he is allowed to return, "having been carefully instructed in his duty."

A.D. 1278.

The king deprives several monasteries of extraordinary privileges, which they had obtained from his father, Henry III.<sup>r</sup>

The Statute of Gloucester [6 Edw. I.

c. 1,] for the better administration of justice, enacted, Aug. 2.

Alexander III. of Scotland does homage in the parliament at Westminster, Sept. 29.

The Jews throughout England seized on one day (Nov. 12), being accused of clipping the coin; 280 are hanged shortly after in London alone, and "a very great multitude" in other places. A number of Christians, "principally the rich citizens of London," charged as their confederates, are allowed to ransom themselves<sup>r</sup>.

A.D. 1279.

The king goes to France, gives up all claim to Normandy, and obtains formal possession of Gascony<sup>a</sup>.

The Statute of Mortmain [7 Edw. I. c. 2,] passed, Nov. 15. By this enactment all lands in future given into the "dead hands" of the Church without the king's special licence were to be forfeited<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1280.

The statute de quo Warranto passed, Nov. 7.

A.D. 1281.

The archbishop of Canterbury (John Peckham) holds a council of his province at Lambeth, in which sequestration is decreed against such religious houses as had neglected to send procurators to a former assembly. The abbots of St. Alban's and others appeal to the pope, and the sentence is not enforced.

A.D. 1282.

The French expelled from Sicily, which they had seized in virtue of a grant from the pope<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> The expulsion of this hapless race was near at hand, "and," says Matthew of Westminster, "that they might be distinguished from the faithful, the king ordered them to wear on their outer garments a sign like a tablet, of the length of a palm;" from which it would seem that the ordinance of Henry III. (March 30, 1218) had been allowed to fall into disuse.

<sup>s</sup> He positively refused to come, saying that he remembered the fate of his father Griffin. See A.D. 1244.

<sup>t</sup> Eleanor was affianced to Llewelyn, and on her way to marry him.

<sup>a</sup> The record of their proceedings has been printed, under the title of "Rotuli Hundredorum."

<sup>b</sup> He was to hold these by the annual payment of 1000 marks, and he also agreed to pay £50,000 for the expenses of the war, but this was remitted, (probably it was impossible for him to raise it). His bride was delivered to him, and they were married Oct. 13, 1278. Almeric de Montfort was kept in prison until April, 1282, when his release was granted at the request of the pope (Martin IV.),

whose chaplain he was, on condition of leaving the king's dominions.

<sup>r</sup> He restored the charters of privilege to the church of Westminster, as also some of its jewels, which he had seized, "because," as he said, "he had therein received the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and consecration."

<sup>s</sup> After a time (May 7, 1279) the same grace was allowed also to a number of the Jews who were then in the king's prisons.

<sup>a</sup> The peace was concluded at Amiens May 23, 1279, and the king returned to Dover, June 19.

<sup>b</sup> Matthew of Westminster complains that the makers of this statute "did not understand that the army of Amalek was overthrown rather by the prayers of Moses than by the swords of the children of Israel." In order to avoid the burden of military service it was not unusual to make feigned gifts of land to the Church; this practice is forbidden in Magna Charta, but it prevailed long after, as is shown by numerous statutes directed against it.

<sup>c</sup> Sicily had been granted by Pope Alexander IV. to Henry III., and on his failing to undertake

## WALES.

A.D. 1282.

Llewelyn and his brother David are reconciled, and the Welsh attempt to recover their independence. They capture Hawarden, March 22; destroy the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, and carry Roger de Clifford, the justiciary of North Wales, off prisoner.

The king removes the law courts to Shrewsbury; hires soldiers from Gascony, and marches into Wales, July. Bodies of pioneers are employed to clear away the woods.

The English sustain severe loss in endeavouring to cross the river Conway, Nov. 6; Llewelyn, encouraged thereby, descends into the plains, but is surprised and killed by the marchers, Dec. 11<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 1283.

David, the brother of Llewelyn, surrenders himself. He is condemned during the sitting of parliament at Shrewsbury, and executed as a traitor, Sept. 20.

All armed opposition having, for the present, been overcome, the king proceeded to settle the state of his new dominions. Accordingly a statute, called the Statute of Wales [12 Edw. I.] was enacted at Rhuddlan, March 19, 1284, which alleges that "Divine Providence has now removed all obstacles, and transferred wholly and entirely to the king's dominion the land of Wales and its inhabitants, heretofore subject to him in feudal right." At the prayer of his new subjects the king grants that their ancient laws may be preserved in civil causes, but the law of inheritance is changed, and in criminal matters the English law is to be in force. Sanctuary is no longer to be allowed, but those who

would otherwise be entitled to it are to abjure the realm within a given time, proceeding by the high road, cross in hand, to some appointed seaport. Sheriffs are appointed for Anglesey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Flint, with coroners and bailiffs in each district, who are all placed under the supervision of the justice of Chester. The rest of the country remained as before under the jurisdiction of the marchers.

As the sincerity of the people's submission was reasonably doubted, the king erected many new strongholds, and re-edified others<sup>e</sup>, constructing them on a plan so different from that of the Normans, that the term Edwardian is usually applied to them. Flint, Rhuddlan, Hawarden, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Conway, Beaumaris, and Harlech, in the immediate neighbourhood of Snowdon; Cilgarran, in the palatinate of Pembroke; and Caerphilly, in the honour of Glamorgan, are among the number. As a further security, bodies of English were planted in convenient stations, and endowed with municipal privileges; from these "borough, or English towns," Welshmen were rigidly excluded, not being allowed to hold either lands or office therein.

Popular tradition charges the king with a systematic massacre of the Welsh bards, but this odious accusation appears to be unfounded, though the order may be said almost to have disappeared with the complete subjugation of their country. The bards, as we see from the laws of Dyrnwal Moelmud<sup>f</sup>, considered themselves the leading order in the state; they also claimed the right of cele-

its conquest, it had been seized by Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king, who defeated and killed Manfred, the natural son of the emperor Frederick II. The natives rose suddenly on the French, massacred great numbers of them (a butchery known as "the Sicilian Vespers," March 20), and, being assisted by the princes of Arragon, shook off their yoke. The quarrel between the Arragonese and the French was at last adjusted by King Edward. See A.D. 1286.

<sup>d</sup> He is said to have been betrayed whilst sleeping in a barn by the people of Bwlth, in Brecknockshire, who had before refused to admit him into their town; hence they are styled *brad-awyr Buallt* ("the traitors of Bwlth") by Welsh writers. His wife, the daughter of De Montfort,

had died shortly before. Their only child (Wenciliana), and the daughters of his brother David were carried into England, and became nuns at Sempringham, a pension of £20 each being paid for them. Wenciliana was alive in Oct. 1327, but how much longer is not known.

<sup>e</sup> The cost was in part borne by the see of York, (vacant by the death of Archbishop Wickwane,) its revenues from August, 1285, to April, 1286, being devoted to the purpose. They amounted to £1812 12s. 4d., equal to £30,000 now.

<sup>f</sup> Among them may be named, Montgomery, Radnor, Brecknock, and Caermarthen, which had before been in the hands of the lords marchers, but were now annexed to the crown.

<sup>g</sup> See A.D. 640.

brating marriage under the oak-tree, and ostentatiously retained many ceremonies of Druidic origin; they were thus avowedly hostile to, and disliked by, the clergy, who for ages had maintained a closer connexion with England<sup>b</sup> than the rest of their countrymen. Many of the bards too were bitter satirists, and branded their opponents as betrayers of their country; they also, we know, often bore arms, and many doubtless perished in the field; others would probably be denounced, and thus meet with death as traitors; hence their disappearance under the English rule may be reasonably accounted for, without imputing such deep personal guilt to the conqueror.

## A.D. 1283.

The Statute of Merchants<sup>1</sup> [11 Edw. I.], to facilitate the recovery of their debts, passed Oct. 12, at Acton Burnell, in Shropshire.

## A.D. 1284.

Margaret of Norway acknowledged as heir to the crown of Scotland, at Scone, Feb. 5<sup>k</sup>.

The king promises again to go to the Holy Land. The pope (Martin IV.) in consequence grants him absolution for all crimes committed by him in the wars with the barons and the Welsh<sup>l</sup>, May 26.

## A.D. 1285.

The king solemnly presents at Westminster many rich spoils from Wales. Among them are "a large piece of the true cross," and other famous relics adorned with gems and gold, and "the crown of King Arthur."

A statute passed to redress disorders in London [13 Edw. I. c. 5<sup>m</sup>.]

Justices of assize appointed, to go into every shire twice or thrice a-year for the more speedy administration of justice [13 Edw. I. c. 30.]

## A.D. 1286.

Alexander III. of Scotland dies, March 16. Six regents are chosen to govern the kingdom in the minority of his grand-daughter Margaret<sup>n</sup>.

The king goes to France, May 13, and renews his homage at Paris, June 5. He then reduces Gascony to obedience, and stays there three years; Edmund, earl of Cornwall, is regent.

The king arbitrates between the French and the Arragonese on account of Sicily.

## A.D. 1287.

The king, being seized with severe illness, again assumes the cross.

The Welsh, under Rhys ap Meredith<sup>o</sup>, attempt to shake off the English yoke, June. They are subdued before the end of the year by Robert Tiptoft, the king's justiciary, and their leader carried to York and hanged.

## A.D. 1288.

The pope (Nicholas IV.) grants to the king the tenth of the revenues of "all the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland," to enable him to undertake his crusade<sup>p</sup>.

## A.D. 1289.

The king returns to England, August 12. He directs a strict inquiry to be made into the conduct of the judges, sheriffs, and other officers during his absence, Oct. 13. In consequence, he banishes some of the

<sup>b</sup> See especially A.D. 872, 918, 1120.

<sup>i</sup> There is another statute of the same name [13 Edw. I. c. 3] passed in 1285, to give better effect to the provisions of the former, but it is expressly provided that the Jews are not to be benefited thereby.

<sup>k</sup> She was the grandchild of Alexander III. and Margaret, the sister of Edward I., by Margaret, their daughter, who married Eric, king of Norway.

<sup>l</sup> The Welsh churches seem to have been plundered, and on June 15 the king ordered their temporalities to be restored. He also appointed commissioners to report on any injuries that they had received, June 25, and before the end of the year the sum of £445 was granted as compensation.

<sup>m</sup> This statute presents a curious picture of the times. No armed men are to be seen in the street after the curfew has tolled at St. Martin's le Grand "except he be a great man, or other lawful person of good repute, or their messenger with their warrant, and lantern in hand." All brokers are placed under the special direction of the magistrates, as they were often "foreigners who for great offence

have fled their country;" none but freemen are to keep taverns, and none are to teach fencing in the city under heavy penalties.

<sup>n</sup> She remained in Norway with her father until 1290, when, a marriage having been arranged for her with Edward, prince of Wales, the king despatched a ship to fetch her to England, where she was to remain under his guardianship until he should consider Scotland in a sufficiently settled state for her to go there in safety. She, however, fell ill at sea, and being landed in the Orkneys, she died there, Oct. 7, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall.

<sup>o</sup> He was a descendant of Owen Gwynneth, and had sided with the English against Llewelyn in the expectation of being placed on the throne in his stead, but was contemptuously treated when the war was over.

<sup>p</sup> The king did not at once avail himself of this grant, as the survey (known as the Taxation of Pope Nicholas) was not made until 1291 and 1292; and when the money was collected, he used it for his war against France.



guilty, (among them Thomas de Weyland, the chief justice,) and imposes heavy fines upon others<sup>9</sup>.

The marriage treaty of Prince Edward and Margaret of Norway concluded at Salisbury, Nov. 6, between the kings of England and Norway, their parents. It recognises Scotland as "free, absolute, and independent," but with a general saving of any claims of the English kings.

## SCOTLAND.

Margaret of Norway, queen of Scotland, dies, Oct. 7.

No less than thirteen different parties laid claim to the throne of Scot-



Arms of Scotland.

land when it became vacant by the death of the Maid of Norway. Contrary to all received notions of inheritance, one of these was her father, Eric of Norway; Florence, count of Holland, was a second, but his claim was withdrawn. Among the other competitors, only three need be named; these were, John Balliol lord of Galloway, Robert Bruce earl of Annandale, and John Hastings lord of Abergavenny and seneschal of Aquitaine; they were all descended from daughters of David earl of Huntingdon, the younger brother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, and grandson of David I.

Balliol was the grandson of Mar-

A.D. 1290.

"The fierce multitude of the Jews," with their wives and children, are ordered to leave England, July 27<sup>r</sup>. The feast of All Saints (Nov. 1) was the period assigned, which they were not to exceed on pain of death<sup>8</sup>.

The king takes possession of the Isle of Man, at the request of the inhabitants, September.

garet, the eldest daughter<sup>1</sup>; Bruce, the son of Isabel, the second daughter; Hastings, the grandson of Ada, the third daughter. Hastings desired a share only of the kingdom, but as the state was wisely held by all parties to be indivisible, his claims were at once negatived, and the competitors reduced in reality to two, John Balliol and Robert Bruce. The states of the kingdom had not the courage to decide between them, and in an evil hour for their country they resolved to appeal to the judgment of the king of England, as their only resource for avoiding a civil war.

A.D. 1291.

The Crusades are brought to a close by the capture of Acre, and the few other strongholds of the Christians on the Syrian coast.

The disputed succession to the crown of Scotland is referred to the king of England for his decision.

He repairs to Norham, on the banks of the Tweed, with a large army, and as a first step claims to be acknowledged "sovereign lord of the land of Scotland," May 10, which is conceded to him, after long debate, by letters patent under the hands of nine of the

<sup>9</sup> These fines are said to have amounted to the enormous sum of 100,000 marks, or much more than the annual revenue of the kingdom.

<sup>8</sup> They seem to have been personally odious to the king, who had already banished them from Windsor and from Gascony; and had also granted letters patent to his mother forbidding them to remain on any of her manors. Among the Royal Letters in the Public Record Office is one from her, complaining of a Jew (Jacob Cok), who having been expelled from her town of Andover, had had the hardihood to appeal to the king's courts, and "contemptuously to charge her servant Guy de Tauton with felony and robbery." What was

the result of the appeal does not appear, but may be very probably conjectured.

<sup>1</sup> Their moveables they were allowed to take with them, but no compensation appears to have been made for the houses, synagogues, burial-places, &c., that they had to abandon. The king granted passes to them, to the number of 16,511, and strictly forbade any injury to be done to them. Some mariners who, for the sake of plunder, drowned a number of them at the mouth of the Thames, were executed.

<sup>1</sup> John Comyn, earl of Badenoch (afterwards killed by the younger Bruce), another of the competitors, was the son of Marjory, a younger daughter of Margaret.

competitors<sup>u</sup>, June 5; he also claims the royal castles, which, by a similar document, dated June 6, are put into his hands. After some discussion, the only competitors remaining are John Balliol and Robert Bruce, who name fifty persons of Scotland, and these choose thirty Englishmen as their assistants; this commission is empowered to investigate the rights of the claimants and to report to the king.

A.D. 1292.

The commissioners meet at Berwick, Aug. 2, and three months after report in favour of John Balliol, Nov. 17. The king delivers his judgment accordingly, Nov. 30.

Balliol does homage "for himself and his heirs, for the whole kingdom of Scotland," at Berwick, the same day; he is also summoned into England, and repeats the ceremony at Newcastle, Dec. 26.

A.D. 1293.

The Isle of Man restored to the Scots, Jan. 5.

A war breaks out between the Cinque Ports mariners and the Normans; the latter are defeated with great slaughter at St. Mahé, in Brittany, April 14.

The Gascons also make war on the French.

Balliol is summoned to Westminster to answer various complaints of maladministration<sup>x</sup>. He is treated with personal disrespect in the court, and on his return to Scotland seeks means of rendering himself independent.

Philip IV. of France summons the king of England to answer in his

court for the conduct of his subjects, December.

A.D. 1294.

The king refusing to appear, his fiefs in France are declared forfeited after the third summons, May.

The king renounces his fealty to France, makes alliances with the princes of Germany and Flanders, and raises a large army. Being detained at Portsmouth by bad weather from July to September, it is recruited by pardoned malefactors, who soon desert for want of pay.

Heavy taxes levied on both clergy and laity<sup>y</sup>.

Gascony overrun by the French.

The Cinque Ports mariners capture a Spanish fleet, and ravage the coast of France. "There was no law imposed upon the sailors, but whatever any one could carry off, that he called his own."

The Welsh, both in the north and the south, take arms under Madoc and Morgan, of the family of Llewelyn; they defeat the earl of Lincoln at Denbigh, Nov. 11, and Prince Edmund shortly after. The king marches against them, and cuts down the woods, but his troops suffer greatly from famine, and he retires to England.

A.D. 1295.

The pope sends two legates to England to endeavour to bring about a peace with France. They arrive in May, and depart in August<sup>z</sup>.

The French land at Dover, and burn a convent and several houses near the beach, but are beaten off with loss, Aug. 1. They also lose a galley with 300 picked men at Rye.

The Welsh are subdued, and obliged

<sup>u</sup> These were Florence, count of Holland, Robert Bruce, John Balliol, John Hastings, John Comyn, Patrick Dunbar, John Vesey (for his father), Nicholas de Soules, and William de Ros.

<sup>x</sup> The first of these complaints was that of John le Mason, a Gascon, who claimed payment for wine sold several years before to Alexander III., and which that king's executors declared had been paid for. The Scottish court decided accordingly, but the English one overruled their decision, and ordered Balliol to pay the money under threat of seizure of his English lands. This was followed by complaints of "denial of justice" from various persons, as Macduff, son of the earl of Fife, Africa, daughter of Magnus, king of Man, the abbot of Reading, the bishop of Durham, and others, and Balliol seems to have attended in person to answer them.

<sup>y</sup> The king's mode of proceeding was peremptory enough. He seized (July 26) on such kinds

of merchandize as were suitable for exportation, and sold them in Flanders, promising to pay for them at a future period; as also on large sums that had been deposited in religious houses for the service of the Holy Land. As the clergy did not meet his demands so readily as he expected, he sent one of his knights (John Havering) to their assembly in the refectory at Westminster, (Sept. 27,) who in a loud and menacing voice delivered this very intelligible message: "Holy fathers, this is the demand of the king,—one half of all the annual revenues of your churches. If any one objects to this, let him stand forth, that he may be taken note of, as unworthy of the king's peace." Well may Matthew of Westminster add, "When they heard this, all the prelates were disturbed in mind, and immediately they granted the king's demand."

<sup>z</sup> The king authorized them, Aug. 14, to conclude a truce till the 1st of November with the king of France, if he should desire it.

to give hostages. Madoc shortly after again takes arms; he is captured, and dies a prisoner in the Tower.

The Scots, in a parliament at Scone, appoint twelve peers as guardians of the realm, thus in reality superseding Balliol. They appoint commissioners to treat for a marriage between his son Edward and the princess Joanna of France, July 5.

The king, being aware of the negotiations, demands from the Scots possession of the castles and towns of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, during the French war, Oct. 16.

The Scots having concluded their treaty (in which aid from France is stipulated), Oct. 23, refuse compliance, and hostilities begin.

#### A.D. 1296.

Prince Edmund ravages the French coast. He captures Bordeaux, March 28, and dies soon after (June 4).

The king marches against the Scots. He captures Berwick, March 30; the Scots at the same time ravage Northumberland, and besiege Carlisle.

Balliol formally renounces allegiance to the king, April 5.

The king defeats the Scots with great slaughter at Dunbar, April 27. He ravages the surrounding country and captures the Maidens' Castle (now Edinburgh Castle) early in June, whence he carries off the Scottish royal insignia.

Balliol surrenders himself to the

king, July 8. He is obliged to make a formal renunciation of his kingly dignity by letters patent<sup>a</sup>, and is then imprisoned in the Tower of London.

The king carries off the "stone of destiny" on which the Scottish kings were crowned from the royal abbey of Scone, August.

John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, is appointed guardian of Scotland, Sept. 3, and Hugh Cressingham treasurer and justiciary<sup>b</sup>. The king returns to England, carrying many of the Scottish nobles with him as hostages<sup>c</sup>.

A large French ship, called the King Philip, is captured and brought into Sandwich.

#### A.D. 1297.

The clergy, refusing a fresh demand from the king, are by him declared out of the pale of the law; they are thus obliged to give a large sum<sup>d</sup>.

The English forces, being treacherously abandoned by the Gascons, are defeated, and John, Lord St. John<sup>e</sup>, their commander, captured.

The king's exactions causing much discontent, the earls and barons resolve on a meeting in the marches to enforce a redress of their grievances. The earls of Norfolk and Hereford (the constable and marshal) place themselves at their head, and also refuse to discharge the duties of their offices in the war<sup>f</sup>.

The king solemnly offers the regalia

<sup>a</sup> The date is uncertain; two copies exist among the public records, one dated at Brechin, July 10; the other, Kincardine, July 2. Letters of submission also were exacted from the bishops of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Whithorn, August 28, and from several nobles, March 25, 1297, who were in Edward's hands as prisoners or hostages; but many of the prisoners were soon after set free on condition of serving in the war with France (July 30, Aug. 17).

<sup>b</sup> He was an officer of the English exchequer, and an ecclesiastic; he held several valuable preferments.

<sup>c</sup> Some of these were compulsorily settled in England, receiving lands in exchange for their own. One John le Scot, thus planted in the south, became the founder of the family of Scott of Brabourne, in Kent.

<sup>d</sup> The clergy were placed in a most painful position; the archbishop of Canterbury (Robert Winchelsey) had received a bull, (dated Feb. 24, 1296,) threatening excommunication to all who granted the property of the Church to the king, but their fear of personal violence obliged them to do so.

<sup>e</sup> He was the king's lieutenant in Gascony, and being after a time exchanged for John Balliol, the ex-king of Scotland, returned to England, when he was actively employed in the Scottish wars. He is spoken of in the poem of the Siege of Car-

laverock as entrusted with the special charge of the Prince of Wales, and regarded as the most experienced of the leaders of the army. The custody of the marches of Cumberland and Annandale was given to him, and he died in the year 1302.

<sup>f</sup> The king wished them to lead a force to Gascony, whilst he went to Flanders, but they maintained that they were not bound to go abroad except in attendance upon him. To their quarrel belongs the traditional story of the origin of the name of Bigot, borne by the earls of Norfolk; but it is a mistake, as the first of them, created by Stephen, was named Hugh Bigot.

Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk and earl marshal,



Arms of Bigot, Earl Marshal.

of Scotland at the shrine of Edward the Confessor<sup>g</sup>, June 18.

Several of the Scottish nobles submit to Warrenne at Irvine, July 9; Wallace, a simple knight, keeps the field.

The king promises to renew Magna Charta, and sails for Flanders, Aug. 22, with a large fleet, leaving his son Edward as regent.

Warrenne, the guardian, is defeated by Wallace at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, Sept. 10<sup>h</sup>. Wallace also ravages the north of England.

The earls of Hereford and Norfolk forbid the sheriffs to levy any taxes until Magna Charta is again confirmed.

Prince Edward sends it and the Charter of the Forests to the king, who confirms them at Ghent, Nov. 5<sup>i</sup>.

A.D. 1298.

A two years' truce with France is concluded, and the king returns to England, landing at Sandwich, March 14.

Edward marches towards Scotland, which he enters in June, while his fleet proceeds to the Frith of Forth. He defeats the Scots at Falkirk, July 22, and after ravaging the west of Scotland returns to England.

A.D. 1299.

John Balliol is released from confinement, July 18, at the intercession of the pope, and retires to France<sup>k</sup>.

The Scots appoint a regency, placing Bruce<sup>l</sup> and Comyn at its head, and continue the war.

A truce concluded with France, June 19.

The importation of false money prohibited, and foreign exchanges regulated [27 Edw. I. st. 3].

The king of France overruns Flanders.

A.D. 1300.

The king seizes a large sum of money in the hands of the Minorites<sup>m</sup>.

Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests again confirmed, March 28, and ordered to be proclaimed in future four times in every year.

The royal army assembles at Carlisle, June 24. It enters Scotland early in July, ravages Galloway<sup>n</sup>, and returns to England in November.

The pope (Boniface VIII.) claims the supremacy of Scotland, in virtue of which he demands the release of the Scottish ecclesiastics in the king's hands<sup>o</sup>, and the withdrawal of his troops<sup>p</sup>.

was the nephew of the preceding earl. He served against Llewelyn, and long had the custody of the castles of Bristol and Nottingham, but at length was deprived of them. He received a pardon for his conduct on the present occasion, but he was eventually obliged to surrender his hereditary office and his lands to the king, by a deed dated at Colchester, April 12, 1302; they were regranted for his life only, July 12. He died in 1307, when the office of marshal was given to the king's son, Thomas of Brotherton.

Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, and lord constable, succeeded his grandfather (who had been an active partisan of De

daughter, Elizabeth, but met his death in the field while opposing the proceedings of Edward II. and his favourites.

<sup>g</sup> He also placed there the "stone of destiny" from Scone. The stone is still at Westminster imbedded in the coronation chair, but the regalia were restored in the reign of Edward III.

<sup>h</sup> Hugh Cressingham, the treasurer, who had been guilty of great oppression in the discharge of his office, was among the killed; his body was horribly mutilated by the victors.

<sup>i</sup> A formal pardon was at the same time granted to the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, "at the special request of our dear son Edward" and his council.

<sup>k</sup> He died there, at his castle of Bailloul, in 1314.

<sup>l</sup> The son of the competitor for the crown, who died in 1294.

<sup>m</sup> He told them that the rule of St. Francis, their founder, rendered poverty obligatory on them, and he could not, as a Christian king, allow it to be violated.

<sup>n</sup> One of the castles taken was that of Carlaverock, on the Nith, the siege of which forms the subject of a curious contemporary poem. See Note, p. 177.

<sup>o</sup> Robert, bishop of Glasgow, and Mark, bishop of Sodor, are named; many clerks are also alleged to have perished through the hardships of their imprisonment.

<sup>p</sup> The pope's bull was dated at Anagni, June 27, and it was forwarded to the archbishop of Canterbury, (Robert Winchelsey,) who delivered it to the king in his camp near New Abbey, in Galloway, August 26, and returned to his manor at Otford, in Kent, on or before October 8.



Arms of Bohun, earl of Hereford.

Montfort) in 1275. He served in Wales, France, and Scotland, withstood the arbitrary proceedings of the king, and died in 1298, shortly after Magna Charta had been confirmed, mainly by his efforts. His son, also named Humphrey, married the king's

A truce granted to the Scots at the intercession of the king of France, Oct. 30.

A.D. 1301.

A parliament assembles at Lincoln, Jan. 20, to consider the pope's demands. It agrees to a letter asserting the feudal dependence of Scotland, and refusing to allow the king to send ambassadors to justify his conduct, Feb. 12<sup>a</sup>.

The king also replies in a similar tone, May 7.

The principality of Wales granted to the king's eldest son, Feb. 7.

The king again invades Scotland, in July. He meets little opposition, and passes the winter there.

A.D. 1302.

A truce concluded with the Scots, Jan. 26, until St. Andrew's day, (Nov. 30).

The Flemings defeat the French at Cambrai, July 11. *Comyn*

Proposals are made for peace with France, but Philip refuses to treat unless the Scots are included, and also requires the king to pass over in person to negotiate.

The parliament refuses to allow the king to go to France, treating the demand as an insult.

A.D. 1303.

Stirling castle is taken by the Scots, Feb. 18. The English defeated at Roslin by Comyn, the regent, Feb. 24.

Peace is made with France, Gascony being restored, and the Scots abandoned to the vengeance of Edward, May 20.

The king again invades Scotland, in June, and advances as far as the Moray Frith. He captures Brechin, Aug. 9; burns Dunfermline, and passes the winter in that country.

William de Geynesburg, bishop of Worcester, is fined 1,000 marks for an alleged contempt of the king's authority<sup>r</sup>.

Robert Bruce\* and many other Scottish nobles submit.

A.D. 1304.

Comyn, the guardian, concludes a treaty with the king, Feb. 4.

A parliament held at St. Andrew's, under the orders of Edward, at which the Scottish nobles in general make their submission to him<sup>t</sup>, and the garrison of Stirling castle are declared outlaws.

Stirling is besieged by the king, in April; it surrenders, July 24, when the lives of the garrison are spared at the intercession of the English nobles.

The king returns to England, leaving John de Segrave as governor of Scotland<sup>u</sup>.

A.D. 1305.

The writ of Trailbâton issued, April 6. This writ sets forth that murderers, incendiaries, thieves, and other violators of the king's peace abound, and directs the sheriffs of each county to call to their aid good and legal men to make inquiry as to all such offenders and their abettors. The parties discovered were tried before a kind of special commissioners who visited each district, and promptly and rigorously punished.

<sup>a</sup> Two copies of this remarkable document still exist among the public records.

<sup>r</sup> The pope (Boniface VIII.) had promoted him to the see on the refusal of the archbishop of Canterbury (Robert Winchelsey) to consecrate the king's nominee, and in his bull professed to grant him the temporalities as well as the spiritualities. The bishop was obliged to renounce the so-called grant, and paid the above heavy fine for "his transgression in admitting that the pope had power to dispose of the said temporalities." [Patent Roll, 31 Edw. I., m. 39.]

<sup>s</sup> He died in April, 1304, and his son, who had throughout adhered to the English interest, succeeded to his earldom of Annandale, but continued to pass his time in Edward's court.

<sup>t</sup> Fines of from one to five years' rents were imposed on some, the bishop of Glasgow and some few other persons were banished, and Wallace was "left to the mercy of King Edward our Lord."

<sup>u</sup> John de Segrave was one of the king's most experienced commanders, and was constable of his army in the expedition to Scotland in 1296. He was also governor of Berwick; and under Edward II. he was made keeper of the forests north

of Trent, which included the custody of the castles of Nottingham and Derby. He was taken



Arms of Lord Segrave.

prisoner at Bannockburn, but soon exchanged, and received a large grant as compensation for his services. In 1323, being suspected of having favoured the escape of Roger Mortimer from the Tower, he was sent in disgrace to Gascony, where he shortly after died, in the 70th year of his age.

Wallace is captured near Glasgow, in August, brought to London, and executed as a traitor, Aug. 24.

A council held at London, in September, when regulations for the government of Scotland, now considered as conquered, are drawn up. John of Bretagne the younger<sup>v</sup> is appointed guardian, Oct. 26.

Robert Bruce<sup>x</sup> leaves the English court, and repairs to Scotland.

A.D. 1306.

Bruce, failing to induce Comyn to join him in throwing off the English yoke, kills him in the Minorite convent at Dumfries<sup>y</sup>.

He is joined by numbers, drives out the English justiciaries and garrisons, who flee to Berwick, and ravages the lands of the adherents to the king.

Bruce is crowned king (Robert I.) at Scone, March 25, in presence of the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, five earls, and many knights; the ceremony is repeated on Palm Sunday, March 27.

Aymer de Valence<sup>z</sup> appointed lieutenant and commander-in-chief in Scotland, April 5.

The Prince of Wales and many young nobles are knighted with great ceremony, May 22; when the king takes an oath to conquer the Scots or die in the quarrel.

De Valence defeats Bruce, and obliges him to flee to Cantyre, and thence to the Isles.

The king marches into Scotland, in July. Little opposition is made to him, but he captures and executes many of

Bruce's adherents<sup>a</sup>, and commits those who surrender to close custody<sup>b</sup>.

Bruce suddenly issues from his retreat, at the end of September. He besieges Henry de Percy in Turnbury castle (near Girvan, in Ayrshire), but an English force puts him again to flight.

The king passes the winter in the north.

A.D. 1307.

A party of Scots, headed by Alexander and Thomas Bruce, land in Galloway, Feb. 10. They are captured by Duncan Macdonald, a partisan of the English, and sent to the king, who has them all executed, February 17.

Peter of Spain, the papal legate, excommunicates Bruce, Feb. 22<sup>c</sup>.

Piers Gaveston<sup>d</sup>, a favourite of the king's son Edward, is banished from England, Feb. 26.

A parliament meets at Carlisle, March 12.

Bruce again appears, (about the end of March,) defeats Aymer de Valence, and besieges the earl of Gloucester in Ayr. The king raises the siege, and Bruce retires.

The king summons his army to assemble at Carlisle at the beginning of July.

He commences his last march against Scotland, leaving Carlisle July 3; reaches Burgh on the Sands (five miles distant), July 5; dies there, July 7. His body is brought to Westminster, and buried, Oct. 27<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>v</sup> John de Dreux, earl of Richmond, the king's nephew, being the son of John II. duke of Brittany and Beatrice, daughter of Henry III.

<sup>x</sup> He had incurred the displeasure of the king by complaining of the execution of Wallace, and was only saved from imprisonment by a hasty flight.

<sup>y</sup> The date is uncertain: Jan. 29, or Feb. 10.

<sup>z</sup> Son of William de Valence, half-brother of Henry III.

<sup>a</sup> Among them were his brother Nigel Bruce, his brother-in-law Seton, the earl of Athol, and Simon Fraser. His wife, his daughter, his two sisters, and the countess of Buchan, were captured, and most of them remained prisoners until after the battle of Bannockburn.

<sup>b</sup> Among these were the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow (William Lamberton and Robert Wychard) and the abbot of Scone, who (Aug. 7, 1306) were ordered to be kept in chains at Winchester, Porchester and Mere; Malise, earl of Strathearn, was confined at Rochester, but not in fetters, Nov. 16, 1306; and the king of Norway was requested to deliver up the bishop of Moray, who had sought refuge in the Orkneys, March 6, 1307. The bishop of St. Andrew's was released

from his close confinement May 23, 1308, in consequence of the remonstrances of the pope; he took the oath of fealty, August 11, and appears to have been set at liberty soon after. The earl of Strathearn was released, Nov. 18; and the bishop of Glasgow was delivered over to the papal legate, Dec. 1. The fate of the abbot does not appear; but if then released, he was again in prison at Porchester in Dec. 1312, and he did not regain his liberty till after the battle of Bannockburn.

<sup>c</sup> The papal bull authorizing this is dated May 18, 1306; it is grounded on the murder of Comyn in a church.

<sup>d</sup> He was the son of Sir Arnold Gaveston, a strong supporter of the English cause in Gascony, who was unjustly put to death by the king of France, his wife also being burnt as a witch. Queen Eleanor compassionately took the orphan as a companion for her son, who seems to have entertained the affection of a brother for him.

<sup>e</sup> His dying injunction was thus disregarded, as he had desired that his remains should be carried about with the army, and not deposited in the grave until the entire conquest of Scotland had been achieved.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Rise of the House of Hapsburg, by the election of Rudolph as Emperor . . . . .	1273	Massacre of the French in Sicily . . . . .	1282
The Prussians conquered by the Teutonic Knights . . . . .	1278	The Christians expelled from Palestine . . . . .	1291
		War between Genoa and Venice . . . . .	1293
		Rise of the Ottoman Empire . . . . .	1299

## NOTE.

## THE SIEGE OF CARLAVEROCK.

A CURIOUS poem, bearing this title, is ascribed to Walter of Exeter, a monk of the fourteenth century, who also wrote a celebrated History of Guy of Warwick; it is in Norman French, but a translation was published in 1828 by the late Sir Harris Nicolas. It narrates in a lively manner the siege and capture of the castle of Carla-verock in Nithsdale, at which both Edward I. and his son were present, and, which constitutes its chief claim to interest, describes the arms, the characters, and the exploits of nearly a hundred of the nobles and knights who accompanied them. These notices are all of a complimentary cast, but the citation of a few of them may not be uninteresting.

The army, by the king's command, assembled at Carlisle on St. John's day, in the year 1300. It was divided into four squadrons, commanded by the earls of Lincoln and Warrenne, the king himself, and his son and successor, Edward of Caernarvon. The castle was assaulted and captured between the 6th and the 12th of July, and among the assailants are mentioned Alexander Balliol, Simon Fraser and the earl of Dunbar, who afterwards more commendably took arms in defence of Scotland.

"Edward, king of England and Scotland, lord of Ireland, prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine, conducted the third squadron at a little distance, and managed the order of march so closely and



Arms of Edward I.

ably that no one was separated from the others. In his banner were three leopards of fine gold set on red, cruel, fierce, and haughty, thus placed to

signify that like them the king is dreadful, fierce, and proud to his enemies, for his bite is slight to none who are envenomed by it; not but his kindness is soon rekindled when they seek his friendship again, and are willing to return to his peace. Such a prince must be well suited to be the chieftain of noble personages."

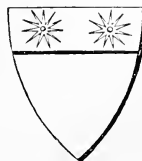
"The fourth squadron, with its train, was led by Edward, the king's son, a youth of seventeen years of age, and bearing arms for the first time. He was of a well-proportioned and handsome person, of a courteous disposition, and intelligent; and de-



Arms of Edward of Caernarvon.

sirous of finding an occasion to display his prowess. He managed his steed wonderfully well, and bore with a blue label the arms of the good king his father. Now God gave him grace that he be as valiant and no less so than his father: then may those fall into his hands who from henceforward do not act properly.

"The brave John de St. John<sup>f</sup> was every where



Arms of Lord St. John.

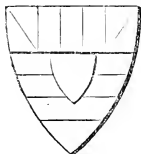
with him, who on all his white caparisons had upon a red chief two gold mullets."

Four other knights are then mentioned: Robert de Tony, "who well evinces that he is a Knight of the Swan;" William de Leyburne, "a valiant man, without bul,

<sup>f</sup> See A.D. 1297.

and without *if*;" William de Latimer, "of whom prowess had made a friend;" and Henry le Tyes, less famous apparently, as nothing is mentioned but the colour of his banner; but in their company is a well-known name:—

"And then Roger de Mortimer<sup>†</sup>, who on both sides the sea has borne, wherever he went, a shield barry, with a chief pale and the corners gyronny,



Arms of Mortimer.

and emblazoned with gold and with blue, with the escutcheon voided of ermine. He proceeded with the others, for he and the before-named were appointed to conduct and guard the king's son. . . .

"Their friends and neighbours were two brothers, cousins to the king's son, named Thomas and Henry, who were the sons of Monsieur Edmond<sup>‡</sup>, the well-beloved, who was formerly so called.



Arms of Thomas, earl of Lancaster.

"Thomas was earl of Lancaster<sup>§</sup>; this is the description of his arms; those of England with a label of France, and he did not wish to display any others.

"Those of Henry<sup>¶</sup> I do not repeat to you, whose whole daily study was to resemble his good father, for he bore the arms of his brother, with a blue baton, without the label."

A fortunate private gentleman was also in the royal host, who is thus noticed:—

"He by whom they [the royal youths] were well supported acquired, after great doubts and fears until it pleased God he should be delivered, the love of the countess of Gloucester, for whom he a long time endured great sufferings. He had only a banner of fine gold with three red chevrons<sup>‡</sup>. He made no bad appearance when attired in his own arms, which were yellow with a green eagle. His name was Ralph de Monthermer."

<sup>†</sup> The uncle of Roger, the favourite of Queen Isabella.

<sup>‡</sup> See A.D. 1255.

<sup>§</sup> See A.D. 1310.

<sup>¶</sup> Known as Henry of Monmouth; he obtained restoration of his brother's honours, and died in 1345.

<sup>‡</sup> The arms of his wife's first husband. Monther-



Arms of Clare.

Beside this, his son-in-law, two kinsmen of the king were present. The first was that earl of Pembroke whose beautiful tomb still remains in Westminster Abbey:—

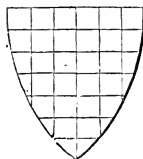
"The valiant Aymer de Valence<sup>1</sup> bore a beautiful banner there of silver and azure stuff, surrounded by a border of red martlets."



Arms of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke.

The other was Pembroke's uncle, the earl Warrenne and Surrey<sup>m</sup>. He had fled from the field at Lewes, and had more recently been totally defeated by the Scots at Stirling, but the poet is judiciously silent on these points:—

"John, the good earl of Warrenne, held the reins to regulate and govern the second squadron, as he who well knew how to lead noble and honour-



Arms of Warrenne.

able men. His banner was handsomely chequered with gold and azure."

We have also a very favourable notice

mer was styled earl of Gloucester and Hereford during her lifetime, but had to resign the title to his stepson on her decease. He married a sister of Aymer de Valence, and died about A.D. 1318.

<sup>1</sup> Son of the half-brother of Henry III. See A.D. 1247. <sup>m</sup> See A.D. 1264.



of a famous churchman, the "proud Anthony Bek<sup>n</sup>," "the noble bishop of Durham, the most vigilant clerk in the kingdom, yea, verily, of Christendom."

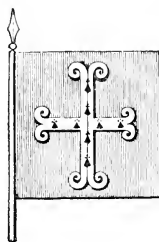
"Wise he was and well spoken, temperate, just, and chaste. You never came near a rich man who better regulated his life. Pride, covetousness, and envy he had quite cast out. Not but that he carried a lofty heart for the maintenance of his rights, so that he suffered not tamely any conspiracy of his enemies."

He had accompanied the king in former wars "with a great and expensive retinue," though he could not appear here, owing to some lawsuit,—

"but being well informed of his expedition, he sent him of his people one hundred and sixty men at arms. Arthur, in former times, with all his spells, had not so fine a present from Merlin. He sent there his ensign, which was gules with a fer du moulin of ermine."

Our author's heraldry is at fault, as the bishop's seal shews that he bore, not a fer du moulin, but a cross cerclée, as here represented.

Walter is usually laudatory in his mention of each person, but occasionally a



Banner of Anthony Bek.

slight touch of satire, like the following, escapes him :—

"Alan de la Zouche, to shew that riches were perishable, bore bezants on his red banner; for I well know that he has spent more treasure than is suspended in his purse."

<sup>n</sup> He was a younger son of Walter, baron Bek of Eresby, and held at the same time the office of archdeacon of Durham and constable of the Tower of London. In 1283 he was chosen bishop of Durham, but engaging in an attempt to reduce the prior and monks there to his authority he was withstood, and venturing to leave the country without licence in order to appeal to the pope, his vast temporal possessions were seized. He after a time regained them, but they were twice more seized: still he was eventually triumphant, was apparently a personal favourite of Edward I., and attended him on his death-bed. He received from the pope the title of patriarch of Jerusalem, bought

also the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, and at length died (March 3, 1311) the richest subject in Christendom. Yet he had been famous for the magnificence of his household, and he had built many castles, some colleges and chantries, and the noble manor-house of Eltham in Kent, which afterwards became a royal palace. Under him the power and dignity of the bishops of Durham, as counts palatine, were carried to their highest pitch, and he also was the first of their number who was buried in the cathedral, none before him deeming themselves, or being deemed, worthy of sepulture in the same edifice with St. Cuthbert.



Great Seal of Edward II.

## EDWARD II.

EDWARD, the fourth son of Edward I. and Eleanor of Castile, was born at Caernarvon, April 25, 1284. By the death of his brother Alphonso in the August following he became heir to the throne, and in 1301 he received the title of Prince of Wales.

Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight who had been put to death by the French, was chosen as the companion of the young prince, and this circumstance exercised a most unhappy influence on the destiny of both. Edward, whose disposition was too light and gay to please his father, was frequently embroiled with him in consequence of his own misconduct as well as that of his favourite<sup>3</sup>, and one of the last acts of the dying king was an endeavour to perpetuate the banishment of the latter.

Edward became king July 8, 1307, being then on the border of Scotland, but he at once abandoned the contest, recalled his favourite, and imprisoned or banished many of his father's ministers. Gaveston, to whom all affairs were committed, was created earl of Cornwall, and married to the king's niece, Margaret de Clare; his insolence was intolerable to the nobles, and after being more than once banished and recalled, he was put to death by them in the year 1312, the king having in the meantime been stripped of power, by his cousin, Thomas earl of Lancaster, and his associates.

In 1314 Edward invaded Scotland at the head of a large army, but, being ill supported by his nobles, he was signally defeated by Robert I. at

\* A roll of the prince's letters in the Public Record Office shews that he was harshly treated by the king, but found a warm friend in his step-mother, Queen Margaret. On occasion of a quarrel with Bishop Langton, the prince's lands were seized

and his household broken up, when his sisters sent him money and placed their property at his disposal, and the queen never ceased to intercede for him until he was restored to favour.

Bannockburn, June 24, and never after made any serious attempt to renew the enterprise; while the Scots, on the other hand, ravaged the north of England, and took some steps for the conquest of Ireland.

After a time the king regained his power by the help of Hugh le Despenser, who, however, was soon banished. Edward took up arms, recalled Despenser, and defeated and killed the earls of Lancaster and Hereford; but their party was joined by the queen, whom Despenser had offended. She went to France, taking her son Edward with her, under the pretext of accommodating a dispute with the French king (her brother) about the homage of Gascony. The earl of Kent (the king's brother), Roger Mortimer, and other nobles, repaired to her, and a small mercenary force was raised, with which she invaded England, in September, 1326. The king fled before them, his favourites were seized and executed, and he himself being captured, he was formally deposed, Jan. 7, 1327, and murdered at Berkeley castle, the 21st of September following.

Edward married, in 1308, Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. of France. She bore him two sons and two daughters, but disgraced herself by a criminal amour with Roger Mortimer, and died Aug. 22, 1358, at Hertford, after a seclusion, sometimes more, sometimes less strict, of twenty-seven



Edward II. from his Monument in Gloucester Cathedral.

his father, but for a badge he used a castle, probably in token of his descent from the kings of Castile.

The character of this king was manifestly rather weak than wicked.



Ancient Arms of France.

years. Of the children of their marriage,

1. EDWARD became king.

2. John of Eltham, born Aug. 25, 1315, was in 1328 created earl of Cornwall, and in the following year named custos of the kingdom, during the absence of the king in France. He died at St. John's town, near Perth, in Scotland, Oct. 1336.

3. Eleanor, born 1318, married Reynald II., count of Gueldres, and, after a life rendered miserable by the ill conduct of her husband and her sons, she died in a nunnery at Deventer, April 22, 1355.

4. Joan, born in the Tower, in 1321, was in 1329 married to David, prince of Scotland, (afterwards David II.) She accompanied him in his exile in France, and solicited permission to share his imprisonment in England; but she was at length obliged to separate from him through his own misconduct, and return to her brother's court, where she died, Sept. 7, 1362.

Edward II. bore the same arms as



Arms of Edward II.

Those who deposed and murdered him charged him justly with neglect of his office, and profusion to a few favourites<sup>b</sup>; but they did not allege against him oppressive exactions and

<sup>b</sup> Gaveston and the Despensers. These men, odiously termed "favourites," were, probably,

nothing more than trusted ministers, but that age did not tolerate government by deputy.

merciless proscription; yet was his fate one of the hardest recorded in history.

A.D. 1307.

Edward is received as king, at Carlisle, Saturday, July 8<sup>c</sup>. He shortly after proceeds towards Dumfries, where some of the Scottish nobility do homage to him, early in August.

He appoints Aymer de Valence guardian and lieutenant in Scotland, Aug. 30<sup>d</sup>, and returns to England.

Gaveston is recalled<sup>e</sup>. Many of the king's council are driven from the court, and some imprisoned<sup>f</sup>.

Gaveston is made custos of the kingdom, Dec. 26, on occasion of the king going to France.

A.D. 1308.

The Knights Templars are seized in each county of England, on the same day, Jan. 10<sup>g</sup>.

The king marries Isabella (daughter of Philip IV., king of France), at Boulogne, Jan. 28. He returns to England Feb. 7, and is crowned at Westminster Feb. 25<sup>h</sup>.

A parliament assembles, April 28. Great complaints are made of the conduct of Gaveston and he is banished, May 18. The king appoints him governor of Ireland, June 16, where he shews courage and skill in dealing with the turbulent English and the unsubdued Irish<sup>i</sup>.

The county of Cornwall granted to Gaveston and his heirs, Aug. 5.

A.D. 1309.

A truce concluded with Scotland, which lasts till August, 1310.

A parliament held at Stamford, July 26, which agrees to the return of Gaveston.

A.D. 1310.

The barons generally refuse to meet the king in a parliament which is summoned at York in January; Gaveston absconds in February.

The parliament meets at Westminster in Lent, when the archbishop of Canterbury (Robert Winchelsey), seven other bishops, and thirteen barons, are appointed to draw up ordinances for the "better regulation of the king's household<sup>j</sup>."

<sup>e</sup> His regnal years are computed from this day.

<sup>d</sup> Valence resigned the office almost immediately, and it was bestowed on John de Dreux, earl of Richmond, Sept. 13.

<sup>e</sup> He was even before his return created earl of Cornwall (Aug. 6, 1307), but this was so unpopular, that hardly any one could be found to give him the title in ordinary conversation; the king was unwise enough to issue a proclamation on the subject, which was universally disregarded.

<sup>f</sup> The chancellor (Ralph Baldock, bishop of London), several of the judges, the barons of the exchequer, and the treasurer (Walter de Langton, bishop of Lichfield), were all displaced.

<sup>g</sup> They were also seized in Ireland and in Scotland, in virtue of a writ dated Dec. 20, 1307; the exact day was left to the chief officers in each country, but it was to be before any news of what had been done in England could reach the knights, lest they should attempt to escape. Their estates were placed in the charge of the sheriffs, and out of them the sum of 2s. a day was allowed for the support of the grand master, William de la More, and 4d. for each of the knights. De la More died in the Tower before the formal suppression of the Order by the Pope, and then the remaining knights were placed in various monasteries. From a record of the Knights Hospitalers, who eventually received a large part of their property, we learn that some of the Templars were alive, and in receipt of a pension, as late as A.D. 1338.

<sup>h</sup> Gaveston bore the crown in the procession, and Roger Mortimer and Hugh Despenser, with two others, carried a great "table," on which royal robes were displayed.

<sup>i</sup> The time of his stay in Ireland is uncertain, but it was apparently short, as a writ exists, pro-

fessing to be attested by him at Langley, Dec. 5, 1308.

<sup>j</sup> Their appointment was by virtue of letters patent, dated March 16, 1310, and they were sworn into office four days after.

The head of the party was the king's cousin, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who was the son of Edmund Crouchback by Blanche, granddaughter of Louis VIII. of France; he became president of the council, assisted at the death of Gaveston, and long had all the power of the kingdom in his hands, his great ally being the earl of Hereford, the king's brother-in-law. He procured the banishment of the new favourite, Despenser, but was soon after forsaken by many of his adherents in consequence



Arms of Thomas, earl of Lancaster.

of a quarrel with his wife (Alice, the heiress of the earl of Lincoln); he then formed a league with the king of Scotland, and marched northward to join him. He was intercepted at Boroughbridge by Sir Andrew Harcla, defeated, and taken prisoner. Being hurried before the king, he was at once condemned to death, and executed with many circum-

The king invades Scotland in September, and meets but little opposition. He is joined by Gaveston, who brings some mercenary troops to his assistance.

Gaveston is created justiciary of the forests on this side Trent, Oct. 1.

The king winters at Berwick.

A.D. 1311.

The king returns to England in July, leaving Gaveston with a garrison in Bamborough Castle.

The parliament meets, and remains in session from August to October. Its "ordinances" for the government of his house and realm are accepted by the king, Oct. 5; the principal ones providing for the banishment of Gaveston<sup>k</sup> from Nov. 1, the resumption of the king's grants to him, and the observance of the Charters.

The castle of Linlithgow captured by stratagem by the Scots.

A.D. 1312.

Perth is surprised by Robert Bruce, Jan. 8.

The king recalls Gaveston, Jan. 18; regrants him his estates, Jan. 20.

The bishop of Lichfield is set at liberty, at the intercession of the pope (Clement V.), Jan.; and restored to office as treasurer, March 14.

The order of Templars formally suppressed by the pope's bull, April 3<sup>l</sup>.

The barons, headed by Thomas, earl of Lancaster, take up arms. The king advances against them, first placing Gaveston in Scarborough castle.

Gaveston is besieged, and surrenders on promise of life, May 19. He is, in spite of this, executed, in the presence of the earl of Lancaster and other nobles, at Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, June 19<sup>m</sup>.

The king's forces desert him, when he is obliged to make peace with the barons, and to promise them pardon for the death of Gaveston, Dec. 20.

A.D. 1313.

The strong castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh captured by the Scots, and Stirling (almost the only remaining fortress in the hands of the English) besieged.

The king and his queen go to France, May 23, to be present at the coronation of Louis X.; which occasions a delay of the promised pardons, and greatly incenses the barons.

The king returns July 16, and issues safe conducts for the earl of Lancaster and his confederates.

The parliament meets in September. General and also special pardons are granted (472 in number), Oct. 16, and the adherents of Gaveston are included.

The king prepares for an expedition against Scotland.

A.D. 1314.

He marches with a large force into Scotland, in June. The earl of Lancaster and some other nobles refuse to attend, whilst Aymer de Valence and others behave treacherously in the field. The king is totally defeated at Bannockburn (near Stirling), June 24<sup>th</sup>, and flees to Berwick.

Robert Bruce's relatives<sup>o</sup>, and some Scottish ecclesiastics, are set at liberty in exchange for some of the chief English prisoners taken at Bannockburn.

The earl of Lancaster takes the control of the kingdom.

A.D. 1315.

Edward Bruce (brother of Robert) invades Ireland, in May; he is warmly received by the natives.

The Scots ravage Northumberland, and besiege Carlisle, in August.

The earl of Pembroke ravages Scotland, but is obliged to retire.

A.D. 1316.

The Welsh take up arms, under Llewelyn Bren, and form an alliance

stances of insult and cruelty, March 22, 1322, and buried at Pomfret. By the people in general he was regarded as a martyr, attempts were made to procure his canonization, and offerings long continued to be made at his tomb.

<sup>k</sup> The king wrote in his favour to the duke of Brabant, Oct. 9; and when he went abroad he employed himself in hiring troops to return with him to England, which they did in the following year.

<sup>l</sup> In England their lands were granted to the Knights Hospitallers, in 1324 [17 Edw. II. c. 3],

but many manors had been already given by the king to private individuals.

<sup>m</sup> His body was buried by the Minorites in their church at Oxford, but it was removed in 1314 to Langley, where the king had founded a church with priests to pray for his soul.

<sup>n</sup> Among the slain was the young earl of Gloucester, the king's nephew. As he left no issue, his estates fell to his sisters, one of whom had been the wife of Gaveston, and another was married to Hugh le Despenser.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 1306.

with Edward Bruce. They are induced to submit before the end of the year <sup>p</sup>.

The king proposes a fresh invasion of Scotland in August; but the earl of Lancaster and his partisans refuse to join the royal army, and it is abandoned.

The Irish are defeated with vast slaughter at Athenree, in the west, by the English, Aug. 10.

Robert Bruce passes into Ireland, to the assistance of his brother, September.

A.D. 1317.

The Scots traverse Ireland, as far as Limerick, early in the year, but lose many men in their return to the north; Robert Bruce retires.

The pope (John XXII.) attempts to negotiate a peace between England and Scotland. Bruce being only styled "governor of Scotland," refuses to treat, or to admit the papal legates; he is excommunicated a second time, March 28, and his kingdom placed under an interdict.

The Irish appeal to the pope against the tyranny of the English settlers, and desire either to be left independent, or to hold their lands immediately of the king. The pope expostulates with the king, and procures a promise of better government for the future.

The earl of Lancaster's power shaken by a quarrel with the earl Warrenne.

A.D. 1318.

Bruce retakes Berwick, April 2; the Scots ravage Yorkshire <sup>q</sup>.

A parliament held in July, when a council of sixteen is appointed to "assist the king" <sup>r</sup>.

Edward Bruce is defeated and killed, at Faughard, near Dundalk, Oct. 14.

A.D. 1319.

The king, assisted by the Cinque Ports fleet, besieges Berwick, but is unable to retake it.

A two years' truce concluded, Dec. 21, between "Edward, king of England" and "Sir Robert de Brus."

A.D. 1320.

The king goes to France, and does homage for his possessions there, June, July.

A parliament held in October, in which the supremacy of the English in the narrow seas is asserted <sup>s</sup>.

The king chooses a new favourite, Hugh le Despenser, and bestows vast estates on him <sup>t</sup>.

A.D. 1321.

The earl of Hereford and other nobles ravage Despenser's lands, and form an association to drive him and his father from the kingdom.

They seize on London, hold a parliament, and banish the Despensers <sup>u</sup>, Aug. 19.

<sup>p</sup> They appear to have been more leniently treated than was then usual; as, early in the year (Feb. 7), the king ordered that certain ancient customs should be observed and abuses removed, and in November many prisoners were liberated and their lands restored.

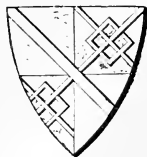
<sup>q</sup> Their expeditions were conducted with such daring, that at one time the queen, at another the king, very narrowly escaped falling into their hands.

<sup>r</sup> The earl of Lancaster was at its head, and soon after (October 22) a formal treaty was proposed between him and the king for the pardon of their adherents, but the earl refused to include Warrenne.

<sup>s</sup> By authority of parliament a treaty was concluded with the Flemings, for the redress of various grievances of which they had complained; in the proceedings it is stated on both sides that the king is "lord of the sea" between England and Brittany.

<sup>t</sup> He received in marriage Eleanor, one of the co-heiresses of the earl of Gloucester (who had been killed at Bannockburn); a great part of South Wales thus fell to his share, but he was soon embroiled with his neighbours, the marchers, among whom the Mortimers were the most formidable. His great-grandfather, Hugh le Despenser, was keeper of the castle of Bridgnorth in the early part

of the reign of Henry III.; his grandfather was in the service of Richard, king of the Romans, but afterwards joined the barons, became their justiciary, and was killed on their side at Evesham; his father served with great reputation in all the wars of Edward I., and was one of his commis-



Arms of Despenser.

sioners to conclude a peace with France. In consequence of the favour of his son the elder Despenser was created earl of Winchester, in 1322, and he was involved in his fall.

<sup>u</sup> The younger Despenser turned pirate, and seized many rich vessels, particularly two large ships at Sandwich.

The queen is refused admission into Leeds castle<sup>†</sup>, in Kent; the king marches against it, and having captured it, hangs the governor, Oct. 31.

He recalls the Despensers, Dec. 8, and ravages the lands of the barons.

The earl of Lancaster forms an alliance with the Scots<sup>‡</sup>, and draws together his partisans in the north of England.

A.D. 1322.

The king marches against the barons, but offers them pardon, March 3. Lancaster retreats before him; is defeated at Boroughbridge, March 16, and taken prisoner next day, tried by a military council, and executed at Pontefract, March 22. Many of his adherents are slain<sup>§</sup>, others taken, (among the latter, Roger Mortimer<sup>¶</sup> and lord Badlesmere). Many of the forfeited estates are given to Hugh le Despenser.

The king invades Scotland, but without effecting anything, and his forces are greatly harassed on their retreat.

A.D. 1323.

Sir Andrew Harcla<sup>‡</sup>, warden of the

west marches, is detected in correspondence with the Scots, and executed, Feb. 27.

A truce for thirteen years concluded with Scotland, May 30.

Roger Mortimer escapes to France, early in August. Others of the Lancastrian party ravage Hugh le Despenser's lands.

The king is summoned to France to do homage to the new king, Charles IV.

A.D. 1324.

The French attempt the conquest of Gascony.

A.D. 1325.

The queen, being sent to France in March, arranges a treaty on the affairs of Gascony, May 31.

The king, falling ill at Dover, transfers his foreign possessions to his son Edward, and sends him to do the homage agreed on for them, September 12.

The queen forms an intrigue with Roger Mortimer, and refuses to return to England unless the Despensers are banished; the earl of Kent (the king's brother) joins her.

<sup>†</sup> This castle, which was part of her dower, had been placed in the keeping of Bartholomew, Lord Badlesmere, who was also warden of the Cinque Ports, and the king's steward. He, however, had joined the earl of Lancaster, and had directed the governor, Thomas Colepeper, to admit no one except by order from himself. The queen, being on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, wished to lodge in the castle, but this was refused, and several of her attendants were killed by volleys of arrows from the gate. Badlesmere being captured a few months later at Boroughbridge, was sent into Kent, and though a noble, was hanged like any ordinary malefactor, at Blean, near Canterbury. His wife and family also were imprisoned in the Tower.

<sup>‡</sup> This was now openly done, but a secret understanding had long existed between them.

<sup>§</sup> Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and

king, and widow of John, count of Holland. Like his father he held the office of constable, and served in the Scottish wars, and being taken at Bannockburn was exchanged for the wife of Robert Bruce. He vehemently opposed the favourites of his brother-in-law, was one of the peers appointed to regulate his household, and in every way supported the earl of Lancaster, being at last killed in his cause, March 16, 1322. His wife died in May, 1316, and was buried at Walden, and in his will, made at Gosforth, 11th August, 1319, he desires to be buried beside her, but his wish was neglected, and he was interred in the church of the Friars Preachers at York.

<sup>¶</sup> Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, was born in 1287. He was the grandson of the chief opponent of De Montfort. He served in Scotland, had also the office of great justiciary of Wales, and in 1317 was appointed lieutenant of Ireland. He supported the earl of Lancaster, and when taken prisoner was committed to the Tower; he was sentenced to death, Aug. 2, 1322, but this was the next day commuted to perpetual imprisonment. After a time he escaped and repaired to France, when his wife and daughters were seized and imprisoned in his stead. He shortly after returned to England, and in concert with the queen governed the kingdom at his pleasure, being created earl of March, and enriched by vast grants, but was suddenly seized by order of the young king, hurriedly condemned, and hung at Tyburn, Nov. 29, 1330. After remaining some days on the gibbet, his body was buried in his castle of Ludlow, in a chapel which he had erected and dedicated to St. Peter ad Vincula to commemorate his own escape from the Tower in the time of Edward II.

<sup>‡</sup> He had been but recently created earl of Carlisle for his services against the earl of Lancaster.



Seal of Bohun, earl of Hereford.

Essex, was among them. He was the son of the earl of Hereford already mentioned (see A.D. 1297), and in 1302 he married Elizabeth, daughter to the

A.D. 1326.

The queen contracts her son Edward to Philippa of Hainault, whose father, William, count of Holland, supplies a small force to invade England.

The queen lands in Suffolk, accompanied by the earl of Kent and Roger Mortimer, and other exiles, Sept. 24. Her troops are commanded by John de Beaumont, brother of the count of Holland.

The queen is joined by many of the barons; the king flees from London, and is pursued into Wales.

Walter Stapeldon, bishop of Exeter and treasurer, is seized and beheaded, Oct. 15; Robert de Baldock, the chancellor, is thrown into Newgate<sup>b</sup>.

Prince Edward proclaimed "custos of the realm," at Bristol, Oct. 26.

The elder Despenser is taken and hanged, Oct. 27<sup>c</sup>.

The king endeavours to escape to Lundy Island<sup>d</sup>, but is driven back by bad weather. On landing at Neath, he is seized, Nov. 16, when he is carried to Kenilworth, and placed in the keeping of Henry, earl of Lancaster<sup>e</sup>.

Hugh le Despenser is captured at the same time. He is executed at Hereford, Nov. 26.

A.D. 1327.

A parliament meets at Westminster, Jan. 7, when the king is deposed<sup>f</sup>; the sentence is notified to him at Kenilworth, Jan. 20.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

The papacy established at Avignon	A.D. 1309
The Order of Knights Templars suppressed . . . . .	1311
The Knights Hospitallers establish	

themselves in Rhodes . . .	A.D. 1314
The Swiss gain independence by their victory of Morgarten . .	1315

<sup>b</sup> He died there May 28, 1327.

<sup>c</sup> He had been named "captain and chief leader" of the king's troops at Chepstow only 12 days before, and repairing to Bristol to defend the castle, he was there captured and put to death.

<sup>d</sup> This was a possession of the Despensers, which they had strongly fortified as a refuge for him, but he was unable to land. It is a place of very difficult access, and has frequently been possessed for a time by pirates and smugglers.

<sup>e</sup> The brother of the earl executed in 1322.

<sup>f</sup> The young prince Edward was immediately proclaimed king in Westminster Hall, "Edward

the Third," but he refused to accept the title without his father's consent; the bishops of Hereford and Lincoln, (Adam Orleton and Henry Burghersh,) one of the judges, and several of the barons proceeded to Kenilworth, to obtain this; the royal prisoner simply replied that he was in their power, and submitted to their will. The two prelates must have been particularly obnoxious to him; Orleton had been placed in his see by the pope, after a long contest with the king, and had appeared in arms against him at Boroughbridge; and Burghersh was the nephew of Lord Badlesmere. See A.D. 1322.





Great Seal of Edward III.

### EDWARD III.

EDWARD, eldest son of Edward II. and Isabella of France, born at Windsor Nov. 13, 1312, succeeded to the throne on the deposition of his father in 1327.

The first few years of the reign thus inauspiciously commenced were passed in a kind of tutelage, all real power being in the hands of Queen Isabella and her paramour, Roger Mortimer. They concluded a peace with Scotland, which acknowledged the independence of that kingdom, put the deposed king to death, and publicly executed his brother, the earl of Kent; but at length Edward made himself independent of them, when Mortimer was hanged, and the queen-mother put under restraint for the remainder of her life<sup>a</sup>.

Soon after this the attack on Scotland was renewed, by Edward Balliol, the son of the former king, which, though at first successful, eventually failed; and a little later commenced a contest for the crown of France, which forms the great distinguishing feature of Edward's reign. His claim was contrary to the French law, and was unanimously rejected by the states of France, yet he persisted in it, and thus involved the countries in a war of nearly thirty years' duration<sup>b</sup>. The French were signally defeated at Sluys, Crecy, Poitiers, and elsewhere, their country was ravaged up to the gates of Paris, and their king taken prisoner; their councils were distracted by the rivalry of the princes of the blood, and the peasantry

<sup>a</sup> She is usually said to have been imprisoned at Castle Rising until her death; but her Household Book has been recently brought to light, and it shews that, in the latter years of her life at least, she was allowed to move about freely, and her son paid her occasional visits.

<sup>b</sup> Truces were frequently made, but they were

ill-observed, especially in the remote provinces of Brittany and Guienne; such was also the case under his successors. French historians, indeed, speak of the whole period, from Edward's claim until the expulsion of the English by Charles VII., as the Hundred Years' War.

broke out into insurrection; yet they succeeded eventually in foiling their assailant, and when the contest came to an end, by the peace of Bretigny, he accepted, instead of the whole kingdom, a comparatively small part, which he erected into a principality for his eldest son; but much of this was lost before his death, in consequence of a new war. In fact, his only permanent gain was Calais.

Beside attacking France, Edward endeavoured to gain possession of Flanders, and his son, Edward the

Black Prince, interfered in the affairs of Spain. These ceaseless foreign expeditions obliged the king to have very frequent recourse to his parliaments, and in return for their liberal aid they gained many concessions, by which the power of the crown was limited in several important particulars.

Edward's latter days were embittered by the deaths of his queen and eldest son, and the loss of most of his French acquisitions, and he died at Shene (now Richmond), June 21, 1377; he was buried at Westminster.



Edward III.

From their Monuments, Westminster Abbey.



Philippa of Hainault.

Westminster Abbey.

Edward married Philippa, daughter of William, count of Holland and Hainault, in January, 1328. She accompanied him on some of his foreign expeditions, at other times defended his realm in his absence, and died much lamented, at Windsor, Aug. 15, 1369. Their children were seven sons and five daughters:—

1. Edward, usually styled the Black Prince, born at Woodstock, June 15, 1330, became one of the most re-



Edward the Black Prince, from his Tomb at Canterbury.

nowned warriors of his time. He served at Crecy, and gained the victory of Poitiers; he received as his

patrimony the English conquests in the south of France, and was created duke of Aquitaine July 19, 1362. He was unfortunately induced to undertake an expedition into Spain, in favour of Peter the Cruel, but ruined his health there, and so impaired his finances that he was obliged to tax his Gascon subjects too heavily; they resisted, and appealed to the king of France, who soon overran the province, and the prince retired to England, where he died June 8, 1376, leaving by his wife, Joan of Kent<sup>c</sup>, a son, Richard, who became king.

2. Lionel, born at Antwerp, Nov. 29, 1338, was created duke of Clarence; he was made lieutenant of Ireland, and also aspired to the Scottish crown. He married, first, Elizabeth, the heiress of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and had by her a daughter, Philippa, (born at Eltham Aug. 16, 1355,) who married Edmund Mortimer, earl of March; and secondly Violante, daughter of Galeazzo, duke of Milan, by whom he had no issue. He died in Italy Oct. 17, 1368.

<sup>c</sup> She was the daughter of Edmund, earl of Kent, and had been before married to Sir Thomas Holland, who received the title of Earl of Kent in

consequence. Her two sons, Thomas and John, were greatly favoured by their half-brother, Richard II.

## 3. John of Gaunt, born at Ghent,



Arms of John of Gaunt.

June, 1340, was created earl of Derby, and duke of Lancaster. He succeeded his brother Edward in the government of Gascony, served also in Spain and Scotland, and took a very prominent part in the conduct of affairs in the reign of his nephew Richard II. He was thrice married; his first wife, Blanche, daughter of the duke of Lancaster, brought him a son, who became king, as Henry IV., and two daughters; his second wife was Constantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel, (in whose right he assumed the title of king of Castile and Leon,) who bore him a daughter, Catherine, who married Henry III. of Castile; his third was Catherine Swinford, by whom he was the father of the Beauforts. He died Feb. 3, 1399, and was buried in St. Paul's, London.

4. Edmund, born June, 1341, at Langley, was earl of Cambridge and duke of York. He, like his brother John, married a daughter of Peter the Cruel, and had by her two sons, Edward, duke of York, killed at Agincourt, and Richard, earl of Cambridge, beheaded; and a daughter, Constance, married to Thomas le Despenser<sup>a</sup>, earl of Gloucester.



Arms of Edward III.

5. Thomas, born at Woodstock, January 7, 1354, became earl of Buckingham 1377, duke of Gloucester 1385, and lord high constable. He was engaged in constant struggles with his nephew, Richard II., and after being victorious on several occasions, was at last suddenly seized, hurried off to Calais, and put to death, in Sept. 1397. By his wife Eleanor, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, he left a son, who died unmarried, and two daughters.

6, 7. William of Hatfield (born 1336) and William of Windsor, died young.

The king's daughters were, 1. Isabel, born 1332, married to Ingelram de Coucy, created earl of Bedford; 2. Joan, born 1333, contracted to Peter, prince of Castile, but died in 1348; 3. Blanche, born 1342, who died an infant; 4. Mary, born 1344, married to John de Montfort, (afterwards John IV., duke of Brittany); and 5. Margaret, born 1346, married to John Hastings, earl of Pembroke.

In the early part of his reign Edward bore the same arms as his immediate predecessors, and styled himself, as they had done, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, but in 1337 he took in addition the title of king of France<sup>e</sup>, and in 1340 he quartered the arms of that kingdom with his own. He is said to have introduced supporters to the royal arms, but the fact is doubtful. Various badges were employed by him, of which, rays descending from a cloud, the stump of a tree, couped, a falcon, a griffin, an ostrich feather, and a sword erect, may be enumerated.



Do. quartered with France.

<sup>a</sup> The great-grandson of Hugh le Despenser the younger, by the sister of the earl killed at Bannockburn. See A.D. 1314.

<sup>e</sup> The years of his nominal reign over France are however dated from Jan. 25, 1340. The title, but

not the arms of France, was relinquished by the treaty of Bretigny, but as the terms of that treaty were not fulfilled by the French, Edward, by the advice of his parliament, resumed the title in 1369.

Edward in 1337 created a new dignity in England, that of duke, bestowing the title of duke of Cornwall on his son Edward; he also established the Order of the Garter soon after, probably in commemoration of the siege and capture of Calais.

The character of Edward is usually highly estimated, and he is commonly represented as chargeable with few other faults than those inseparable from ambition; but this is too favourable a picture. He, however, evinced great ability in dealing with public affairs. Though almost constantly engaged in war, he also laboured to improve the commerce and manufactures of his people, and they were thus reconciled to the heavy burdens he imposed on them, notwithstanding that he frequently disregarded the provisions of the Charter, and attempted to raise funds with little regard to parliamentary usages.

#### A.D. 1327.

Edward is crowned at Westminster, Feb. 1<sup>st</sup>.

The great Charter of the Liberties and the Charter of the Forest ordained to be kept in every article<sup>g</sup> [1 Edw. III. c. 1].

A regency is appointed by the parliament, Henry earl of Lancaster being nominally the head, but all power residing with Queen Isabella and Mortimer, who share the estates of the Dispensers between them.

Restitution of estates and honours made to the partisans of Thomas, earl of Lancaster.

A new charter is granted to the Londoners.

The Scots invade England; the young king, in pursuing them, narrowly escapes capture, Aug. 4.

The deposed king is removed from

the care of the earl of Lancaster, hurried from place to place, and at length murdered at Berkeley, Sept. 21. Several nobles, ignorant of his fate, form plans for his release.

#### A.D. 1328.

Peace is concluded with Scotland, at Edinburgh, March 17. The claim of feudal superiority is renounced, the Scottish regalia given up<sup>h</sup>, many Scottish prisoners released, and a marriage agreed on between Joan, the king's young sister, and David, son of Robert Bruce; on their part, the Scots agree to pay the sum of £20,000 in three years.

Charles IV. of France dying without male issue, the king claims the crown of France in right of his mother<sup>i</sup>. His claim is rejected by the states of the kingdom, and Philip of Valois, cousin of the deceased king, succeeds as Philip VI.

Robert Bruce dies, June 7. His son, a child of seven years, succeeds, as David II., and is crowned at Scone, Nov. 23.

#### A.D. 1329.

A confederacy formed against Mortimer is dissolved by the want of spirit of the earls of Kent and Norfolk, the half-brothers of the late king.

The king goes to France, May 26. He does homage for his lands there, June 6.

#### A.D. 1330.

A parliament meets at Winchester, March 11, when the earl of Kent is accused of designing to overthrow the government, March 13; he is executed, March 19.

The king becomes impatient of the rule of Mortimer, has him seized at Nottingham, Oct. 19, and takes the government into his own hands, by a proclamation dated Oct. 20. Mortimer is sent to the Tower, and after

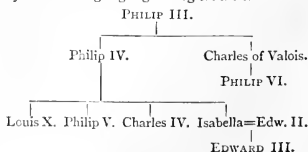
<sup>g</sup> His peace was proclaimed on Jan. 24, but, for some reason now unknown, his regnal years are computed from Jan. 25.

<sup>h</sup> The charters were again confirmed in 1328, 1330, 1331, 1336, 1340, 1341, 1357, 1363, 1364, 1368, 1371, and 1377.

<sup>i</sup> A piece of the "true cross," set in jewels, which had belonged to Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, was included, but the famous stone of Scone (see A.D. 1296), was not surrendered, through fear of a popular tumult.

<sup>j</sup> Philip III. of France, who died in 1285, was

the common ancestor of the competitors, as is shewn by the following slight genealogical table.



a mock trial<sup>1</sup> hanged at Tyburn, Nov. 29. Queen Isabella is imprisoned.

The exactions of the royal purveyors restrained by statute [4 Edward III. c. 3], "people being greatly grieved by things being taken without payment."

A.D. 1331.

The king again goes to France, April 4. He repeats his homage at Amiens, April 13, and returns April 20.

A parliament held at Westminster, September and October.

## SCOTLAND.

The year 1332 saw the renewal of the attempt to bring Scotland under feudal subjection to England. One of the stipulations of the treaty of peace of 1328 provided that any lands which English nobles had held in Scotland and had lost during the war should be restored to them, but this was not done. Edward Balliol (son of the competitor) was among the number who thus suffered; he raised a small force, with the assistance of friends similarly placed, landed in Scotland, and met with such success that in little more than a month he was crowned king. He was, however, soon expelled; was restored, again expelled, and returned in company with the king of England, whom he had formally acknowledged as his liege lord, and to whom he had ceded, as far as treaties went, the whole of the country south of the Forth and Clyde. But though the allies ravaged the land as far north as Inverness, killed the earl of Douglas, who acted as regent for David II., and captured Berwick, their enterprise failed, and the kingdom of Scotland remains to the present day *de facto* and *de jure* independent of any other.

A.D. 1332.

Edward Balliol and his friends invade Scotland; they land at Kinghorn, in Fifeshire, Aug. 7; and defeat the Scots near Perth, Aug. 11, 12.

Balliol is crowned at Scone, Sept. 27. He subjects the crown of Scotland to that of England, and makes a grant of the town of Berwick, by his letters

patent, dated Roxburgh, Nov. 23; he is suddenly attacked by the Scots at Annan, at Christmas, and expelled.

A.D. 1333.

The Scots invade England. The king marches into Scotland, and besieges Berwick; Douglas, the regent, attempts to relieve it, but is defeated and killed at Halidon, (near Berwick,) July 19, and the town surrenders, July 20.

The young king and queen flee to France.

Balliol is received as king by a parliament held at Perth in October.

A.D. 1334.

Balliol offends his supporters by ceding the whole south of Scotland to the English, June 12. He is obliged to flee to Berwick.

A.D. 1335.

A parliament held at York, in May, in which freedom of trading is guaranteed to foreign merchants [9 Edw. III. c. 1].

The king, in concert with Balliol, invades Scotland in August, advancing, in the course of the next year, as far as Inverness.

A.D. 1336.

The war is carried on, with several intermissions of truce, in Scotland.

The Scots hire ships from the French, attack Guernsey and Jersey, and capture vessels near the Isle of Wight.

A.D. 1337.

The French give considerable succours to the Scots. In retaliation,

<sup>1</sup> By the law of France, known as the Salic law, females could not succeed to the throne, but Edward asserted that the disability was only personal, and that a right to the crown could be transmitted through them; Philip maintained the contrary. Edward gave way at the time, but revived his claim in 1337, being probably induced to do so

by the support which Philip afforded to the Scots.

<sup>2</sup> He was condemned unheard, on the plea of the notoriety of the facts, on which ground the attainder was reversed, and his title and estates restored to his grandson, Roger Mortimer, in 1354.

the king forms continental alliances, and assumes the title of King of France, Oct. 7.

The export of wool prohibited<sup>k</sup>, and foreign cloth-workers allowed to settle in England<sup>l</sup> [11 Edw. III. c. 1].

The religious houses lend their jewels and plate to the king for the war with France.

A.D. 1338.

The French burn Portsmouth, in June.

The king embarks for Flanders, from the Orwell, July 16, leaving his son Edward regent, but is unable to attack France until the next year<sup>m</sup>.

The French make an attack on Southampton, Oct. 4.

A.D. 1339.

The king invades France from Flanders, in September, but most of his allies desert him, and he is obliged to retire after ravaging the Cambresis and other frontier districts.

A.D. 1340.

The king returns to England, Feb. 21. He holds a parliament, March 29, obtains supplies, and sails from the Orwell, June 22.

The clergy exempted from purveyance [14 Edw. III. c. 1].

Sheriffs directed to be appointed annually, at the Exchequer, on the morrow of All Souls<sup>n</sup> [14 Edw. III. c. 7].

One weight and one measure established for the whole kingdom<sup>o</sup> [14 Edw. III., c. 12].

The king defeats the French fleet at Sluys, June 24; he orders a public thanksgiving for his victory.

He besieges Tournay, and challenges "Philip of Valois" to a single combat, July 26; the French king

refuses to meet him, July 30. A truce is concluded, Sept. 25, to last till June 25, 1341, but it is prolonged till 1342.

The king returns to England, landing suddenly at the Tower at midnight, Nov. 30. He displaces and otherwise punishes the chancellor (Robert Stratford, bishop of Chester<sup>p</sup>), and many of the chief officers of state.

A.D. 1341.

A parliament held at Westminster in April. Some of the statutes passed there are afterwards set aside, as having been obtained against the will of the king.

Peers of the realm to be tried for offences only by the parliament [15 Edw. III. c. 2].

A dispute arises in Brittany<sup>q</sup> concerning the succession. The king supports John de Montfort in opposition to Charles of Blois, the nephew of the king of France.

A.D. 1342.

The wife of De Montfort (Jane, sister of Louis I., count of Flanders,) defends herself in Hennebon until relieved by Sir Walter Manny.

The French again burn Portsmouth, and threaten Southampton, Sept.

The king passes over to Brittany, sailing from Sandwich, Oct. 5.

A.D. 1343.

A truce concluded with France, Jan. 19, to last till Michaelmas, 1346. The king returns, landing at Weymouth, March 2.

Negotiations for a peace are carried on before the pope (Clement VI.) at Avignon, but without success.

The barons remonstrate with the pope on the abuse of provisions<sup>r</sup>,

<sup>k</sup> It was subsequently made felony [27 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 3].

<sup>l</sup> Some had before done so, by the king's special licence (as William and Hanekin, weavers from Brabant, permitted to exercise their trade at York, Dec. 12, 1336).

<sup>m</sup> An invasion of England being expected, an order was issued, Nov. 20, 1338, that only one bell should be rung in churches within seven leagues of the sea, so that in case of attack the people might be warned by the ringing of all the bells.

<sup>n</sup> The statute recites that many sheriffs had been guilty of great oppression in their office, which they considered themselves to hold for life.

<sup>o</sup> This was one of the remedies promised by Magna Charta, but, like many other valuable

points, it seems to have been neglected.

<sup>p</sup> He was succeeded by Sir Robert Bouchier, the first layman who held the office of chancellor.

<sup>q</sup> John III., duke of Brittany (the grandson of Henry III.), dying without male issue, the duchy was claimed by his half-brother, John de Montfort (John IV.), and Charles of Blois, who had married his niece. The French court adjudged it to Charles, but he was vigorously opposed by the Montforts, and at length killed in the field. John de Montfort the younger (John V.) married Mary, daughter of Edward III., and was powerfully supported by him; he was thus established in Brittany, but in the next reign, to conciliate the king of France, he abandoned the English cause.

<sup>r</sup> The papal court had long been in the habit of

May 18. The king also complains of them, Aug. 30, Sept. 10.

The earl of Salisbury (William Montacute) obtains possession of the Isle of Man, and is crowned there.

When the islanders put themselves under the protection of Edward I.<sup>a</sup>, he bestowed Aufrica, the granddaughter of the last native king, on Sir Simon Montacute, and she transmitted



Arms of Montacute, earl of Salisbury.

her rights to her husband, who mortgaged the isle to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham. It was afterwards granted by Edward II. to Gaveston, and in 1313 was recovered by the Scots, but their rule was unpopular, and the natives invited Montacute to drive them out<sup>1</sup>.

A.D. 1344.

The truce with France broken. The earl of Derby (Henry Grismond<sup>a</sup>) is successful in Guienne.

The florin, the first English gold coin<sup>2</sup>, struck this year.

A.D. 1345.

De Montfort escapes<sup>3</sup> from prison and repairs to Brittany.

The king goes to Flanders, to en-

deavour to gain that earldom for his son Edward<sup>4</sup>. He sails from Sandwich July 3; but his chief partisan, Jacob van Arteveldt, being killed in a popular tumult at Ghent, July 17, the attempt fails, and he returns to England, July 26.

A.D. 1346.

The king invades Normandy, landing at La Hogue July 10. He ravages the country on the left bank of the Seine as far as Paris, but is reduced to great difficulties by the bridges being broken down.

Having repaired the bridge at Poissy, he crosses the river, burns the suburbs of Beauvais, and defeats a body of the French beyond the Somme, Aug. 24.

He halts at Crecy, near Abbeville, Aug. 25; is attacked there by a greatly superior French force, but totally defeats them<sup>5</sup>, Aug. 26; marches onward, Sept. 1, through the county of Boulogne, and invests Calais.

David II. of Scotland, incited by the French, invades England; he is defeated and taken prisoner at Nevill's Cross, near Durham, Oct. 17<sup>6</sup>.

Balliol ravages the south of Scotland.

A.D. 1347.

Charles of Blois is captured in Brittany by the English<sup>7</sup>, June 20.

Calais is surrendered, Aug. 4; Almeric of Pavia is appointed governor<sup>8</sup>.

A truce is concluded, and the king returns to England, landing at Sandwich Oct. 12.

granting what were termed provisions, in virtue of which persons (usually foreign priests) were intruded into English churches, and even bishops' sees, in violation of the rights of the king and other patrons. The abuse had been often resisted (see A.D. 1260), but it was too profitable to be readily abandoned.

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1290.

<sup>1</sup> He was the grandson of Aufrica, and a military commander of eminence. He died in 1346, and was buried in the church of the White Friars in London. His son William sold the island in 1395 to Sir William Scrope.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards created duke of Lancaster. He died March 24, 1361. John of Gaunt married his daughter, and thence derived his dukedom.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the first that remained any length of time in circulation. Henry III. coined a "gold penny," but it appears to have been withdrawn; and a gold coin attributed to Edward the Confessor exists. See p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> He had been captured by the partisans of Charles of Blois, and imprisoned in Paris, and was still confined in spite of the stipulation for his re-

lease in the articles of truce. He died soon after, but the war was continued by his son.

<sup>5</sup> The count (Louis I.) had refused to abandon his fealty to the king of France, and Edward, in revenge, endeavoured to avail himself of the discontent that had long existed between the rulers and the great trading towns of Flanders.

<sup>6</sup> His success is said to have been partly owing to the employment of cannon, some pieces of which were, according to Barbour, used by him against the Scots as early as 1327.

<sup>7</sup> Queen Philippa is usually said to have been with the army, but this is incorrect; she remained at York.

<sup>8</sup> He was confined in the Tower till August, 1348, when he was ransomed, and soon resumed the war.

<sup>9</sup> The French population was in part removed, and their houses offered as a gift to any English who would settle there; and a three years' exemption from tolls was granted. A staple for tin, lead, feathers, and cloth, was also appointed. No Frenchman was to be allowed to hold any office in the town, or to serve in the garrison; but these restrictions soon came to be disregarded.

A.D. 1348.

The truce is renewed with the French; but they intrigue with Almeric of Pavia, the captain of the king's galleys at Calais, to regain possession of the town.

A.D. 1349.

The king passes over to Calais, in January, and beats off a sudden attack of the French.

England ravaged by a plague, called the First and Great Pestilence.

The Statute of Labourers passed<sup>e</sup> [23 Edw. III. c. 1].

A.D. 1350.

Philip VI. of France dies, Aug. 20. He is succeeded by John II.

A fleet of Spanish ships defeated by the king, off Winchelsea, Aug. 29.

Sir Thomas Thorpe, chief justice, is sentenced to death for receiving bribes, Nov. 3; the sentence is remitted, November 19.

A.D. 1351.

A parliament held at Westminster in February.

Children of the king or of his subjects born abroad declared natural-born subjects, [25 Edw. III. c. 2].

Papal provisions forbidden, and the presentation for that term forfeited to the king [25 Edw. III. c. 6].

A.D. 1352.

Treasons defined by statute<sup>f</sup> [25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 2].

Ordinances for the clergy enacted [25 Edw. III. c. 4], in virtue of which clerks convicted of offences are to be delivered to their ordinary for punishment.

The French receive a signal defeat

from the English at Mauron, in Brittany, Aug. 14.

A.D. 1353.

A statute passed forbidding any questioning of the judgments of the king's courts, or suing in foreign courts<sup>g</sup> [27 Edw. III. c. 1], under pain of fine and imprisonment, or outlawry.

Fruitless negotiations for peace. The king offers to resign his claim on the crown for the formal cession of Guienne and Calais, but John refuses.

France is disturbed by the intrigues of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre<sup>h</sup>, who leagues with the English.

The staple regulated by statute [27 Edw. III. st. 2].

The five great or staple commodities of the kingdom were wool, woolfells, leather, lead, and tin, and these were allowed to be dealt in for exportation only by a corporation called the merchants of the staple, and in certain specified towns<sup>i</sup>, where they were disposed of to foreigners. The corporation had its own laws and officers, and was exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates. Attempting to carry the merchandize of the staple to other than the appointed ports was strictly forbidden, and it was even made felony for any but the authorized merchants to deal in the staple goods [27 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 3].

A.D. 1354.

Negotiations commenced for the ransom of David II. of Scotland; the payment of 90,000 marks in nine years is required, but is refused by the Scots.

Iron forbidden to be exported, under forfeiture of double its value [28 Edw. III. c. 5].

An inquiry into the bad government

<sup>e</sup> The pestilence having greatly reduced the working population, the survivors endeavoured by combination to obtain enhanced prices for their labour; but by this statute they are directed to work for their accustomed wages for any that will employ them. Subsequent statutes rendered them liable to heavy punishments for contumacy, even outlawry being incurred by departing from their own counties.

<sup>f</sup> Additions were made to this list in the time of Richard II., but these new treasons were abolished by his successor.

<sup>g</sup> This act was considered necessary to enforce the observance of the act against papal provisions. The foreign courts meant were those of the pope, which from 1305 to 1377 were generally held at Avignon, or in France, and were therefore supposed to be biased against the English king.

<sup>h</sup> Charles was one of the most detestable characters in history. Although he had married a

daughter of John II., he endeavoured to obtain his throne, and he leagued with, and deserted, every party in turn. He obtained possession of part of Normandy and Brittany during the war between De Montfort and Charles of Blois, and, to gain the alliance of the English, sold to them Cherbourg, which he had strongly fortified. He made war against both Peter the Cruel and his successor, Henry of Trastamare, but was unsuccessful, and lost part of his dominions. He was at length accidentally burnt to death, in the year 1387, in the 55th year of his age.

<sup>i</sup> The staple towns were London, Bristol, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Lincoln, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, and York; Caermarthen, in Wales; and Dublin, Cork, Drogheda, and Waterford, in Ireland; and often Middleburgh, in Zealand, and Calais; but the staple was several times removed from the latter towns, in consequence of war.



of the city of London ordered to be made by the jurors of other counties, and the writs in consequence enforced by the constable of the Tower [28 Edw. III. c. 10].

The attainder of Mortimer, earl of March, reversed<sup>k</sup>.

A.D. 1355.

Edward the Black Prince is successful in Gascony.

The king invades the north of France in November, but soon returns to England.

The Scots surprise Berwick, Nov. 6.

A.D. 1356.

Balliol renounces his nominal crown in favour of the king, by letters patent, dated Roxburgh, Jan. 20<sup>l</sup>.

The king invades and ravages the south of Scotland, and retakes Berwick.

Edward the Black Prince marches from Bordeaux in July; he penetrates as far as Berri. On his return he is attacked by King John and the French at Poitiers, Sept. 19; he totally defeats them, and takes the king and his son Philip prisoners.

A.D. 1357.

An ordinance made for the estate of the land of Ireland [31 Edw. III. st. 4, c. 1—19]. This very remarkable document is undeniable evidence of the state of the country, and its slight connexion with England near 200 years after its nominal conquest. It promises liberty to the Church and people, and that they shall have the same laws as the English; but it states that the king's authority is almost wholly disregarded, and that he is constantly deceived by the false reports and certificates of his own officers. It then

directs that the public business is to be discussed in parliament only, that all private councillors are to be dismissed, that no man is to be unduly imprisoned, and that no general pardon shall be granted except by parliament; a strict inquiry is to be made yearly into the conduct of the sheriffs and other officers, and the deputy and his fellows are exhorted to certify truly of the state of the land.

A truce concluded with France, March 23. It was to last till Easter, 1359, but was prolonged till Midsummer of that year.

The Black Prince brings his prisoners to England. He lands at Plymouth May 5, and enters London in triumph, May 24.

David II. of Scotland is released, in November<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 1358.

A fearful insurrection of the peasants against the nobles breaks out in France. The English assist to put it down.

A.D. 1359.

Charles the Bad claims the crown of France. The king takes advantage of the circumstance to offer hard terms of peace, which the regency refuse. He in consequence invades France, in November, and ineffectually besieges Rheims.

A.D. 1360.

The king besieges Paris. Peace is at length concluded at Bretigny<sup>n</sup>, near Chartres, May 8. King John is set at liberty, July 2.

A statute passed regulating the office of justice of the peace [34 Edw. III. c. 1].

France is ravaged by bands of discharged soldiers, who style themselves the Free Companies<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> His son Edmund married Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, and through this alliance the Mortimers were recognised as heirs to the throne in 1385.

<sup>l</sup> He lived in England on an annuity of £2,000, which he received for the surrender, charged on the customs of Hull and Boston, and was formally released from homage, but retained his title. He died, without issue, in 1363.

<sup>m</sup> This was in virtue of a treaty dated at Berwick, Oct. 3, by which the Scots agreed to pay the sum of 100,000 marks in the term of 10 years, during which time there was to be a truce between the two kingdoms.

<sup>n</sup> The French were to pay 3,000,000 golden crowns, and they resigned the south-west of France, and the country round Calais. In return Edward

abandoned his claims to the crown, and dropped the title of King of France.

<sup>o</sup> After vain attempts to subdue them, Du Guesclin put himself at their head, and led them from France against Peter the Cruel.

Bertrand du Guesclin, one of the most eminent names in French history, was born in Brittany in 1314. He was a strenuous supporter of Charles of Blois, and also served the king of France against Charles the Bad of Navarre. He relieved the country of the Free Companies by leading them against Peter the Cruel, whom he speedily dethroned, but was himself captured by the Black Prince, and only set at liberty on paying a very heavy ransom. He became constable of France, and was the chief actor in driving the English from their conquests in Brittany and Normandy.

A.D. 1361.

Lionel, the king's son, appointed lieutenant of Ireland<sup>8</sup>, July 1.

The Second Great Pestilence in England.

Queenborough Castle built by William of Wykeham.

A.D. 1362.

On occasion of the king's jubilee, the abuse of purveyance is restrained by statute [36 Edw. III. c. 2—5]. The king states that he has redressed the grievances of his subjects in this matter of his own will, without motion of either great men or commons, and he directs the "heinous name of purveyors" to be changed to that of buyers.

The laws directed to be pleaded in English [36 Edw. III. c. 15].

A general pardon granted for all such acts as tend not to the permanent injury of the Crown, Oct. 13 [36 Edw. III. c. 16].

A.D. 1363.

Diet and apparel of each class of the community regulated by statute [37 Edw. III. c. 8—14].

King John, being unable to fulfil the terms of his release, returns to England<sup>9</sup>.

A.D. 1364.

Charles of Blois is killed at Auray,

near Vannes, Sept. 29; his rival De Montfort obtains possession of Brittany.

A.D. 1365.

The pope (Urban V.) claims the tribute promised by John<sup>7</sup>, but it is refused by the parliament. A controversy springs up on the subject, in which John Wickliffe<sup>8</sup> inveighs vehemently against the demand.

A.D. 1366.

Lionel, duke of Clarence, holds a parliament at Kilkenny, in February, at which severe enactments are made against the Anglo-Irish<sup>1</sup>.

A.D. 1367.

The Black Prince espouses the cause of Pedro the Cruel, of Castile<sup>2</sup>. He gains the battle of Najara, April 3, and thus re-establishes him on the throne, but is ungraciously treated, and having suffered much from illness, returns to Bordeaux.

A.D. 1368.

He levies heavy taxes on the Gascons, when they appeal to the king of France.

A.D. 1369.

The Black Prince is summoned to Paris, to answer the complaints of the Gascons<sup>3</sup>, May 1. Instead he prepares for war, and the king, by advice of parliament, resumes the title of King of France, June 3.

At length he relinquished his office of constable, being dissatisfied with the conduct of Charles V. towards his native country, and determined to withdraw to Spain, but delaying his journey, to complete, as a farewell service to France, the conquest of Randon, held by the English, he died before its walls, July 13, 1380; the fortress surrendered a few days after, and its keys were laid upon his coffin, the governor having sworn to submit only to Du Guesclin.

<sup>1</sup> He was earl of Ulster, in right of his wife, and in consequence of some successes was in the following year created duke of Clarence.

<sup>2</sup> He had a safe conduct for that purpose, Dec. 10, but did not long survive his arrival; he died at the Savoy, April 8, 1364.

<sup>3</sup> See A.D. 1213. The tribute was paid by Henry III. and Edward I., but after the removal of the papacy to Avignon in 1309, it fell into arrears, the pope being considered a mere instrument in the hands of the French.

<sup>4</sup> John Wickliffe, probably a native of Yorkshire, and born about 1324, was a very popular lecturer on theology at Oxford, where he taught doctrines opposed to those then generally received, but not so much so as they are ordinarily represented. He translated the Scriptures into English, and wrote many works in which he inveighed against the avarice of the court of Rome and the scandalous lives of many of the clergy, and advocated the supremacy of the civil magistrate. His

doctrines were authoritatively condemned, he was obliged to retire from Oxford to his living of Lutterworth, and strenuous efforts were made to bring him to condign punishment; but being powerfully protected, especially by the duke of Lancaster, he was saved from further harm, and died quietly in his house, Dec. 31, 1384. His bones were several years after taken up and burnt, by order of the council of Constance, but his doctrines had taken deep root, and his followers, termed Lollards, maintained and widely propagated them in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the heads of both Church and State; whence John Wickliffe is ordinarily regarded as the father of the English Reformation.

<sup>5</sup> Their use of the Irish laws, intermarriage, and adoption of Irish surnames and customs, are prohibited, as is also the supplying the natives with arms, horses, or armour, under the penalty of forfeiture of lands or imprisonment.

<sup>6</sup> Peter had, among other atrocities, murdered his queen, Blanche of Bourbon, and he had been dethroned by his natural brother, Henry of Trastamare, assisted by Du Guesclin and the Free Companies. On the withdrawal of the Black Prince, he was again assailed by Henry, defeated, and put to death. John of Gaunt married one of his daughters soon after, and in consequence assumed the title of King of Castile and Leon.

<sup>7</sup> The king of France acted unjustifiably in this, as all feudal claim on the ceded provinces had been expressly renounced by the treaty of Bretigny.

The staple removed from Calais, in consequence of the war [43 Edw. III. c. 1].

A fourteen years' truce concluded with Scotland, June 18.

The Third Great Pestilence, from July 2 to Sept. 29.

A.D. 1370.

The French enter Gascony in January.

Limoges admits a French garrison; the Black Prince retakes it, and gives quarter to the French knights, but butchers the inhabitants in cold blood<sup>x</sup>.

A.D. 1371.

David II. of Scotland dies, Feb. 22. His nephew Robert succeeds, being the first king of the house of Stuart<sup>y</sup>.

The chancellor<sup>z</sup> resigns the great seal, March 14, being charged with corruption by John of Gaunt.

Large sums are granted by the parliament for the war with France. In return Magna Charta is again confirmed.

A.D. 1372.

The earl of Pembroke (John Hastings<sup>a</sup>) is defeated and captured at sea by the Spaniards, June 23.

Du Guesclin is successful against the English and their adherents in Brittany.

The king embarks to invade France, Aug. 31, but is driven back by bad weather.

A.D. 1373.

De Montfort (John IV.) is expelled from Brittany<sup>b</sup>.

The Black Prince surrenders his principality of Aquitaine to the king, April.

John of Gaunt, appointed captain general, June 12, undertakes to restore the English power, and marches through France from Calais to Bordeaux. The march occupied from July to December; the French did not attempt to dispute his passage, but harassed his troops with continual skirmishes, causing them very heavy loss.

A.D. 1374.

A truce concluded, Feb. 11, to last till May 1, 1375, is but ill observed, and Gascony is meanwhile almost entirely reduced by the French.

A.D. 1375.

De Montfort lands in Brittany, and recovers much of the duchy. The truce is extended to April 1, 1377, and he is obliged to abandon his conquests.

A.D. 1376.

The king falls ill, when the duke of Lancaster administers the govern-

<sup>x</sup> It is to be regretted that the last exploit of this renowned warrior was not more in accordance with the chivalrous character usually ascribed to him. He retired shortly after to England, in broken health, and was succeeded in his command by his brother, John of Gaunt.

<sup>y</sup> David, after his release in 1357, had paid frequent visits to the English court, and, as he had no son, had endeavoured to secure the succession to his nephew, Lionel, duke of Clarence, but the parliament of Scotland indignantly rejected the proposal.

<sup>z</sup> This was the famous William of Wykeham,



Arms of New College, Oxford.

who was born at Wykeham, in Hampshire, in 1324. He long served the king in the quality of surveyor of works, and built for him many noble edifices, both civil and military, the castles of

Windsor and Queenborough among the number; became warden of the forests south of Trent, keeper of the privy seal, president of the council, bishop of Winchester, and at length chancellor, in Sept. 1367. In 1371 he was driven from court, and his temporalities seized on charges of corruption, which were proved afterwards to be unfounded. On the accession of Richard II. he was restored to favour, but took little further part in public affairs, (though his name appears in the commission of regency, and he again became chancellor for a short period,) devoting his energies instead to the administration of his diocese, and the founding and endowing of the noble establishments of New College, Oxford, and St. Mary, Winchester. He died Sept. 27, 1404, and was buried in his cathedral.

<sup>a</sup> He had married Margaret, the king's youngest daughter, but she died soon after. Though thus allied to royalty, he was not ransomed until he had suffered a three years' imprisonment, and he then died at Arras, on his way to Calais, April 16, 1375.

<sup>b</sup> He took refuge in England, where, except for a short period in 1375, he remained until 1379, in which year he was invited back by his subjects. In 1380 a large force was sent to his assistance, under the command of the earl of Buckingham, but he soon after made his peace with the king of France, on condition of renouncing the alliance he had so long maintained with the English. He died in 1399.

ment. Much discontent is occasioned by the extortionate and illegal proceedings of the Lords Latimer and Neville, his counsellors, and of Alice Perrers, the king's mistress.

The parliament (afterwards known as "the Good Parliament") assembles. Sir Peter de la Mare, a Herefordshire knight, takes the lead in their deliberations<sup>c</sup>.

Supported by the Prince of Wales, the Commons complain vehemently of the proceedings of the duke of Lancaster. They suspect him of aspiring to succeed to the throne, to the prejudice of the young son of the Prince of Wales, and at length induce the king to appoint a new council of government, from which Lancaster and his friends are excluded.

The Commons present articles of accusation against Latimer, Neville, Alice Perrers, and others, charging them with extortion, fraud, and interference with the administration of justice. The Lords investigate the complaints, are satisfied of their truth, and procure the removal of the offenders from the court.

The Black Prince dies, June 8. The Commons request that his son may be declared Prince of Wales, but the king declines to comply<sup>d</sup>.

The duke of Lancaster returns to

power. He procures the dismissal of the new council, and imprisons De la Mare in Nottingham Castle.

A.D. 1377.

A new parliament assembles, chiefly composed of the partisans of the duke of Lancaster.

The duke endeavours to exclude William of Wykeham from the parliament, but on the other bishops taking up his cause, he gives way.

The bishop of London (William Courtenay) cites Wickliffe to appear before him in St. Paul's, to reply to a charge of heresy, Feb. 19. On his appearance the duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy accompany him, treat the bishop with much rudeness, and thus provoke a tumult in the city; they are obliged to retire precipitately, to save their lives.

In consequence of the tumult, the mayor and aldermen are deprived of office, March 29.

A poll-tax of fourpence on each person over fourteen years of age is granted<sup>e</sup>.

A general pardon granted, on occasion of the king's royal jubilee [50 Edw. III. c. 3<sup>f</sup>].

The king dies, at Shene, (now Richmond,) June 21, and is buried at Westminster.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
The Turks ravage the coasts of		sinated . . . . .	1354
Greece . . . . .	1330	Timour (or Tamerlane) begins his	
Rienzi, tribune of Rome . . . .	1347	conquests . . . . .	1357
Maritime war between Genoa and		Commencement of the elective Polish	
Venice . . . . .	1350	monarchy . . . . .	1370
Rienzi, senator of Rome, assassinated		The papacy brought back to Rome	1376

<sup>c</sup> He is hence usually spoken of as the first Speaker of the House of Commons.

<sup>d</sup> The dignity was not conferred on him till the next year, when a new parliament assembled.

<sup>e</sup> A similar, but much heavier grant in the fol-

lowing reign gave occasion for the great rising of the common people under Wat the tyler and others.

<sup>f</sup> In some copies of this statute a clause is found excluding William of Wykeham, the late chancellor, from its benefit.



Great Seal of Richard II.

## RICHARD II.

RICHARD, the son of Edward the Black Prince and Joan of Kent, was born at Bordeaux, April 3, 1366. Soon after the death of his father, he was created Prince of Wales, and he succeeded to the throne when only in his twelfth year. The first ten years of his reign were passed in tutelage, while the state was disturbed by the contentions of his ambitious uncles,

John of Gaunt and Thomas of Woodstock; and though on occasion of the insurrection of the commons, which occurred in the sixteenth year of his age, he gave proof of courage and ability, he soon fell into the fatal error of abandoning the management of affairs to his ministers (or "favourites," as they were disparagingly termed), Michael de la Pole<sup>a</sup> and Robert Vere<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> His family had long farmed the customs at Hull, and his grandfather was the first mayor of that town. He served with distinction in France under the Black Prince, and also accompanied John of Gaunt to Spain. Under Richard II. he attached himself to the court, soon gained the royal favour, and at length was appointed chancellor, (March 13, 1383). He obtained many lavish grants from the king, and in 1386 was created earl of Suffolk. In the same year he was impeached by the Commons, and being afterwards appealed of treason by the duke of Gloucester and others, he fled in disguise to Calais, and thence to Paris, where he died, Sept. 5, 1388; his vast possessions were forfeited, and his magnificent house in London given to Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother. His son, also named Michael, was restored in blood by Henry IV., and of his two

grandsons, Michael was killed at Agincourt, and William, duke of Suffolk, became the well-known minister of Margaret of Anjou.

<sup>b</sup> Robert de Vere, son of Thomas, earl of Oxford, was born in 1362; he was of a light and profligate disposition, and acquiring the favour of Richard II., was loaded with extraordinary honours by him. First he received in marriage the lady Philippa de Coucy, the granddaughter of Edward III., and the grant of her lands; then he was created marquis of Dublin, and at length duke of Ireland (Oct. 13, 1386.) by a patent which rendered him, as far as the king's wishes were allowed to take effect, a sovereign prince. He, however, abandoned his wife, and married a waiting-woman of the queen; this was speedily followed by his being imprisoned on a charge of treason, but he escaped in disguise, and raising some troops, en-

whom he loaded with wealth and honours. At length John of Gaunt engaged in an expedition into Spain, when Gloucester became supreme, and the favourites were impeached and banished, or put to death. The lords appellants, as Gloucester and his associates were called, declared that by these proceedings no dishonour was meant to the king, whose youth and inexperience had been imposed upon, but they left him only the shadow of power. He bore this for a while, but in the year 1389 he came suddenly into the council, and formally inquiring his age, on the reply that he was in his 24th year, declared he would no longer endure the government of tutors, and at once deprived of office and drove from the court the duke and his party.

A few years of peace and apparent contentment followed this resolute step, during which the king made a visit to Ireland, and by his affability and liberality conciliated many of the most powerful chiefs; but his popularity was marred by a peace with France and marriage with a French princess, as it was generally suspected that Calais and the Channel Islands were intended to be given up, as Brest and Cherbourg had already been. The duke of Gloucester took advantage of the discontents thus occasioned, and intrigued to regain his lost ascendancy, but the king was now directed by his half-brother, the earl of Huntingdon, a bold and cruel man, and the duke and his confederates were suddenly seized and put to death.

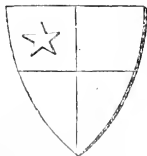
Richard now appeared firmly established on the throne, when a quarrel between the dukes of Norfolk and Hereford, who had been among the

appellants of 1388, but had since aided him against his uncle, induced him to banish them both. Norfolk submitted to his sentence and died abroad, but his opponent (who had lingered in France, and had become duke of Lancaster by the death of his father,) soon returned with a few friends under pretence of claiming his inheritance, was joined by the Percies and others, seized the king on his return from a second expedition to Ireland, brought him captive to London, and procured his formal deposition, Sept. 30, 1399, after a troubled and inglorious reign of twenty-three years<sup>c</sup>.

Richard was then in the Tower, but the parliament soon after desired that he might be "kept secretly," and so fully was this carried out, that he soon after disappeared, and nothing is certainly known of the time, place, or manner of his death. It is, however, tolerably certain that the received account that he was murdered at Pomfret by Sir Piers Exton is untrue, and that the body exposed at St. Paul's (March 12, 1400) was not his, but probably that of Maudelyn, a priest who bore a strong resemblance to him, and is believed to have been his natural brother.

The English writers of the period all speak vaguely on the subject of Richard's death<sup>d</sup>, and acknowledge that reports of his being alive were long circulated, but they appear to have been too much under the influence of the usurping Lancastrians to venture to say more. From documents among the public records, of both England and Scotland, however, and the statements of Scottish and French chroniclers, it has been surmised with a high degree of proba-

deavoured to overthrow the rule of the duke of Gloucester. He was defeated, outlawed, and



Arms of De Vere, earl of Oxford

obliged to flee to the continent, where he was

killed while hunting in Lorraine, in 1392. The king retained an affection for him which he manifested by having the corpse brought to England and bestowing a pompous funeral on it, in the year 1395.

<sup>c</sup> Richard was very unpopular with the Londoners, who commonly styled him only Richard (or John) of Bordeaux, and affected to doubt his legitimacy. He had seized their charters and extorted money from them, and they had so great a share in his overthrow, that the people of the north afterwards spoke of Henry of Lancaster as only chosen by "the villains of London."

<sup>d</sup> Some say he was killed by Exton, some that he was starved to death, others that he starved himself; qualifying their accounts, however, with "as it is said," "according to common rumour," &c.

bility\*, that Richard escaped from Pomfret early in the year 1400, simultaneously with the rising in his favour of the earls of Huntingdon, Kent, Salisbury, and others, and found a shelter in Scotland, where he was visited by some of his friends in 1402, and in 1405 by Creton, an emissary of his wife, Isabella of France; that he was found by Creton in a state of mental imbecility, occasioned by grief for the tragical fate of his friends, and that the story of his murder at Pomfret was subsequently devised to serve the political views of the duke of Burgundy (the actual ruler of France in consequence of the illness of Charles VI.).

That some one existed in Scotland who for many years was ordinarily taken for King Richard is evident from the accounts of the chamberlain of that kingdom, which speak of the expenses of the "custody of King Richard of England" as late as 1417; in the same year Henry V. alludes to the "mammet" (impostor) "of Scotland," in a manner which is conceived to shew that the term was dishonestly employed; and several Scottish chroniclers speak of Richard's death at Stirling in 1419: one saying he died "a beggar and out of his mind," and another giving his epitaph.



Richard II.



Anne of Bohemia.

From Monuments, Westminster Abbey.

In 1382 Richard married Anne of Bohemia, sister of Wenceslaus, king of the Romans, who exerted herself to calm the animosities and jealousies which reigned in his court, and thus earned the title of the "good Queen Anne." She died in 1394, much lamented, and her husband at once forsook their favourite residence of Shene (now Richmond). Two years after he passed

over to Calais, and there married Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. of France, a child of eight years of age†, and thus put an end to the war which had now (with a few intervals of ill-observed truce) for more than fifty years existed between the two nations. He left no issue.

Richard bore in the early part of his reign the arms of England quar-



Arms of Richard II.



\* This view of the matter was suggested by Mr. Tytler, in his History of Scotland. Several eminent writers have dissented from it, but some of them were not aware of documents existing in the English Record Office, which seem to establish Richard's escape from Pomfret; others allege that one Thomas Ward (whose name, however, does not occur in contemporary writers) was employed to personate Richard, in order to embarrass the government of Henry.

† After his deposition she returned to France, and though declared free from all matrimonial ties, on account of her youth, she, according to the French chronicles, manifested much affection for Richard. She resolutely refused to acknowledge Henry of Lancaster as king, attempted more than once to land in England, or to join Richard in Scotland, and apparently only married Charles, duke of Orleans (June 29, 1406) when deceived by a false account of his death. She died Sept. 13, 1409.

tered with those of France, but afterwards he impaled these with the bearings ascribed to Edward the Confessor.

Various badges and devices are attributed to him; as the sun behind a cloud, the sun in splendour, the white hart couchant (inherited from



Badges of Richard II.

his mother, Joan of Kent), the stump of a tree, and a white falcon; but this latter probably belongs to his queen Isabella.

The character of Richard was evidently weak rather than wicked. He was doubtless luxurious and extravagant, and he listened too readily to the evil counsels of his half-brother, the earl of Huntingdon, and others, which cost the lives of his turbulent uncle Gloucester, and the earl of Arundel<sup>g</sup>; but towards many who were equally his enemies he was far from acting with rigour<sup>h</sup>; and that his conduct in private life was amiable may be justly inferred from the devoted affection with which he was regarded by both his consorts, and his personal attendants<sup>i</sup>.

A.D. 1377.

Richard, grandson of Edward III., succeeds to the throne, June 22<sup>k</sup>. He is crowned at Westminster, July 16.

The French ravage the Isle of Wight, attack Southampton without success, and burn Hastings and Rye<sup>l</sup>, July, August.

A parliament meets, October 13. The duke of Lancaster openly defies any who may accuse him of treasonable intentions; a council of nine persons is chosen to conduct the government<sup>m</sup>; funds to support the war against France are placed in the hands of John Philpot and William Walworth, citizens of London; and Alice Perrers (the favourite of the late king) is banished.

<sup>g</sup> Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, was the son of Richard, the grandson of the earl executed in the time of Edward II., and Eleanor, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster. He succeeded his father as earl in 1375, and like other nobles of the



Arms of earl of Arundel.

period served in France and Scotland, but he was chiefly remarkable for his valour and conduct at sea. He was for several years admiral and captain-general of the east, south, and west, gained several naval victories, and also captured Brest. The duke of Ireland attempted to depreciate his services, which induced him to join the duke of Gloucester in seizing the reins of government; he became thus personally obnoxious to the king, was

deprived of his office, when the latter freed himself from restraint, and was afterwards involved in Gloucester's fall, being seized, tried, and beheaded, in Sept. 1397. His estates were shared among the royal favourites, (two of them were his sons-in-law,) and his son fled to the continent, but returning with Henry of Lancaster, was restored in blood in the first parliament of Henry IV. The earl was buried in the church of the Augustin Friars in London, and being a popular favourite, reports were spread of miracles wrought at his tomb.

<sup>h</sup> Henry of Lancaster, Archbishop Arundel, and the earl of Warwick may be named; it cannot be doubted that they were ready to take his life, yet he spared theirs.

<sup>i</sup> Several of these latter adhered to him in every change of fortune, and cheerfully suffered death in his cause.

<sup>k</sup> His regnal years are computed from this day.

<sup>l</sup> They also attacked Winchelsea, but were beaten off. Later in the year the men of these two towns landed in Normandy, ravaged several places, and recovered the church bells of Rye.

<sup>m</sup> These were, the bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury (William Courtenay, Thomas Appleby, and Ralph Erghum), the earls of March and of Stafford, Sir Richard Stafford, Sir Henry Scrope, Sir John Devereux, and Sir Hugh Seegrave.



A.D. 1378.

John Philpot captures Mercer, a Scottish sea-rover.

John of Gaunt makes a fruitless attempt on St. Malo.

Cherbourg is ceded to the English by the king of Navarre (Charles the Bad).

A parliament held at Gloucester, in October. Urban VI. recognised as pope; persons adhering to his rival (Clement VII.) to lose the king's protection, and forfeit their goods [2 Rich. II. c. 7].

Roxburgh burnt, and Berwick captured by surprise by the Scots, in November. Berwick is soon retaken by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland.

A.D. 1379.

De Montfort recovers the greater part of Brittany.

Heavy duties are granted on wool, woollens, and leather, to support the garrisons in France, and a capitation-tax, ranging from £6 13s. 4d. to 4d. per head, imposed<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1380.

The earl of Buckingham marches from Calais to Brittany to assist De Montfort, but is coldly received.

The south coast from Portsmouth to Romney is ravaged by a fleet of French galleys, August; they also burn Gravesend in September.

Charles V. of France dies, Sept. 16. He is succeeded by his son Charles VI.

John of Gaunt invades Scotland, but agrees to a truce at Berwick, Nov. 1.

The parliament meets at Northampton, Nov. 5, and grants a poll-tax of twelve-pence on every person above fifteen years of age<sup>o</sup>.

Aliens forbidden to hold benefices [3 Rich. II. c. 3].

A.D. 1381.

The duke of Brittany makes a treaty with France, Jan. 15, and dismisses his English allies.

The poll-tax which had been recently granted by the parliament, mainly for the expenses of this fruitless expedition, was most unjust in itself, as demanding a like sum from those with small as from those with more ample means; for the provision that "the richer should aid the poorer sort" was little regarded. The collection proceeded but slowly, and the soldiers who had returned from Brittany being clamorous for their pay, the ministers borrowed a large sum from foreign merchants, assigning the tax to them, and allowing them to appoint their own collectors. The greediness and insolence of these men was soon found intolerable; and thus was brought to a head the discontent with which the mass of the people in the south and east of England had long regarded their condition; for the rustics were oppressed by the landlords, and the poor townsmen by the guilds. The collectors would seem to have been first openly opposed in Essex, and when Sir Robert Belknap, a judge, was sent to punish the rioters, he was obliged to flee for his life. The news spread from shire to shire, and a tax-collector was killed at Dartford by a workman, called Wat the tyler. Soon, according to documents in the Public Record Office, "a cry was raised that no tenant should do service or custom to the lords as they had aforetime done<sup>p</sup>," and bands were formed, of

<sup>a</sup> The scale of duties for this tax is curious, and if fairly apportioned shews the high station of judges, magistrates, and lawyers of that period. Dukes paid £6 13s. 4d., chief justices, £5; earls, and the mayor of London, £4; barons, wealthy knights, aldermen of London, mayors of great towns, sergeants and great apprentices of the law, £2; mayors of lesser towns, great merchants, and knights of St. John of Jerusalem, £1. "Sufficient" merchants paid 13s. 4d.; farmers or lessees, the same, or more, according to the value of their holdings; burgesses, husbandmen and others, from 12s. 4d. downward to 1s.; labourers, 4d. for a man and his wife, and the like sum for each unmarried person above the age of sixteen.

<sup>o</sup> This new tax fell three times as heavily on the lower orders as the capitation-tax of the former

year. The principle of the latter is the same as that of the income-tax of the present day.

<sup>p</sup> Even before this time efforts had been made, but in a less violent manner, to shake off the yoke of the nobles; confederacies of villeins for the purpose of withstanding their lords are spoken of, and prohibited, by statute in 1377 [1 Rich. II. c. 6], but there was no objection to their bargaining for their freedom, which many of them did; and if a villein fled to a town, and remained there unclaimed by his lord for a year and a day, he became free; though, such was the exclusive spirit of the guilds of craftsmen, that he could not hope to rise above the condition of a mere labourer. Sir Simon Burley, a knight of the court, claimed a villein who had taken refuge at Gravesend, and lodged him in Rochester castle, shortly before the

town workmen in some cases, and of rustics in others, who under leaders bearing the assumed names of Wat Tyler or Jack Straw, committed great ravages. In Kent, for instance, they broke open the gaols, seized the sheriff (William de Septvanz) and obliged him to give up his taxation rolls, which were forthwith burnt, and took summary vengeance on various obnoxious individuals; some were murdered, whilst others had their houses plundered, or were driven from their lands, or were put to ransom. Similar, or greater outrages were perpetrated in many other places, and the determination was taken to proceed to London, and demand from the king, not merely the abolition of the unjust tax, but charters that should free the rural population from the more grievous oppressions of their lords. From pardons subsequently granted, we see that these commotions extended from Cornwall all along the south and east of England into Yorkshire, and we see also that they had a far more adequate cause, as well as a much longer duration, than is usually ascribed to them.

In Suffolk and Norfolk the insurgents were led by one John Litster (or the Dyer), and committed great excesses, murdering, among others, Sir John Cavendish, the chief justice, and John of Cambridge, the prior of Bury; but they were put down by Henry Spenser<sup>9</sup>, who is known in history by the unseemly title of "the warlike bishop of Norwich."

The Essex men reached the neighbourhood of London, had the desired charters granted to them, and apparently returned home satisfied, without doing any great amount of mischief.

Not so those of Kent, in whose ranks were many beside mere rustic labourers<sup>7</sup>. They rendezvoused on Blackheath, June 12, entered London on the following day, burnt the palace of the duke of Lancaster<sup>8</sup>, and other edifices, and butchered many foreigners. The next day they seized the Tower, murdered the archbishop of Canterbury (Simon of Sudbury) and the king's treasurer (Sir Robert Hales<sup>10</sup>), and prepared for further excesses. On the 15th they had a conference with the king in Smithfield, when their leader Wat was killed by William Walworth, then mayor of London. The young king, however, had the address to lead them out of the city, on a promise of granting them full charters of freedom, as he had done the day before at Mile-end to the people of Essex, but whilst they were engaged in this matter they were suddenly confronted by a body of well-armed men, raised hastily among the citizens, under Sir Robert Knollys, a renowned commander, when they dispersed with precipitation.

The immediate danger thus removed, the royal councillors at once set about recalling the concessions that had been made and punishing the insurgents. The military tenants of the crown were ordered to assemble on Blackheath on June 30; and on that day the king issued a proclamation from Havering-atte-Bower, ordering that all tenants, whether free or bond, should render all accustomed services as heretofore; and on July 2 he formally annulled the charters of freedom<sup>11</sup>. Commissions for the trial of offenders were next issued (July 10), and under them Tresilian and other judges, supported by a strong force, made circuits, in

outbreak at Dartford. The Kentish insurgents set the man free, and also released from prison John Ball, one of the friars preachers, who was confined at Maidstone on a charge of sedition, and who is said to have devised a couplet asserting the original equality of man,—

"When Adam delyed and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman?"

which they understood as an incitement to the murder of all the higher orders.

<sup>9</sup> He was the grandson of the favourite of Edward II. He held the see of Norwich from 1370 till his death, Aug. 23, 1406.

<sup>10</sup> Bertram de Wilmyngtone, "*armiger*," is mentioned as the leader of a party that remained in arms at least up to July 1. In indictments subsequently found against them, we find the chaplain

of one church, the sacristan of another, and the clerk of a third charged with heading mobs that sacked stewards' houses and burnt court-rolls; carpenters, sawyers, masons and tylers; tailors and weavers; a baker, a buckler-player, a cobbler, a cook, a Glover, a piper, and several serving-men, were in their ranks; also some small farmers, who had been forced to join them by threats, and were in consequence acquitted.

<sup>11</sup> The duke was absent in Scotland, where he negotiated a truce till Candlemas-day (Feb. 2), 1384; his son, afterwards Henry IV., was saved from the mob by one John Ferrour.

<sup>12</sup> He was also the prior of the Knights of St. John.

<sup>13</sup> This revocation was sanctioned by the parliament, which met in November [5 Rich. II. c. 6].

which it would appear that as many as 1,500 persons were executed\*. All idea of resistance, however, was not immediately abandoned. From proceedings in the courts at London in the years 1381 to 1383 it appears that an attempt was made in July, 1381, to raise a force to hold Canterbury against the approaching royal troops; and this failing, one Stephen Hardyng and others rose in arms at Linton, in Kent, in the following September, for the purpose of forcing the king to confirm anew the revoked charters of freedom. They were betrayed by a confederate, apprehended, and executed. One remarkable document connected with these trials is, the confession of one John Cote, who, when questioned in the Tower, "acknowledged that certain strangers from the north country had come to Canterbury, who related that the duke of Lancaster had set all his 'natives' [slaves by birth of the lord of the manor] free in the different counties of England; on which Hardyng and the rest wished to send messengers to the duke to ascertain if this were true, and if it were so, to make him king of England. Their apprehension seems to have prevented their taking any steps to further this design, but the pardon granted to the accuser, when his life was forfeited by the law, looks suspiciously like a desire to bury the matter in oblivion<sup>†</sup>."

Unlicensed preachers (Lollards) ordered to be arrested and held in strong prison, "until they will justify themselves according to the law and reason of Holy Church," [5 Rich. II. st. 2, c. 5.]

A.D. 1382.

The war continued with France; the French are successful in Flanders.

Pardon granted to the late insurgents, with certain exceptions [6 Rich. II. c. 13].

A great earthquake in England, May 21.

A.D. 1383.

The bishop of Norwich (Henry Spenser) makes an expedition into Flanders, May to October. He is unsuccessful, and on his return is censured in parliament.

A.D. 1384.

A truce concluded with France, Jan. 26<sup>th</sup>; also with Scotland shortly after.

A parliament meets at Salisbury, April 25, when John Latimer, an Irish friar, accuses the duke of Lancaster of treasonable designs. A day is appointed for a public hearing, and the friar is meanwhile given into the charge of Sir John Holland<sup>‡</sup>, but he is shortly after found dead in his chamber.

John of Northampton<sup>§</sup>, a vehement

\* Among them was John Ball, the friar; he was hanged at St. Alban's, July 15.

† See "Archæologia Cantiana," vols. iii. and iv., where the documents are printed.

‡ It was at first only to last till the following Michaelmas, but was afterwards extended to May 1, 1385.

§ He was half-brother to the king, and was created earl of Huntingdon. He had a principal share in the death of the duke of Gloucester, after which he was made duke of Exeter. He attempted to restore Richard, and was in consequence beheaded early in the reign of Henry IV.

¶ He had lately held the office of mayor of London, the citizens of which in general were violently hostile to the king, partly from his exactions, but more from the prevalence among them of certain opinions of the Lollards, which were incompatible with due respect for the kingly office. The duke of Lancaster and his son affected, from political motives, to favour their views, while Richard led a gay extravagant life, surrounded by idle courtiers and greedy favourites, who considered all sober-minded people as disaffected; hence the mutual dislike and distrust of the parties was as great as it was in later days between the Cavaliers and the Puritans.

A distinguished member of what would now be called the Liberal party was Geoffrey Chaucer,



Arms of John of Northampton.

justly styled the father of English poetry. He was born, probably in London, in 1328, was first a page in the court of Edward III. and afterwards employed in embassies abroad, where he made himself familiar with the literature of France and Italy. He became connected by marriage with John of Gaunt, inflamed by his writings the ill feeling of his party against the court and clergy.

partisan of the duke, is tried, and sentenced to imprisonment and forfeiture. An attempt is also made to put the duke on his trial, but he retires to the castle of Pontefract, when a war is averted by the mediation of the king's mother, and the duke returns to the court.

Aliens rendered incapable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment<sup>b</sup>, [7 Rich. II. c. 12].

A.D. 1385.

The French send aid to the Scots, who invade England. The king advances against them, takes and burns Edinburgh, and ravages the country.

The French also prepare to invade England, but their fleet being detained at Sluys by contrary winds the attempt is postponed to the next year.

Roger, earl of March, is declared by the king presumptive heir to the throne<sup>c</sup>.

The duke of Lancaster forms an alliance with the king of Portugal, (John I.) in order to obtain possession of the crown of Castile.

A.D. 1386.

The French invasion is again postponed.

The duke of Lancaster lends his army to Spain; lands at the Groyne, Aug. 9.

The parliament meets Oct. 1, when the earl of Suffolk is impeached by the House of Commons, deprived of his recent acquisitions, and committed to the custody of the duke of Gloucester<sup>d</sup>.

A council of regency of eleven persons formed<sup>e</sup>, the duke of Gloucester being at their head, by which the king is deprived of all power<sup>f</sup>.

A.D. 1387.

The king holds conferences with the duke of Ireland, Sir Simon Burley, and others, to devise means for overthrowing the regency.

A quarrel arises among the leaders of the French expedition, which causes the design to be laid aside.

The earl of Arundel captures a large Flemish fleet, near Sluys, March 24.

in consequence forfeited some royal grants which he had received, and was at length obliged to withdraw to the continent, where he remained in poverty for several years. At length he returned to England, but was seized and imprisoned, and is charged, it is to be hoped untrue, with purchasing his liberty by betraying his confederates. On the duke of Lancaster regaining the royal favour, Chaucer shared his good fortune, and lived to see the son of his patron seize the throne. He died about a year after, leaving a number of works, both in poetry and prose, of which the *Canterbury Tales* have still a well-merited popularity.

An almost equally eminent poet of the same era was John Gower, who also was a courtier, and has left numerous works in English, French, and Latin, on a great variety of subjects. He was born about 1320, and died in 1402, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, where his tomb still remains. He has been supposed, but seemingly without sufficient authority, to have been of the same stock as the present duke of Sutherland.

<sup>b</sup> Several other statutes to the same effect were passed in this and the two following reigns, but they were seldom enforced.

<sup>c</sup> He was the son of Edmund earl of March, and Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence. John of Gaunt, against whom this measure was considered as directed, endeavoured to prevent the recognition of Roger by asserting that his own son was the true heir, as the representative of Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, who, according to him, was the elder brother of Edward I., but set aside on account of deformity. This claim "by right line of the blood" was then rejected, but it was successfully urged, though probably not believed, by Henry a few years later, to give a colour to his usurpation.

<sup>d</sup> Suffolk was accused of obtaining extravagant grants from the king, of committing various frauds on the revenue, and of taking bribes in the execution of his office. As instances, it was stated that

he had fraudulently received for himself an annuity out of the customs of Hull, which had belonged to a merchant of Flanders, and had been forfeited, and that he had also extorted a bond for £100 a-year for himself and his son John before he would give possession of the mastership of an hospital



Arms of De la Pole, earl of Suffolk.

in the king's gift. He escaped from custody, and fled to France, where he died.

<sup>e</sup> The king was obliged to grant his patent for this, dated Nov. 10, 1386. The members were, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (William Courtenay and Alexander Nevill), the bishops of Winchester and Exeter (William of Wykeham and Thomas Brentingham), and the abbot of Waltham; the dukes of Gloucester and York, the earl of Arundel, Lord Scrope, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Devereux; but the ecclesiastics were merely named for form's sake, being friends to the king.

<sup>f</sup> The duke of Ireland, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Chichester (Thomas Rushook), Sir Simon Burley (formerly the king's tutor, but now keeper of Dover castle), and Sir Nicholas Brembre (late mayor of London), who had been active in procuring the condemnation of John of Northampton (see A.D. 1384), and a few personal attendants, alone adhered to the king.

The duke of Lancaster is obliged to retire to Gascony, having lost nearly his whole army, mainly by sickness.

The king obtains an opinion from the judges (Tresilian, Belknap, Holt, Fulthorp, and Burgh,) at Nottingham, Aug. 25, that the commission of regency is illegal, and all who act under it traitors.

He returns to London in November, when the duke of Gloucester and his partisans, called "the appellants," take up arms, and accuse the king's councillors of treason; they seize the Tower, and imprison or banish all their opponents.

The duke of Ireland escapes, and raises a force in Cheshire, but is defeated and put to flight at Radcot Bridge, in Oxfordshire, Dec. 20.

The king issues a commission to seize the books of John Wickliffe and others described as heretics.

A.D. 1388.

A parliament (called "the Wonder-working Parliament") meets, Feb. 3, when articles of treason are exhibited against the king's favourites<sup>g</sup>. They do not appear, but are condemned as traitors, Feb. 13<sup>h</sup>.

Several of the judges who had condemned the council of regency are sentenced to death, but imprisonment for life in Ireland is substituted, Feb. 13. Lord Beauchamp of Holt, Sir Simon Burley and three other knights are executed, May 5 and 12.

The Scots under the earl of Douglas besiege Newcastle; they are driven off by Henry Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland. Percy pursues them to Otterburn, near Wooler, where a battle is fought, Aug. 10, in which

Douglas is killed, and Percy taken prisoner<sup>i</sup>.

The duke of Lancaster marries his daughter Catherine to Henry, son of the king of Castile, and thus closes his Spanish wars.

A.D. 1389.

A truce concluded with France, to last till Aug. 16, 1392.

The king takes the government into his own hands, May 3<sup>k</sup>. The duke of Lancaster returns to England shortly after, and effects a seeming reconciliation between the king and the duke of Gloucester.

A.D. 1390.

The duchy of Aquitaine granted to the duke of Lancaster for his life.

Robert II. of Scotland dies April 19. His son John succeeds, and takes the title of Robert III.<sup>l</sup>

The jurisdiction of the constable, marshal, and admiral defined by statute [13 Rich. II., c. 2, 5].

Uniformity of weights and measures established by statute, except in Lancashire, "where they have by custom larger measure than elsewhere," [13 Rich. II., c. 9].

A.D. 1391.

The king's prerogatives acknowledged by parliament not to have been affected by the late changes, Dec. 2<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 1392.

A truce with France is arranged, to last till Michaelmas, 1393.

The charters of the Londoners are forfeited, owing to tumults in the city, but are restored after a time<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> The appellants were the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and Nottingham the Earl Marshal.

<sup>h</sup> Sir Robert Tresilian and Sir Nicholas Brembre were captured and executed, Feb. 19 and 20; as were Uske and Blake, who had acted under Brembre in the city, March 4. The archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester were banished, the first to Flanders, where he died in May, 1392, the other to Ireland, where he received the bishopric of Kilmore from the pope; De Vere and De la Pole had already escaped to the continent, and they died there.

<sup>i</sup> The famous ballad of Chevy Chase is founded on this battle, but full poetic licence is taken with regard to the incidents of the struggle.

<sup>k</sup> William of Wykeham again became chancellor, but finally resigned the office Sept. 21, 1391.

<sup>l</sup> Robert III. was a cripple, and he committed the charge of the realm to his brother Robert, duke of Albany, who abused his trust.

<sup>m</sup> This declaration appears on the Parliament Roll, in the usual form of a prayer of the prelates, lords temporal, and commons, to which the king, thinking their request "honest and reasonable," fully agrees and assents.

<sup>n</sup> The king wished to borrow money of them, but they positively refused, and even murdered an Italian merchant who would have lent it to him. In consequence the mayor and sheriffs were imprisoned, and a warden of the city appointed, and the courts of law were transferred to Nottingham and York. The citizens after a while paid a heavy sum as a fine, and they then obtained a pardon, Feb. 28, 1393.

A.D. 1393.

Severe penalties denounced on persons endeavouring to evade the statutes against papal provisions<sup>o</sup>, [16 Rich. II., c. 5].

A.D. 1394.

A four years' truce concluded with France, May 27.

The king goes to Ireland in October. He is favourably received there, and holds a parliament.

A.D. 1395.

The Lollards present a remonstrance to the parliament, complaining of the power and wealth of the clergy. They find many favourers, in consequence of which the archbishop of York (Thomas Arundel) and the bishop of London (Robert Braybrooke) are dispatched to the king in Ireland to crave his protection, and to exhort him to return. He returns in July.

The sovereignty of the Isle of Man is purchased from the earl of Salisbury by Sir William Scrope.

A.D. 1396.

The king marries Isabella, the daughter of the king of France, at Calais, Oct. 31, and a truce for twenty-five years is concluded<sup>p</sup>.

The duke of Gloucester engages in plots to recover his lost ascendancy.

A.D. 1397.

The dismissed garrisons of Cherbourg and Brest return in great poverty and discontent.

The judges Belknap, Holt, and Burgh, are allowed to return from Ireland<sup>q</sup>, [20 Rich. II., c. 6].

The duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel (Richard Fitz-Alan) and Warwick (Thomas Beauchamp) are seized by the king's command<sup>r</sup>, and a parliament summoned for their trial.

The parliament meets, Sept. 17.

The charges against Gloucester and his associates were preferred (as appears by the Parliamentary Roll) by Edward earl of Rutland, Thomas earl of Kent, John earl of Huntingdon, Thomas earl of Nottingham, John earl of Somerset, John earl of Salisbury, Thomas lord Despenser, and William Scrope, the king's chamberlain. William Rikhill, one of the judges, who had been sent to visit Gloucester at Calais, brought back with him a very full confession of the duke's misdeeds, made by him Sept. 8. In it he acknowledges that he has in many ways acted unlawfully, but solemnly affirms that it was "never in his intent, or will, or thought," to harm the king's person, and prays for mercy in most urgent terms: "Therefore I beseech my liege and sovereign lord the king, that he will of his high grace and benignity accept me to his mercy and his grace, as that I put my life, my body, and my goods wholly at his will, as lowly and meekly as any creature can do or may do to his liege lord; beseeching his high lordship that he will, for the passion that God suffered for all mankind, and for the compassion that He had of His mother on the cross, and the pity that He had of Mary Maudeleyne, vouchsafe to have compassion and pity, and accept me to his mercy and his grace, as he hath ever been full of mercy and grace to all his lieges, and to all others, that have not been so nigh unto him as I have been, though I be unworthy."

The commission of regency<sup>s</sup> is declared illegal, and all pardons granted to those who had acted under it cancelled [21 Rich. II. c. 12]. The archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Arundel, brother of the earl, and chancellor), is banished<sup>t</sup>; the earl of Arundel be-

<sup>o</sup> The writ in execution of process under this statute commences with the word "*Premunire*," (probably for *praemonere*), whence that term came to designate the offence of upholding a foreign power against the crown; it was afterwards also applied to offences of very different kinds by which like penalties were incurred.

<sup>p</sup> In consequence, Brest was given up to the duke of Brittany, as Cherbourg had been while the treaty was being negotiated, which, added to a suspicion that Calais and the Channel Isles were to be surrendered to the French, rendered the king more unpopular than before, and encouraged his uncle Gloucester to form anew traitorous designs.

<sup>q</sup> See A.D. 1388.

<sup>r</sup> The king went in person to arrest the duke who was seized at his castle of Pleshy, in Essex, about the end of July (two orders exist for his apprehension, dated July 13 and 28), and shipped off to Calais. Arundel was confined at Carisbrooke and Warwick at Tintagel until the meeting of parliament.

<sup>s</sup> See A.D. 1386. By a subsequent statute, attempting to procure the reversal of the acts of this parliament was declared to be treason [21 Rich. II. c. 10].

<sup>t</sup> The pope appointed Roger Walden, dean of York, to the see, but he was displaced in 1399 on the return of Arundel.

headed, Sept. 21; the earl of Warwick condemned, but (on account of a confession made, and at the intercession of the earl of Salisbury) his life spared<sup>a</sup>; the duke of Gloucester having in the meantime come to an untimely end at Calais<sup>b</sup>.

The king confers higher titles on the chief actors in the late changes<sup>c</sup>.

The county of Chester erected into a principality, with the addition of several adjoining districts in Shropshire and Wales [21 Rich. II. c. 9<sup>d</sup>].

A.D. 1398.

The parliament meets at Shrewsbury, Jan. 27. All the acts of the parliament in 1388 are reversed, and many of the surviving actors in it are condemned to imprisonment and forfeiture<sup>e</sup>. Liberal supplies are granted to the king, who henceforth rules as an absolute monarch.

By desire of the parliament, a bull is procured from the pope (Boniface IX.) confirming its acts, and declaring them not subject to reversal by any future assembly.

The duke of Hereford accuses the duke of Norfolk of slandering the king, by imputing to him a design to murder several of his nobles. The charge is denied, and a single combat ordered

between the parties at Coventry, Sept. 16.

The two dukes appear at the appointed time and place<sup>a</sup>, when the king forbids the combat, and banishes the duke of Hereford for ten years and the duke of Norfolk for life<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1399.

The duke of Lancaster dies, Feb. 4. His estates are seized by the crown, March 18<sup>c</sup>.

The king sails from Milford Haven for Ireland, in May<sup>d</sup>.

The young duke of Lancaster, invited by his friends, sails from Brittany, near the end of June, and lands at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, July 4, ostensibly to claim his estates. He is joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and other barons, and marches towards the west of England.

The duke of York, regent of the kingdom, holds a conference with Lancaster at Berkeley, July 27, and joins his party.

The duke of Lancaster captures Bristol, and puts to death the earl of Wiltshire.

The king lands in Wales<sup>e</sup>, but finding himself deserted by his troops, retires to Conway. He there agrees to

<sup>a</sup> He was imprisoned in the Isle of Man for a time, and then brought to the Tower, where he remained until the landing of Henry, duke of Lancaster. His place of confinement there was the well-known Beauchamp Tower.

<sup>b</sup> According to the confession of one John Hall, who was executed shortly after the accession of Henry IV., the duke was removed from the castle at Calais, soon after the judge had left, and was carried to a house in the town, where he was smothered. This appears to have been done on his own responsibility by the earl marshal, (Thomas Mowbray earl of Nottingham,) who, when called on to produce his prisoner before the parliament, simply replied, that being in the king's prison at Calais, he had died there.

<sup>c</sup> The earls of Derby, Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon and Nottingham were created dukes of Hereford, Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Norfolk; the earl of Somerset was made marquis of Dorset; and the lords Despenser, Nevill, Thomas Percy and William Scrope, earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester and Wiltshire.

<sup>d</sup> Many of these districts had belonged to the earl of Arundel. The statute was repealed by 1 Hen. IV. c. 3.

<sup>e</sup> For the less prominent parties a general pardon was proclaimed with the ordinary condition that a special pardon should be sued out by each individual before June 24. Vast sums were raised by the king's favourites, from some who had exceeded the term of grace, but others refused the offer, and prepared for another struggle.

<sup>a</sup> Hereford's pavilion was "covered with red roses," a French writer of the time tells us; which accounts for the red rose of Lancaster of after times.

<sup>b</sup> They both had licence to go beyond sea, Oct. 3, 1398. Hereford went to France, where he had an allowance from the king of £2000. Norfolk, who had an allowance of 1000 marks, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died at Venice on his return, Sept. 22, 1399.

<sup>c</sup> Letters patent had been granted to both the dukes prior to their departure, empowering them to constitute attorneys to receive any estates that might fall to them during their exile, but these were now, as far as regarded the duke of Hereford, declared null and void, he being charged with slandering the king at Paris, and consorting with the king's enemies, which was certainly true.

<sup>d</sup> The occasion of his going was to redress the disorders which followed on the death of the lord lieutenant, Roger Mortimer earl of March, who had fallen in a skirmish with the natives at Kenlys in Ossory, July 20, 1398.

<sup>e</sup> He is usually said to have landed at Pembroke, August 13, but a contemporary asserts that he landed near Beaumaris, about July 25, and that his troops, except a small guard of Cheshire men, were induced to leave him by the treacherous proceeding of his seneschal (Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester). When they were gone, the king wandered about with his few attendants, from castle to castle, lodging but a single night in each.

a conference with the duke of Lancaster, at Flint, but is made prisoner on the road, Aug. 18, and brought by the duke to London, where he arrives Sept. 1.

Archbishop Arundel returns, and resumes his post as chancellor<sup>f</sup>.

The duke of Lancaster avows his design of seizing the crown. The duke of York seconds him, and a parliament is summoned by them in the king's name, to meet at Westminster, Sept. 30.

The king, a prisoner in the Tower,

is obliged to subscribe a deed of renunciation of the crown, Sept. 29.

The parliament assembles, Sept. 30, when thirty-five articles of accusation are exhibited against the king. He is declared deposed, Thomas Merks, bishop of Carlisle, alone venturing to speak in his favour<sup>g</sup>.

The duke of Lancaster claims the crown "by right line of the blood<sup>h</sup>," and is declared king, being placed in the throne by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, (Thomas Arundel and Richard Scrope,) Sept. 30.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
The great Schism of the West commences . . . . .	1378	The Christians defeated by Bajazet at Nicopolis . . . . .	1396
League of the German free cities to preserve their privileges . .	1381	The Union of Calmar, between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway . . . . .	1397
The Swiss gain the great victory of Sempach . . . . .	1386		

<sup>f</sup> He systematically ignored all the measures, ecclesiastical or civil, taken against him, but the precise date of his return is unknown, except that it was before Aug. 23. Some time in September he was succeeded by John Scarle, the master of the rolls, but he again became chancellor in 1407, and also in 1412.

<sup>g</sup> Merks was one of Richard's chief friends, and was made prisoner with him at Flint, but soon released. He was now committed to the Tower, and deprived of his see, of which William Strickland obtained possession Nov. 15, 1399. In the June following Merks was placed in the custody of the abbot of Westminster, where he had formerly been a monk, and on Nov. 28 he received the king's pardon and was set at liberty. In consequence of his "notable poverty," he was allowed to receive from the pope, who had conferred on him the title

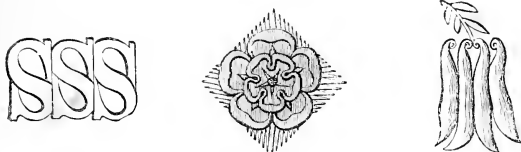
of a bishop *in partibus*, ecclesiastical benefices to the value of 200 marks, which the king increased to 300. The abbot of Westminster bestowed on him the rectory of Todenham, in Gloucestershire, in 1404, and he probably died there about the end of the year 1409.

<sup>h</sup> His claim appears thus on the Rolls of Parliament: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster challenge the realm of England, and the crown, with all the members and appurtenances, as that I am descended by right line of the blood from good King Henry the Third, and through that right that God of His grace hath sent me, with the help of kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone by default of governance, and undoing of the good laws."



# THE PLANTAGENETS.

## HOUSE OF LANCASTER.



Badges of the House of Lancaster.

THE Lancastrian princes, who were three in number, and ruled for above sixty years, being without hereditary right to the crown, possessed it only by virtue of a parliamentary settlement, setting aside a formal declaration of Richard II. in favour of Roger Mortimer, earl of March<sup>a</sup>, which had been assented to by the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in the face of a claim made in the name of his son by John of Gaunt<sup>b</sup>, and supported by the production of what were considered forged documents. When the unhappy king was a prisoner in his hands, Henry of Lancaster again brought his rejected claim forward; but not choosing to trust to it alone, he mixed it up with complaints of Richard's misgovernment, and even some mention of conquest, and was

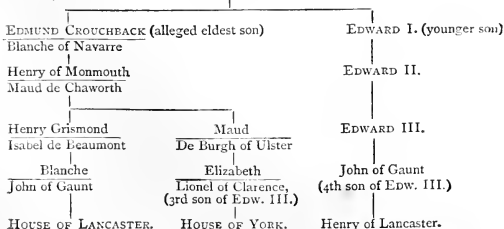
declared king on no intelligible principle, by his triumphant faction. Some years later he obtained a parliamentary recognition, [7 Hen. IV. c. 2,] in which the unquestionable right of the Mortimers is passed over in silence; and he transmitted the crown to his son, whose warlike achievements promised to give him a second kingdom in France; but these expectations were frustrated by his premature death.

Both these princes were able men, well fitted to preserve their acquisitions; their successor was of a totally different character, and his weakness proved the ruin of his House. His ambitious uncles struggled for power during his long minority, the result being that the French were enabled not only to recover their recently lost provinces, but also to regain others

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1385.

<sup>b</sup> The Lancastrian "claim by blood" is shewn in the annexed table.

### HENRY III.



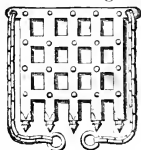
Henry IV

which had long been in the hands of the English; and the few that then remained were alienated on the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou. The grievous discontents thereby occasioned to a nation that had long looked on its sovereign as rightful lord of France, added to many personal slights that he received from the new queen, and her minister, Suffolk, induced Richard, duke of York, who had hitherto served the king as governor of Normandy, to bring forward his claim to the throne as the representative of the Mortimers. The duke was killed in the struggle; his place, however, was well supplied by his son Edward, and very shortly after the sceptre passed from the feeble descendant of John of Gaunt.

An illegitimate branch of the house of Lancaster, the Beauforts\*, rendered themselves conspicuous for courage and ability, and were firm supporters of the throne of their relatives. The

three brothers, Cardinal Beaufort, John duke of Somerset, and Thomas duke of Exeter, and their nephew Edmund duke of Somerset, held high offices in the state; and Margaret, the daughter of John duke of Somerset, was the mother of Henry earl of Richmond, the first of the Tudor kings.

Beside devices peculiar to each prince, and the well-known symbol of the red rose, the columbine and the collar of SS. belong to the House



The Portcullis.

of Lancaster. The portcullis, adopted by the Tudors, was a device of the Beauforts.

\* They were the descendants of John of Gaunt by his mistress Katherine Swinford, whom he afterwards married, but were legitimated by letters patent of Richard II., an act of parliament, and a papal decree. Richard's letters patent (Feb. 9,

1397) were confirmed by Henry IV., (Feb. 10, 1407,) but he of his own authority introduced a restrictive clause, "excepta dignitate regali," which now appears as an interlineation on the Patent Roll, (20 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 6.)



Great Seal of Henry IV.

## HENRY IV.

HENRY, the only son of John of Gaunt by Blanche, daughter of Henry Grismond, duke of Lancaster, was born at Bolingbroke, in Lincolnshire in 1366. As Sir Henry of Lancaster<sup>a</sup>, he was celebrated for his skill in martial exercises and his enterprising character. In 1390 he fought in Barbary against the Mohammedans, and in the next year in Lithuania against the pagan tribes on the shores of the Baltic; he also undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but proceeded no further than Rhodes. His bold, active character contrasted strongly with that of Richard II., and he was a popular favourite, though regarded with jealous dislike by the king. He shared in Gloucester's proceedings against De Vere and De la Pole, but afterwards joined his opponents, and was in consequence created duke of Hereford. A quarrel with the duke

of Norfolk soon followed ; each accused the other of expressing treasonable doubts of the king's intentions towards his nobles, and both were banished.

The duke of Hereford withdrew to France, with a promise that he should not be deprived of his inheritance in the event of his father's death ; but he allied himself with his former enemies, the fugitives of the duke of Gloucester's party, and thus induced the king to revoke the promise he had made. He returned to England, ostensibly to claim his inheritance, but being supported by powerful friends, and feebly opposed by the duke of York, the regent in the absence of the king in Ireland, he was enabled also to seize on the throne, and found a new royal house.

Henry was declared king, Sept. 30, 1399, and he held the sceptre for nearly fourteen years, amid all the

<sup>a</sup> He also bore what would now be styled the courtesy title of earl of Derby, derived from his grandfather, Henry Crismond.

difficulties and cruelties that usually attend a flagrant usurpation. His title was recognised by but few foreign states, and he had little success in war<sup>b</sup>; he was repelled with scorn when attempting to form a marriage for his son Henry, with the youthful queen of his predecessor, and personally insulted by her kindred, whilst pretended prophets styled him "Moldewarp, ac-

cursed of God's own mouth." Numerous plots were formed against his life, and most barbarously punished; his parliaments remonstrated vehemently on his bad government, and greatly increased their own privileges<sup>c</sup>, as he could not afford to quarrel with them, for his finances were throughout his reign in a deplorable condition. His great friends the Percies<sup>d</sup> aban-

<sup>b</sup> Among other promises made by Henry at his accession, had been one, that he would head an army against France, and lead it farther than his grandfather, Edward III., had ever done. He never even attempted to perform this promise, but in the year 1411 he sent a considerable body of troops, under the duke of Clarence, to assist the duke of Burgundy against his rival, the duke of Orleans; in the following year he joined the Orleans faction, but the parties then wisely effected a temporary agreement, in order to dispense with such dangerous aid.

<sup>c</sup> Beside procuring the removal of various obnoxious officers of the royal household, the Commons asserted their privileges with vigour, and succeeded in establishing their exclusive right of imposing taxes, and also of controlling the public expenditure.

<sup>d</sup> Henry, lord Percy of Alnwick, served in France and in Flanders in the wars of the latter part of the reign of Edward III. He was rewarded with the office of marshal, and, acting in that capacity at the coronation of Richard II., he was created earl of Northumberland. Being also warden of

together defeated the Scots at Homildon, in 1402, and captured the earl of Douglas, but either repenting of the part they had acted against Richard, or offended at the refusal of Henry to allow them to treat for the liberation of their kinsman, Sir Edmund Mortimer, from the hands of Glyndwr, they resolved to dethrone the usurper. It is probable, however, that meaner motives also actuated them. Henry's grants had been large, but he had left them to conduct the Scottish war on their own resources; and Henry Percy complains, in a letter dated June 26, 1403, remaining among the Privy Council Records, that "£20,000 and more" was owing to his father and himself on that account. The great difficulty of Henry's reign, as is abundantly evident from the same class of documents, was want of money; their claim was left unpaid, and they took up arms. Their enterprise, which had been concerted with Glyndwr, miscarried; young Percy was killed at Shrewsbury, but the earl obtained a pardon. He soon after joined Archbishop Scrope's rising, was in consequence obliged to flee to Scotland, and subsequently to Wales, and being after a while induced to return to England, was defeated and killed at Bramham-moor, near Leeds, Feb. 19, 1408. His body was quartered and the portions set up in London, Lincoln, Berwick, and Newcastle; but after a few months they were taken down by permission of Henry, and delivered to his friends for burial.

The earl's son, Henry, born in 1366, was, when quite young, associated with his father in the charge of the Scottish marches, and there his well-known appellation of Hotspur was acquired. In 1385 he was sent to succour Calais, and made many daring incursions into Picardy; afterwards served at sea, then killed the earl of Douglas at Otterburn, but was himself captured, through pursuing his advantage too far. He soon obtained his freedom, and in 1389 passed over to Calais, and thence into Brittany, being retained as the king's soldier at the rate of £100 per annum. He joined Henry, and received from him the wardenship of the east marches, the justiceship of North Wales, and the Isle of Anglesey, but afterwards fell in arms against him at Shrewsbury. His son Henry, after many years of exile in Scotland, was restored to his title and estates in 1414, and was killed fighting on the Lancastrian side at the first battle of St. Alban's, in 1455.

Thomas Percy, the younger brother of the earl, served in France under the Black Prince, and was seneschal of the Limousin. He was afterwards made admiral of the north sea, and captain of Calais. He was also admiral of the fleet that conveyed the earl of Buckingham's troops to Brittany in 1380. His fleet was dispersed by a storm, and his own ship disabled; while in that condition, it was attacked by a Spanish vessel of greatly superior force, but Sir Thomas captured his opponent by boarding, carried his prize into port, and sold it, with the money replaced the equipment which the troops he had on board had lost, and led them in gallant order to join the earl. He afterwards became steward of the household to Richard II., and was created earl of Worcester, but treacher-



Arms of Percy, earl of Northumberland.

the east marches, he was engaged in frequent hostilities with the Scots, and in 1378 captured Berwick, which he committed to the care of Sir Matthew Redman. Apprehending an attempt at his surprise, the earl directed Redman to admit no one without an order from himself; John of Gaunt passed that way, and was refused entry, of which he bitterly complained to the king; and when some time after a plot for seizing the place was discovered, he charged the earl with treason, and endeavoured to procure his condemnation; the accusation, however, was disbelieved, and Northumberland was employed in negotiating a treaty of peace with France. He was subsequently reconciled to John of Gaunt (who was his kinsman by marriage), and warmly espoused the cause of his son, Henry of Lancaster: he thus became an object of suspicion to Richard II., was summoned to court, and not appearing, his estates were forfeited; the king, however, went on his second expedition to Ireland without seizing them, and Henry landed, and became king, mainly by the aid of Northumberland, who received vast grants, such as the Isle of Man, the justiceship of Chester, and many castles in Wales, while the Isle of Anglesey was bestowed on his son Hotspur. They

doned him; the Welsh foiled his attacks in person, and the Irish very nearly threw off the English yoke; and he was for many years at variance with his eldest son, to whom he at-

tributed a desire to depose him. At length, worn out by repeated attacks of epilepsy, he died March 20, 1413, and was buried at Canterbury.

Henry was twice married: first, to



Henry IV.



Joan of Navarre.

From their Monument at Canterbury.

Mary de Bohun, youngest daughter and coheirress of Humphrey, earl of Hereford; and secondly, to Joan of Navarre (the widow of John V. duke of Brittany), who survived him till July 9, 1437. His issue, who were all by his first wife, (she died in 1394, at the age of 24,) were four sons and two daughters; viz.

1. HENRY, who succeeded him.

2. Thomas, born in 1389, was appointed lieutenant of Ireland in 1401, and created duke of Clarence in 1412. He served in France in that year, and also under his brother, and was killed at Baugé, in Anjou, March 22, 1421. He left no issue by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and relict of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, but his natural son, Sir John of Clarence, had a grant of several manors in Ireland from Henry VI., by patent dated July 11, 1427.

3. John, born in 1390, was appointed constable of England in 1403, and was created duke of Bedford in 1415. His talents upheld the English rule in France, and he died regent of that kingdom, at Rouen, Sept. 14, 1435. He married, first, Anne, sister of Philip, duke of Burgundy, and soon after her death, (which occurred Nov. 14, 1432.)

Jacquetta of Luxemburg, who afterwards became the wife of Sir Richard Woodville, and mother of Elizabeth, the queen of Edward IV., and died in 1472.

4. Humphrey, born in 1391, was created duke of Gloucester in 1414. He was protector of England during the minority of his nephew, Henry VI., but his policy was opposed by his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, and at last he was found dead in his bed, under suspicious circumstances, Feb. 1447. He married, but was afterwards divorced from, Jaqueline of Holland; his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Lord Cobham, was accused of witchcraft and treason, and after doing penance in London, was imprisoned, first at Calais, and afterwards in the Isle of Man, for the remainder of her life. He left a natural daughter, Antigone, who married Henry Grey, earl of Tankerville.

5. Blanche, born in 1392, was married when only ten years old to Louis, son of Rupert, King of the Romans, and died in childhood, May 22, 1409.

6. Philippa, born in 1393, married Eric XIII., of Denmark. She acted with wisdom and courage as regent of the kingdom while Eric made a pil-

ously forsook him on his return from Ireland, and received from Henry IV. the lieutenancy of Wales. He joined in the fatal enterprise of his brother and nephew, and being taken at Shrewsbury, was beheaded two days after.

\* The cardinal was the advocate of peace with France, whilst Gloucester aspired to complete its conquest. Henry Beaufort was the third son of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swinford. He en-

tered the Church, became dean of Wells, and when young was promoted to the see of Lincoln. He succeeded Wykeham as bishop of Winchester, and in later years was made cardinal and papal legate. He was esteemed a profound canonist, held the office of chancellor thrice, was employed on frequent embassies and made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He survived Gloucester but a short time, dying April 11, 1447.

grimage to the Holy Land, and defended Copenhagen from an attack of the Holsteiners, but failing in an attempt on Stralsund, their stronghold, she was brutally beaten by her savage husband, and died of grief in the monastery of Wadstena, in East Gothland, very shortly after, Jan. 5, 1430<sup>f</sup>.

Henry bore the same arms as his grandfather. Edward III., viz., ancient



Arms of Henry IV.

France and England quarterly. Supporters, a lion and antelope, also an antelope and swan, are ascribed to him, but on doubtful authority. Beside the collar of SS.<sup>g</sup> numerous badges and devices, as a genet, an eagle displayed, crescents, the fox's tail, panthers and eagles crowned, appear to have been employed by him.

It is impossible to form a favourable estimate of the character of Henry.

Great talents he no doubt had, but it seems equally certain that he had few virtues<sup>h</sup>. His persecution of the Lollards, whose dislike to Richard had been so serviceable to himself, proved him utterly devoid of care for any interests but his own; his seizure and imprisonment of the prince of Scotland, and his siding alternately with one and the other party in France, shewed him wanting in honourable feeling; his cruelty also was signally manifested in many instances; and perhaps the best that can with truth be said for him, is, that he probably was not guilty of the murder of his predecessor, as has been often charged on him.

A.D. 1399.

Henry of Lancaster is received as king by the parliament, Sept. 30<sup>i</sup>. He creates his eldest son prince of Wales, and appoints the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland<sup>k</sup> constable and marshal.

The parliament re-assembles at Westminster, Oct. 6, and sits till Nov. 19. Most of the transactions of the late king and his ministers since the year 1386 are set aside as illegal<sup>l</sup>; a general pardon is granted except to the

<sup>f</sup> Eric, who was half-witted, and had before been saved from expulsion only by the popularity of his queen, was soon after driven from his kingdom. He lived for a while as a pirate in Gothland, but ended his days in the monastery of Rugenvald, in Pomerania.

<sup>g</sup> His tomb at Canterbury is covered with this ornament, which is known to have been borne by him when a subject. It is presumed to stand for "Souveraigne," and to have been meant as an assertion of his claim to the throne.

<sup>h</sup> If credit could be given to the speech ascribed to Richard in confinement by a French chronicler, (published by the English Historical Society,) Henry was guilty of so many crimes, that even his own father wished him to be put to death, but the king spared him, against the advice of his counsellors.

<sup>i</sup> Archbishop Arundel preached a sermon on the occasion, taking for his text 1 Samuel ix. 17, "Behold the man whom I spake to thee of; this same shall reign over My people."

<sup>k</sup> Ralph, lord Neville, had been created earl of Westmoreland by Richard II., after the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and had received other favours; but he was the brother-in-law of Henry of Lancaster, and rendered him most essential service against his benefactor. He joined him on his landing, was appointed earl marshal, and governor of the Tower, and adhered to him against his old associates and kinsmen, the Percies; prevented the earl of Northumberland from joining his son, Hotspur; checked the incursions of the Scots; and, by gross treachery, got Archbishop

Scrope, the earl of Nottingham, and others of Richard's partisans, into his hands. He died Oct.



Arms of Neville, earl of Westmoreland.

21, 1425, and was buried at Staindrop, in the county of Durham, where a stately monument to his memory yet remains. He married, for his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, and by her he had a numerous family, of whom Richard became earl of Salisbury, and father of "king-making Warwick;" Cecilia married Richard, duke of York, father of Edward IV.; Eleanor married Henry, earl of Northumberland, killed at St. Alban's, in 1455; and Anne was the wife of Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, killed at Northampton in 1459. The earl was succeeded by his grandson, Ralph, who married a daughter of Hotspur.

<sup>l</sup> The attainder of the duke of Gloucester and his adherents was reversed, and most of the nobles

murderers of the duke of Gloucester<sup>m</sup>, special favour is promised to the Londoners for "their good and loyal behaviour;" and, (Oct. 27,) at the instance of Henry, "Richard, late king of England," is sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, "to be kept secretly in safe ward<sup>n</sup>."

The new king creates a number of Knights of the Bath, three of his sons being among them, Oct. 11<sup>o</sup>. He is crowned at Westminster, Oct. 13.

Roger Walden is declared an intruder, and Arundel replaced in formal possession of the see of Canterbury, Oct. 21<sup>p</sup>.

The Isle of Man, lately forfeited by Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, is granted to the earl of Northumberland<sup>q</sup>.

The young earl of March<sup>r</sup> and his sisters are imprisoned at Windsor<sup>s</sup>.

The kings of France and Scotland refuse to recognise Henry as king, alleging the truces to have expired with the deposition of Richard, and prepare for an invasion of England.

The threatened invasion never took place, but the subjects of both crowns carried on for years a course of depredations on the English coasts. In particular, Waleran of Luxemburg, count of St. Pol<sup>t</sup>, fitted out a strong

fleet, which kept the southern and eastern shores in constant alarm, whilst the Scots cruised in the northern seas, and the Bretons and Spaniards<sup>u</sup> ravaged the west. Henry's remonstrances being disregarded, for these freebooters were not to be controlled by their feeble sovereigns<sup>x</sup>, private individuals and towns in England fitted out ships, to retaliate on the enemy, and the narrow seas soon became one scene of piracy. The parliament at various times granted sums for the defence of the coasts, but these were generally understood to be misapplied by the king's officers, and the English trade was nearly destroyed. At length in 1406, a body of merchants came forward, who offered to undertake the guardianship of the seas for a term, if certain subsidies were paid into their hands, instead of to the exchequer. This was done, but the result was not favourable<sup>y</sup>.

A.D. 1400.

The earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Salisbury, Lord Despenser, and others league together to release King Richard, and murder Henry at a tournament at Oxford. The plot is revealed by the earl of Rutland<sup>z</sup>, Jan. 4.

(including King Richard's half-brother and nephew) who after the duke's condemnation had received higher titles, (see A.D. 1397) were reduced to their former ones; the commons indeed requested that they might be put to death. The earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Salisbury, and Lord Despenser, were in consequence imprisoned, but they were soon released.

<sup>m</sup> One of them, John Hall, was executed, and his head sent to Calais.

<sup>n</sup> This parliament was one of the most violent recorded in our annals. The nobles charged each other (and with good reason) with falsehood and disloyalty, and more than forty gauntlets were thrown on the floor, as pledges of combats, but it does not appear that they took place.

<sup>o</sup> This is presumed to be the date of the regular establishment of the order, although its distinguishing feature, the bath, had long been one of the ceremonies attendant on the admission of knights.

<sup>p</sup> Arundel whilst in exile had been declared archbishop of St. Andrew's by the pope, but he treated this, as well as his deprivation, as a nullity.

<sup>q</sup> This and other great gifts bestowed by the new-made king on his chief supporters occasioned the repeated remonstrances of the parliament, and statutes were passed to check the evil; thus it was enacted, that in any petition for grants of land, mention should be made of their value, [1 Hen. IV. c. 6,] and of what the petitioner had received before, [2 Hen. IV. c. 2,] but these restrictions were evidently disregarded, as we meet with another statute soon after against undue grants, [4 Hen. IV. c. 4]. The royal family was exempted from the operation of these statutes, [6 Hen. IV. c. 2]. Henry created his eldest son prince of Wales; of

his other sons, one was made lord lieutenant of Ireland, another constable of England, and all received large portions of the estates which confiscation had placed in his hands.

<sup>r</sup> He was the son of Roger Mortimer, killed in Ireland in 1398, and presumptive heir to the throne. His friends leagued with the Percies and Glyndwr in behalf of his right, but he made his submission, basely betrayed the counsels of his adherents, and lived a humble dependant on the Lancastrian princes, until the time of his death. He died of the plague in the castle of Trim, in Ireland, in 1424, holding at the time the office of lord-lieutenant. His sister Anne was the mother of Richard, duke of York.

<sup>s</sup> Their uncle, Sir Edmund Mortimer, retired to the marches of Wales, declining to acknowledge Henry as king.

<sup>t</sup> He had resided in England, both as a prisoner and as an ambassador, and had married Maud, the half-sister of King Richard.

<sup>u</sup> The Spaniards were the subjects of the king of Navarre (Charles III.), who was nearly related to the king of France.

<sup>x</sup> Charles VI. of France and Robert III. of Scotland were both mere puppets in the hands of their unprincipled relatives, the dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, and Albany.

<sup>y</sup> The merchants' admirals (Richard Clyderow and Nicholas Blackburne) were soon dismissed by the king, and replaced by his half-brother Thomas, earl of Dorset, who also held the incongruous office of lord chancellor.

<sup>z</sup> Son of Edmund, duke of York; he afterwards bore that title himself, and was killed at Agincourt.

Henry flees from Windsor, and raises an army of Londoners. The earls withdraw towards the west, but entering Cirencester (in the evening of Jan. 6), without their forces, they are assailed by the townsmen, some killed, others captured, and the rest put to flight<sup>a</sup>.

Henry proceeds as far as Oxford with his forces, when Sir Benet Shelley, and Sir Thomas Blount, (personal attendants of King Richard<sup>b</sup>), and about thirty others taken at Ciren-

cester, are executed<sup>c</sup>. Some others are sent to London for trial.

The displaced archbishop of Canterbury (Roger Walden), the bishop of Carlisle (Merks), the abbot of Westminster (William de Colchester), Feriby and Maudelyn (Richard's chaplains), Sir Bernard Brocas and Sir Thomas Shelley, are brought to trial in the Tower, (Feb. 4), and condemned. The lives of the prelates are spared<sup>d</sup>, but the rest are executed the same evening by torchlight.

## WALES.

Though the new king had thus crushed many of his enemies, his throne was by no means safe. While preparing to meet the French and the Scots, he learned that the Welsh had taken up arms, and commenced a desperate effort to throw off the English yoke, or at least to get rid of the tyranny of the lords marchers, whose rule appears to have been almost as intolerable as that of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. Their leader was Owen Glyndwr, a man whose abilities and enterprise have not been duly estimated<sup>e</sup>. The struggle was eventually unsuccessful, but the fact that it was protracted for full fifteen years is sufficient to shew that it was well maintained, and that its chances and changes of success and failure are deserving of more notice than they have hitherto received.

Glyndwr, who was born in 1364,

was, on his mother's side, the great-great-grandson of the last native prince (Llewelyn), and fifth in descent from Griffith ap Madoc, the last Welsh lord of Dinas Bran, from whom he inherited considerable estates in Merioneth and the adjoining districts<sup>f</sup>. As was then customary with the young gentry, he came to London, and joined one of the inns of court, became squire of the body to Richard II., was knighted by him in 1387, and was one of his attendants when seized at Flint Castle. He was allowed to retire to his country, but Lord Grey of Ruthin, one of the marchers, presuming on his favour as a zealous Lancastrian, seized some lands which Glyndwr had several years before gained from him by a lawsuit; Glyndwr's appeal to the parliament was disregarded, and Grey, instead of being obliged to make restitution, obtained a grant of other portions of his

<sup>a</sup> John Cosin, the constable of the town, was rewarded with a pension of 100 marks, and the townsmen received all the goods and chattels of the slain; even the women were gratified with a gift of six does and a hogshhead of wine. The earl of Kent was killed in the skirmish; the earl of Salisbury was beheaded there without trial, Jan. 7, as was Sir Ralph Lumley, Jan. 10; Despensers fled to Wales, but trying to leave the country, he was carried, after a desperate resistance, to Bristol, and beheaded there Jan. 10; the earl of Huntingdon escaped, but was seized a few days after at Prittlewell, in Essex, and being carried before the countess of Hereford, (mother-in-law to Henry and sister of the earl of Arundel and the archbishop,) was beheaded by her order, and in her presence, at Pleshy, Jan. 15 or 16. The heads of the slain were sent to London, and placed on the bridge.

<sup>b</sup> It is probable that Richard escaped at this time from Pomfret, but his friends were crushed before he could join them, and he had no resource but to flee to Scotland.

<sup>c</sup> The heads and quarters of eight of these, paraded, with twelve prisoners for trial, were sent to London, preceded by music, and there received by

the archbishop (Arundel) and many other prelates, who chanted the *Te Deum*, "and the men of London cheered, and made great rejoicings."

<sup>d</sup> Walden was at once set at liberty, and was afterwards made bishop of London; Colchester was allowed to hold his office, till his death, in 1420; Merks's subsequent history has been already noticed (see A.D. 1399). Feriby and Maudelyn are named executors in Richard's will, and the latter, it is said, had personated the king at Cirencester. Brocas had been comptroller of Calais, and Shelley master of the household to the earl of Huntingdon.

<sup>e</sup> It is to be regretted that historians have devoted so little attention to the career of this remarkable man. Taking their tone from the Lancastrian or Tudor chroniclers, they too frequently dismiss him as "the wretched rebel Glendower," though he was for a considerable time *de facto* prince of Wales, and was recognised as such by the king of France, who studiously avoided bestowing the regal style on Henry, styling him only "our adversary of England."

<sup>f</sup> His ancestral residence was Sychart, near Corwen.



property, but he was captured whilst attempting to take possession.

Glyndwr had now no hope except in the sword, and he acted with vigour. He at once assumed the title of Prince of Wales, and burnt his adversary's town of Ruthin, at the fair time (Sept. 30, 1400). He next burst into the marches, where he burnt Oswestry, and stormed several small garrisons. The Welsh repaired to him in thousands, and the strong Edwardian castles of Conway, Ruthin, Hawarden, and Flint soon fell into his hands. He repelled three formidable armies led against him by Henry in person<sup>a</sup>, and in 1402 he was crowned at Machynlleth<sup>b</sup>. Among many captives taken by him was Sir Edmund Mortimer, the uncle of the young earl of March, which led him to enter into a treaty with the Mortimers and Percies, having for its object the overthrow of Henry. This alliance was dissolved by the battle of Shrewsbury, but Glyndwr continued the contest; and official record remains of many acts that prove the reality of his power in Wales. He displaced the bishop of Bangor, and appointed a partisan of his own; and the bishop of St. Asaph was his ambassador to the French king. Though occasionally suffering defeat, he captured many of the "English towns" and castles, received aid from France and from Scotland, and marched with his French allies as far as Worcester.

Henry of Monmouth (afterwards Henry V.) had some success against Glyndwr, but was unable to effect his subjugation, and several years after, when about to embark on his expedition against France, unwilling apparently to leave so active an enemy behind him, he endeavoured to enter into an arrangement with him. While the terms were in debate, Glyndwr

died, at Monnington, in Herefordshire, Sept. 20, 1415. His sons concluded the negociation (Feb. 24, 1416), but the terms on which they laid down their arms were less favourable than they would have been had he lived, for, though a full pardon had been offered (July 5, 1415), Glyndwr is spoken of as attainted in a statute of the next reign, [9 Hen. VI. c. 3].

#### A.D. 1401.

An act passed against the Lollards [2 Hen. IV. c. 15]. No one was to preach without the bishop's license, and persons accused of heretical opinions were to be judged by the diocesan, and punished at the king's pleasure, if they recanted; but if not, to be burnt<sup>k</sup>.

William Sawtre, a London secular priest, is burnt under this statute, Feb. 12.

Several statutes passed in relation to the rising in Wales. Welshmen, and Englishmen married to Welshwomen, are disabled to hold office or to purchase lands, either in England, or in the "borough or English towns" in Wales<sup>l</sup>, [2 Hen. IV. cc. 16—20].

David, the prince of Scotland, being imprisoned by his father's order, dies soon after at the palace of Falkland, April 3<sup>m</sup>.

Glyndwr ravages the marches and the English districts; he also captures Radnor, and beheads the garrison. Henry marches against him in June, when Glyndwr retires to a strong post at Corwen.

Henry finding Glyndwr's position unassailable, invades Scotland and burns Edinburgh, in August. He returns into Wales in October, but is again obliged to withdraw without bringing Glyndwr to a battle.

<sup>a</sup> Henry on each occasion met with bad weather, which the chroniclers gravely ascribe to the magic arts of his opponent. Glyndwr had a reputation for dangerous learning, and was a patron of bards, who reproduced the prophecies attributed to Merlin, and declared him the destined restorer of the British monarchy.

<sup>b</sup> His brother-in-law, David Gam, an English partisan, attempted to assassinate him during the ceremony. Gam was imprisoned for ten years, until he was, by formal permission of Henry IV. (June 14, 1412), ransomed by his father, and he was killed at the battle of Agincourt.

<sup>l</sup> See A.D. 1283.

<sup>k</sup> A similar act was passed in Scotland in 1425. It ordains that "heretics and Lollards shall be punished as the law of Holy Church requires."

<sup>l</sup> These statutes were confirmed in a body in 1447 (25 Hen. VI. c. 1), all grants of franchises contrary thereto being at the same time declared void.

<sup>m</sup> He was a youth of dissolute character. The manner of his death is not known, but he was generally supposed to have been starved to death by his uncle, the duke of Albany.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1401.

Thomas of Lancaster (afterwards duke of Clarence) appointed lieutenant of Ireland, June 27. He lands there Nov. 13.

The disorders of Ireland were not redressed by the Ordinance of 1357<sup>n</sup>, and in 1361, Lionel (afterwards duke of Clarence) was appointed lieutenant. The inheritance of his wife (Elizabeth de Burgh, countess of Ulster,) had been seized and partitioned according to the Irish law by her relatives, and he was thus strongly prejudiced against the Anglo-Irish, who opposed him in arms, but were brought to a nominal subjection, through the help that he received from England. They disclaimed submission as soon as he had left the country, and though he returned in 1366, and passed the famous Statutes of Kilkenny<sup>o</sup>, they were entirely disregarded. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, (the husband of his daughter Philippa,) succeeded him as lieutenant, Jan. 24, 1379, but died Dec. 26, 1380, when the government was granted to his son Roger, (Jan. 24, 1381); he being a minor, his uncle, Sir Thomas Mortimer, acted as his deputy. In 1386 Richard II. resorted to the desperate expedient of granting the "entire dominion" of Ireland to his favourite, Robert de Vere, on condition of his achieving its complete conquest, but nothing was done towards that end, and at length the king himself passed over, landing at Waterford, in October, 1394, with a considerable army. The Anglo-Irish kept aloof, but the native chiefs very generally submitted, acknowledged their feudal dependence, engaged to serve the king in his wars, and promised also to quit the province of Leinster. Richard returned to England, leaving the earl of March as his lieutenant, who attempted to enforce this last stipulation, but was strenu-

ously resisted, and at last defeated and killed at Kenlys, in Ossory, July 20, 1398. The news of this disaster brought Richard a second time to Ireland, but before he could effect anything he was recalled to England by the landing of Henry of Lancaster.

The Scots now leagued with the Irish, effected several settlements in the north, and defeated a fleet which the citizens of Dublin had fitted out against them<sup>p</sup>. Thomas of Lancaster next assumed the government, which he held until Sept. 1413, sometimes in person, sometimes by deputy. He laboured zealously, though with little success, to make the royal authority paramount; he introduced many new English colonists, resumed crown demesnes, contended with various fortune against both the Irish and Anglo-Irish, received the whole revenues of the land, and was assisted by an annual subsidy of 7,000 marks from England; but he at length was desperately wounded in a battle under the walls of Dublin, and obliged to withdraw, when the English pale, or sea-coast from Dundalk to Wexford, became in effect tributary to its so-called subjects, the "mere Irish" and the Anglo-Irish<sup>q</sup>, and remained in that condition until the time of Henry VIII.

A.D. 1402.

Reports spread of King Richard being alive in Scotland, and of an intended French invasion in his favour; Sir Roger Clarendon, his natural brother, and others are executed.

Glyndwr ravages the marches, and defeats and captures Sir Edmund Mortimer<sup>r</sup>, at Brynglas, near Knighton, June 22. He also burns the cathedrals of St. Asaph, Bangor, and Llandaff, and the abbey of Cwmhir.

Henry again marches into Wales, but is obliged to retire with loss.

The Scots invade England, in July,

<sup>n</sup> See p. 195.<sup>o</sup> See p. 196.

<sup>p</sup> The citizens equipped another fleet in 1405, which was more successful. It ravaged the coasts not only of Scotland, but of Wales, at that time under the rule of Glyndwr.

<sup>q</sup> The Anglo-Irish and the natives were bitterly hostile to each other, and thus alone was the royal authority preserved from extinction. In 1429 the Irish Parliament voted a petition to the king, requesting him to endeavour to induce the pope to

publish a crusade against the natives, on the plea that they had not adhered to their submission made to Henry II., two centuries and a half before. In revenge, M'Donough, the dynast of Leinster, ravaged the pale with fire and sword, and was repulsed with extreme difficulty.

<sup>r</sup> Uncle of the earl of March, the king, or heir to the throne, according as Richard was or was not alive; the real state of the case not being apparently known to the parties.

announcing that King Richard is with them. They are defeated by Henry Percy (called Hotspur) at Homildon-hill, near Wooler, Sept. 14, and the earl of Douglas and other nobles taken.

Henry offends the Percies, and they meditate his overthrow.

A.D. 1403.

The Percies and the Mortimers confederate with Glyndwr to restore Richard, if alive, or to place the earl of March on the throne, in case of his decease.

The French make a descent on the Isle of Wight.

The Percies march to join Glyndwr, but are intercepted by Henry, and defeated at the place called Hateley-field, near Shrewsbury, July 23. Henry Percy is killed; his uncle, Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, being taken, is beheaded, July 25<sup>a</sup>.

A body of French land in Wales and burn Tenby, in July; they then join Glyndwr.

Plymouth is burnt by the Bretons; and at the same time Brittany is ravaged by English ships.

"Minstrels or vagabonds" forbidden to make assemblies in Wales, [4 Hen. IV. c. 27]. The Welsh in general ordered to be disarmed<sup>1</sup> [c. 28].

Richard Yonge, bishop of Bangor, is imprisoned and deprived of his see by Glyndwr<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Glyndwr was at the time besieging Caermarthen, and was not hindered from joining his confederates by a flood in the Severn, as is commonly stated. The earl of Northumberland, who was on the way to support his son, hearing of his death, disbanded his army, made his submission, and was pardoned, (Aug. 11,) but being deprived of the Isle of Man, and his strongest castles, he withdrew into Scotland shortly after. The chief person killed on Henry's side was Edmund Stafford, earl of Buckingham, son-in-law of Thomas, duke of Gloucester.

<sup>1</sup> Glyndwr, whose lands had been granted to the king's brother, the earl of Somerset (Nov. 8, 1400), was outlawed at this parliament, and was specially excepted from many graces and pardons issued subsequently by Henry.

<sup>b</sup> This act of Glyndwr received at last the tacit sanction of the pope, as he at once promoted Yonge to the see of Rochester. Archbishop Arundel, however, refused to admit him by proxy, and he did not obtain possession until his release in 1407. By Glyndwr's wish Lewis Bifort was elected his successor, and was approved by the Pope (Innocent VII.), but as he could not obtain consecration from the archbishop of Canterbury, he is not included in the list of bishops of the see, though he held it till 1408, when the pope (Gregory XII.) translated him to another, naming Benedict Nicolls in his stead, but he bore the title of bishop of Bangor at the Council of Constance in 1414.

<sup>c</sup> This was in the parliament held at Coventry,

A.D. 1404.

The commons propose to seize the temporalities of the Church, when the archbishop (Arundel) appeals to Henry, and the plan is dropped<sup>a</sup>.

"The craft of multiplying gold or silver" (alchemy) declared felony, [5 Hen. IV. c. 4<sup>y</sup>].

The countess of Oxford, several abbots and others, charged with spreading reports that King Richard is alive, are imprisoned<sup>a</sup>.

The French ravage the Devonshire coast, and also besiege Calais; many of their vessels are burnt at Sluys by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Kent<sup>a</sup>.

The French king enters into a treaty with Glyndwr, styling him "Owen, prince of Wales," July 14<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1405.

Constance of York<sup>c</sup> endeavours to liberate the young earl of March and his sisters imprisoned at Windsor, Feb. 15. The duke of York is sent to the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the matter, but is soon released.

The prince of Wales takes the field against Glyndwr in March, but is unable to subdue him.

James, son of Robert III. of Scotland, captured off Flamborough Head, March 30<sup>d</sup>.

Thomas Mowbray, earl of Notting-

called the Laymen's Parliament, from the circumstance that men learned in the law (who were then commonly clergymen) were carefully excluded. The scheme was probably devised by Henry's ministers, who resorted to many strange expedients to raise money, as may be seen by the Records of the Council, but all who had anything to lose saw that it endangered all property, and it was of necessity abandoned.

<sup>y</sup> This statute remained unrepealed until the year 1690, [1 Gul. & Mar. c. 30].

<sup>a</sup> The countess was the mother of Richard's late favourite, the duke of Ireland; she received a pardon (Dec. 5, 1404), but the fate of the rest does not appear. The confessions of some of the parties, which render it probable that Richard was then alive in Scotland, are preserved among the Public Records.

<sup>b</sup> Edmund Holland, brother and heir of the earl killed in 1400. He held the post of High Admiral, and was killed at sea in 1407.

<sup>c</sup> It was negotiated by John Trevor, bishop of St. Asaph, expelled as a partisan of Glyndwr in 1402, though his see was not filled up whilst he lived. He died at Paris in 1410.

<sup>d</sup> She was the widow of Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester (see A.D. 1400), and sister to the earl of Rutland, who by the death of his father had now become duke of York.

<sup>e</sup> He was on his voyage to France for security against the schemes of his uncle, the duke of Albany, who had put his elder brother David to death.

ham<sup>e</sup>, Richard Scrope, archbishop of York<sup>f</sup>, the earl of Northumberland, Lord Bardolf<sup>g</sup>, and others combine together to place the earl of March on the throne. The archbishop publishes a manifesto declaring Henry excommunicated, May 9.

Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, gets the chief insurgents into his hands by treachery. The archbishop and the earl of Nottingham are beheaded, June 8, and Lords Hastings and Falconbridge soon after. The earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf escape to Scotland.

The French send succours to Glyndwr.

Henry marches against Glyndwr, but is again unsuccessful<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1406.

The crown settled by parliament on Henry and his four sons, [7 Hen. IV. c. 2].

Robert III. of Scotland dies, April 4. His brother Robert, duke of Albany, governs as regent, and makes no effort to procure the liberation of the young prince (James I.).

The guardianship of the seas from May 1, 1406, to Sept. 1407, committed to an association of merchants; the parliament assigns to them the taxes on wine, wool, and hides.

The Isle of Man granted to Sir John Stanley, April 6.

The earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, fearing to be delivered up by the Scottish regent, flee to Glyndwr in Wales.

A.D. 1407.

England greatly afflicted by pestilence.

Henry, in crossing from Queenborough to Leigh, at the mouth of the Thames, is attacked by French pirates, and narrowly escapes capture.

A strong body of French auxiliaries join Glyndwr, who advances into England, and threatens Worcester, but at length retires.

A parliament held at Gloucester, in October, when severe statutes are passed against the Welsh, [9 Hen. IV. cc. 1, 2, 3, 4].

## FRANCE.

A.D. 1407.

Louis, duke of Orleans, is murdered by the duke of Burgundy<sup>i</sup>, Nov. 23.

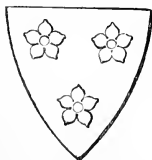
Charles VI. of France had several years before this fallen into a state of mental imbecility, and the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy contended for power with a degree of violence that proved fatal to their country, as well

as to themselves. The queen, (Isabella of Bavaria,) a woman of depraved character, allied herself with the duke of Orleans, but after his death she sometimes inclined to the opposite party, and at length even leagued with Henry V. against her own son, the dauphin. The duke of Burgundy was assassinated in his turn, in the year 1419<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> The son of the duke of Norfolk, banished with Henry of Lancaster by Richard II.

<sup>f</sup> Brother of William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, beheaded in 1399.

<sup>g</sup> Thomas, Lord Bardolf, was born in 1367, and



Arms of Lord Bardolf.

succeeded his father, William, in his seventeenth

year. He had large possessions in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, and served in France and in Ireland during the latter years of the reign of Richard II. He joined Henry of Lancaster at Shrewsbury, but afterwards espoused the cause of the Percies, and was mortally wounded at Bramham-moor. His head was set up at Lincoln, and his quarters at London, York, Lynn, and Shrewsbury, but his widow was allowed to remove them at the same time as Northumberland received Christian burial.

<sup>h</sup> The campaign was brief, bad weather and want of provisions obliging the English to retire, after considerable loss, in November.

<sup>i</sup> He was succeeded by his son Charles, who had shortly before married Isabella, the widow of Richard II.

<sup>k</sup> Two dukes of Orleans and three dukes of Burgundy were concerned in the transactions which brought about the English rule in France; they were all descended from a king (John II.) who died a prisoner in the hands of Edward III. The following table shews their relationship to each

A.D. 1408.

The earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf again appear in the north, and take up arms; they are defeated by the sheriff of Yorkshire (Sir Thomas Rokeby) at Bramham-moor, Feb. 19, the earl being killed in the field, and Lord Bardolf mortally wounded.

A.D. 1409.

The council of Pisa deposes the rival popes, styled Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., June 5; Peter of Candia elected, June 15 or 26, who takes the name of Alexander V.

A strong body of Welsh ravage Shropshire, but are defeated, and their leaders, Philip Dhu and Philpot Scudamore, captured, carried to London and executed. After this, the war languishes, but some of the marchers make private truces with Glyndwr.

A.D. 1410.

The confiscation of the temporalities of the Church again proposed by the commons, but rejected by Henry.

The circulation of foreign money prohibited by statute [11 Hen. IV. c. 5].

Thomas Badby, a Lollard, is executed, in April.

A.D. 1411.

Henry sends a body of troops to assist the duke of Burgundy against

his rivals; they gain a victory at St. Cloud<sup>1</sup>, and capture Paris.

Donald, lord of the Isles, endeavours to make himself independent of the Scottish crown. He is supported by Henry, but being defeated at Harlaw, near Aberdeen, July 24, is reduced to submission.

The giving of liveries again prohibited by statute [13 Hen. IV. c. 3]. The practice had been forbidden in the first and seventh years of Henry's reign, but the enactments had not been attended to.

Prince Henry is removed from the council.

A.D. 1412.

A six years' truce is concluded with the Scots, May 7.

Henry changes his policy, and joins the Orleans party, by treaty, May 18.

Henry falls ill, when his eldest son claims the regency, which is refused to him.

The parties in France are reconciled, and unite against the English, who in return ravage Normandy<sup>m</sup>.

The first university in Scotland founded at St. Andrew's.

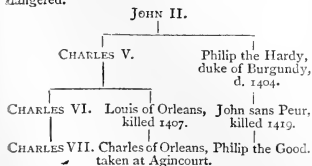
A.D. 1413.

Henry is seized with a fit while at his devotions in the chapel of St. Edmund at Westminster. He dies a few days after, March 20, and is buried at Canterbury<sup>n</sup>.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Timour invades Asia Minor, and takes Bajazet prisoner . . .	1402	The Teutonic Knights defeated by the Poles . . . . .	1410
Rome seized by Ladislaus of Naples	1408	Mahomet, son of Bajazet, restores the Ottoman Empire . . .	1413

other, and to the dauphin, whose throne they endangered.



<sup>1</sup> The French factions were so embittered against each other, that it was with difficulty that the English could prevail on the Burgundians to spare the lives of their prisoners.

<sup>m</sup> They were commanded by the duke of Clarence. At length they withdrew into Guienne, on the promise of a large sum of money, for which the duke of Orleans gave hostages.

<sup>n</sup> The partisans of the House of York many years after asserted, with the view of blackening Henry's character, that, like Jonas, his body was thrown into the waves, on its passage to Faversham, in order to appease a violent tempest. The curious statement of one Clement Maydeston on the subject, which will be found in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, and also in Stothard's *Sepulchral Monuments*, was conclusively refuted in 1832, when the tomb was opened in the presence of Dr. Bagot, dean of Canterbury, and others, and the body of the king was found, the face especially being in excellent preservation.



Great Seal of Henry V.

## HENRY V.

HENRY, the eldest son of Henry of Bolingbroke and Mary de Bohun, (one of the co-heiresses of Humphrey, earl of Hereford,) was born at Monmouth, Aug. 9, 1388. He had for his governor the famous Sir Thomas Percy, (afterwards earl of Worcester,) and is said to have been educated at Queen's College, Oxford, under the care of his uncle, Henry Beaufort, eventually bishop of Winchester. He early shared in the fortunes of his father, being carried to Ireland, as a hostage, by Richard II. in his eleventh year, but apparently treated with kindness, and honoured with knighthood. On his father's accession to the throne, young Henry was created prince of Wales, was summoned to parliament, and intrusted with military command against Glyndwr. The earl of March was placed under his wardship, which gave him possession of the vast estates of the Mortimers; he was appointed lieutenant of Wales,

and also warden of the Cinque Ports, and captain of the castles of Dover and Calais. He was likewise for a while a member of the council, but was removed from it about the year 1412, having grievously offended his father by demanding the regency during the frequent illnesses of the latter, and being suspected of aspiring to the crown. So much active employment at so early an age renders it very doubtful that he could be guilty of much of the dissipation and violent conduct ordinarily ascribed to his youthful days.

Henry succeeded to the throne, March 21, 1413. Encouraged by the weakness to which the civil wars of the Orleans and Burgundian factions had reduced the country<sup>a</sup>, he at once prepared to attack France, but at first professed to have in view only the recovery of the English provinces. The negotiations for this end were protracted until the summer of 1415, when

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1407.

he put himself at the head of his army, landed in Normandy, captured Harfleur, and gained the victory of Agincourt, but, exhausted by the effort, was obliged to return to England.

In 1417 he again invaded France, effected the conquest of Normandy, gained the alliance of the Burgundians, and at length, by virtue of the treaty of Troyes, (May, 1420,) received the princess Katherine in marriage, was recognised by the queen-mother (Isabella of Bavaria) as heir to the crown, to the exclusion of her own son, the dauphin, and returned in triumph to England. A few months, however, shewed that his conquest was not complete, and that the disinherited prince possessed the affections of the nation; the duke of Clarence was defeated and killed at Baugé, in March, 1421, and the king hastily returning, passed the short remainder of his life in almost constant action. He captured Dreux, but failed before Orleans, and though he passed the winter at Paris as king of France, was obliged in the following year to besiege Meaux, which only surrendered after a most resolute resistance. Shortly after this he fell ill, and being carried to the Bois de Vincennes, near Paris, died there, Aug. 31, 1422, in the 35th year of his age, and the 10th of his reign.

Henry married the princess Katherine



Henry V., from his Monument, Westminster Abbey.

rine of France; she bore him one son, HENRY, who succeeded him. Katherine in 1423 married Owen Tudor, one of her attendants, and by him became the mother of Edmund Tudor earl of Richmond, the father of Henry VII., Jasper earl of Pembroke, and other children. She died in the nunnery of Bermondsey, separated from her husband, Jan. 4, 1437<sup>b</sup>.

This king bore, like his father, France and England quarterly, but with the fleurs-de-lis of the former only three in number<sup>c</sup>. The same supporters (a lion and antelope) are ascribed to him, but probably this is an error. For badges he used an antelope gorged with a crown and chained; a swan similarly adorned; and a beacon inflamed; these devices are sometimes seen united, as in the cornice of his tomb in Westminster Abbey.



Arms and Badges of Henry V.



The brilliant though transitory success of Henry's attack on France, has often caused its injustice to be overlooked, and himself to be regarded as one of the most eminent of the English kings. As a stroke of policy it

doubtless answered its purpose<sup>d</sup>, as it deferred to the time of his successor the desolating contest known as the War of the Roses; yet it is hard to say to which country it was most disastrous. Henry has, however, better

<sup>b</sup> About the time of Katherine's death it was discovered that her sister-in-law, the duchess of Bedford, had also married one of her squires, Richard Woodville, and as she was now the first lady in the kingdom, the nobility loudly complained of these matches as degrading. The more recent offender, Woodville, had a powerful friend in Cardinal Beaufort, and so escaped punishment for his "presumption," he and his wife receiving a formal pardon, Oct. 24, 1437; but Tudor was confined in

Newgate, whence he made his escape. He was recaptured, sent to the Tower, and not set at liberty till long after the death of his wife.

<sup>c</sup> This was in imitation of an alteration made by Charles VI. of France.

<sup>d</sup> The reproach of having suggested to Henry IV. a war with France as a means of strengthening his throne is commonly cast on Bishop Chicheley, of St. David's; but the justice of the charge is doubtful.

claims on our respect than spring from even the most complete conquest. He treated his royal captives (the king of Scotland and the earl of March) with kindness, restored the Percies, and firmly attached them to the interests of his family; his conduct, generally, was mild and humane<sup>c</sup>; he discouraged vice and luxury by his own orderly and sober life; he attended to the complaints of the humble, and was liberal in his rewards of service. Though he persecuted the Lollards, he withstood the extravagant demands of the papal court, and restored the goods of hospitals to their proper uses; he built bridges and endowed religious houses; and to him rather than to Henry VII. belongs the credit of founding a royal navy<sup>d</sup>.

## A.D. 1413.

Henry V. is crowned at Westminster, April 9<sup>e</sup>.

The parliament meets at Westminster in May.

An act passed forbidding Welshmen to bring actions for damages sustained in "this rebellion of Wales," on pain

of treble damages, two years' imprisonment, and fine and ransom at the king's pleasure, [1 Hen. V. c. 6<sup>b</sup>].

"Irishmen, and Irish clerks, beggars, called chamber deacons," ordered to depart before the feast of All Souls (Nov. 2), "for quietness and peace in this realm of England," [c. 8].

Sir John Oldcastle<sup>i</sup> is condemned as a heretic, September 23. He escapes from the Tower in the course of the following month.

The archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Arundel) holds a synod at St. Paul's from Nov. 20 to Dec. 4, for repression of the opinions of Wickliffe<sup>k</sup>.

## A.D. 1414.

The king seizes a party of the Lollards, near London, in the night of Jan. 6, 7. They are accused of designs against his life, are condemned, and many of them executed.

An inquiry into and reformation of the state of hospitals ordered<sup>l</sup>, [2 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 1].

The breach of truce or safe conduct declared high treason, [c. 6].

## FRANCE.

Henry forms alliances with the king of the Romans (Sigismund), the king of Arragon (Ferdinand I.), and other

princes. He despatches the archbishop of Canterbury, (Henry Chicheley,) Lord Grey, and other envoys to demand

<sup>a</sup> He was probably influenced rather by what he considered state necessity than by natural cruelty of disposition, in putting to death the earl of Cambridge and others, and in hanging the Scots taken in arms against him in France; these circumstances, however, will ever remain a deep stain on his character.

<sup>b</sup> Occasional mention occurs of "the king's own ships," in earlier times, but Henry kept constantly a fleet of twelve vessels to guard the coast, which had been greatly neglected in the former reign (see p. 217); they appear, each to have had from 80 to 100 mariners, men-at-arms, and archers. Beside this, he had at command the navy of the Cinque Ports (about 60 ships), with numerous hired vessels, and prizes taken from the Genoese.

<sup>c</sup> His regal years are computed from March 21.

<sup>d</sup> The recital, that the Welsh "daily make quarrels and great pursuit" against the "king's liege people" for injuries sustained by them in the course of the contest, shews that their insurrection had not been so completely crushed as writers usually suppose; neither did this statute at once reduce them to order, as in the next year we meet with a statement that the "king's liege people" are daily carried off by the Welsh, against whom heavy penalties are denounced, [2 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 5].

<sup>i</sup> Commonly styled Lord Cobham, from his marriage with Joan, the grand-daughter of the last lord.

<sup>k</sup> The archbishop died early in the next year,

and was succeeded by Bishop Chicheley, of St. David's. Chicheley was born at Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire, about 1362, and was educated at Wykeham's foundation in Winchester and Oxford. He particularly studied the civil and canon law, and though he became archdeacon of Salisbury, bishop of St. David's, and archbishop of Canterbury, he was for many years chiefly employed in embassies and other state business. He was present at the council of Pisa in 1410, and also attended Henry V. in his invasion of France; but after this king's death he devoted himself with energy to the discharge of his duties as primate. In this capacity he firmly withstood the attacks of the papal court on the independence of the Church, and also repressed the vehemence of the Lollards, whence he is by some writers, though unjustly, designated a persecutor. In the midst of these contentions he carried out his design of adding a new college to Oxford, and in the year 1437 founded All Souls, a noble monument of his pious liberality. Worn out with years and infirmity, he desired to resign his see, but before the transaction could be completed he died, April 12, 1443, and was buried at Canterbury, where his splendid tomb still remains, it having been re-edified by his college.

<sup>l</sup> The statute alleges that their goods are for the most part decayed, and spent to other uses, and directs the ordinary of each diocese to remedy the abuse.



from the king of France (Charles VI.) the restoration of the former possessions of England, June. A compromise is proposed, which Henry rejects, and prepares for war.

The rivalry of parties by which France had been so long afflicted was not in any manner abated by the prospect of attack from England. The duke of Orleans, who at that time was at the head of affairs, raised troops to defend the kingdom; Burgundy refused all co-operation, but preserved a suspicious neutrality, until his rival was captured at Agincourt, when he seized on many of the strong cities of Normandy, and at length openly joined the English; his sincerity was, however, doubted by them, and French chroniclers assert that he was at the same time in negotiation with the dauphin.

A.D. 1414.

The council of Constance<sup>m</sup> holds its first sitting, Nov. 16.

A.D. 1415.

The king assembles his forces in May; and joins them at Portsmouth in July.

The earl of Cambridge<sup>n</sup>, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey, charged with conspiring against the life of the king, are executed, Aug. 2, 5. Nothing is known of the history of this conspiracy except from the record of the brief trial of the parties. We learn from this that they were charged with intending to kill "Henry

of Lancaster, the usurper," and then to flee into Wales, where they were to proclaim the earl of March king. Rather inconsistently with this, they were also charged with asserting King Richard to be still alive, and with sending into Scotland "for a certain man who in his shape of body and countenance did much resemble him;" for if this had been believed there must have been an end of the assumption of royalty by the earl of March.

The king sails with a large force, on board 1,500 ships, from Southampton, Aug. 11. He lands in the Pays du Caux, Aug. 13; lays siege to Harfleur<sup>o</sup>, and captures it Sept. 22.

He sends many of his sick to England, appoints the earl of Dorset (Thomas Beaufort, afterwards duke of Exeter) governor of Harfleur, and sets out on his march towards Calais, Oct. 8.

The French, under the dukes of Bourbon and Orleans, harass his march. He attempts in vain to cross the Somme, at Blanche Tache, Oct. 14; then proceeds up the stream through Abbeville and Amiens to Peronne, where he crosses the river at night, Oct. 20.

The French, having cut up the direct road, take post at Agincourt, to intercept his course to Calais. The two armies come in sight, Oct. 24.

Arthur of Brittany<sup>p</sup> attacks the English camp at midnight, during a storm of wind and rain, but is beaten off.

The French are defeated with terrible slaughter, at Agincourt<sup>q</sup>, Oct. 25.

<sup>m</sup> This council sat until April 22, 1418. It was attended by both bishops and laymen from England. The schism in the Church was healed, by the deposition of three rival popes, and the election of Otto Colonna as Martin V. The opinions of Wickliffe were condemned, and his bones ordered to be burnt, a task which was committed to Richard Flemmyng, bishop of Lincoln, who had formerly been one of his party. The most memorable act of this council, however, was the burning of John Huss, in spite of a safe conduct which had been granted to him by Sigismund.

<sup>n</sup> He was the second son of Edmund of Langley, duke of York, and had lately received the title of Cambridge from Henry. His son Richard became duke of York, and his daughter Isabel married Lord Bourchier, who was created earl of Essex by his nephew, Edward IV.

<sup>o</sup> The king had with him, beside the more ordinary warlike engines, as tripgettes, sows, bastiles, &c. several cannon of large size, called bombardars, and named "London," "Messagere," "The King's daughter." These pieces, which seem to

have somewhat resembled the modern mortar, and which, Elmham says, "vomited from their fiery mouths vast quantities of stones, with a vehement explosion and a terrific and intolerable noise," were worked by gunners from Germany, and they contributed most materially to his success in other sieges.

<sup>p</sup> The son of Joan of Navarre, stepmother of the king. He was made prisoner the next day, and was confined until July, 1420; he then took service under Henry, and was with him at the siege of Meaux. He soon after abandoned the English party, and became constable of France.

<sup>q</sup> The English only numbered about 9,000 men, whilst their opponents were between 50,000 and 60,000. The French leaders acted with so little judgment that their vast army was cut to pieces with very slight resistance, yet it is impossible to believe, as is often stated, that the victors lost only the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk, and about 20 others; St. Remy, a French historian, more probably makes their loss 1,600. Of the French, 13,000 at least were slain, 3,000, or more, being princes,

The king resumes his march, Oct. 26, and reaches Calais Oct. 29, where he remains until Nov. 17. He lands at Dover with his chief prisoners, after a rough passage, on the same day, and makes a triumphant entry into London, Nov. 23.

A.D. 1416.

The king of the Romans (Sigismund) endeavours to bring about a peace. He visits England, and is most honourably received<sup>\*</sup>.

The earl of Dorset makes an inroad in Normandy, in March. He fights an indecisive battle at Cany, March 14, and with difficulty regains Harfleur.

The French land in Portland, and lay it waste by fire, in May.

Harfleur being besieged, is relieved by the duke of Bedford, August 15; and again in October by the earl of Huntingdon<sup>†</sup>, many French and Genoese ships being captured on each occasion.

The duke of Burgundy (John sans Peur) allies himself to the English. He at the same time becomes ruler of France through the favour of the queen, and thus obtains possession of Rouen, Dieppe, and other places in Normandy.

A.D. 1417.

The earl of Huntingdon captures a Genoese fleet off Harfleur<sup>‡</sup>, July 25.

The king embarks at Southampton, July 28. He lands at Touque (near Honfleur), Aug. 1; captures the castle, Aug. 3; besieges Caen, which is taken by assault, Sept. 4. The castle surrenders, Sept. 20, when Bayeux and many other towns and fortresses submit.

The Scots invest Berwick and Roxburgh, but soon retire.

All Bretons not denized expelled from England<sup>§</sup>, [4 Hen. V. c. 3].

Coining declared treason, [4 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 6].

The native Irish forbidden to hold any great office in their own country<sup>¶</sup>, [4 Hen. V. c. 6].

The duke of Brittany agrees to a truce, Nov. 16.

A.D. 1418.

The king holds his court at Caen, early in the year, and confiscates the lands of those who do not return by a given time; vast estates thus acquired are bestowed on the duke of Clarence and others.

The duke of Gloucester overruns the Cotentin.

Pontoise and other towns submit to the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Orleans, the rival of Burgundy, had been captured at Agincourt, but his party (styled the Armagnacs, from Bernard, count of Armagnac, his father-in-law,) held possession of Paris for a time. They attempted to curb the turbulent citizens, who with arms in their hands set at naught all authority, when the latter called in the Burgundians; the Armagnacs attempted to expel them, were defeated, and were butchered in thousands. The dauphin was obliged to withdraw to Melun, and the duke of Burgundy seized on the government.

The king makes further conquests in Normandy. He besieges Rouen, in July; Domfront, Cherbourg, and other places are captured.

Sir John Oldcastle is captured in Wales, brought to London and burnt, Dec.<sup>‡</sup>

nobles, or knights. Some of the more eminent were interred in the neighbouring churches, but the rest were buried in deep trenches in the field, which was consecrated by a bishop, and enclosed with a hedge and ditch by the pious care of Philip, count of Charolois, afterwards duke of Burgundy. Many of the most important prisoners were brought to England, where one of them (the duke of Orleans) remained, unransomed, for 25 years. The battle was fought on the day of the Translation of St. John of Beverley, and the king in the following year made a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to his shrine.

<sup>\*</sup> The king accompanied him back to Calais in August, when communications were held with the duke of Burgundy. Henry had consented to a three years' truce, but the French in the meantime besieged Harfleur, and the negotiations were broken off.

<sup>†</sup> John Holland, afterwards duke of Exeter, and constable of the Tower; he is said to have invented new modes of torture for his prisoners there, whence the rack was styled "Exeter's daughter."

<sup>‡</sup> Several of these ships, termed carracks, were of large size, and were at once taken into the king's service.

<sup>§</sup> The misconduct of "some dwelling near the queen [the widow of Henry IV.] and about her person" is particularly mentioned as giving occasion for this statute.

<sup>¶</sup> It is alleged that such, coming to parliament, will bring with them attendants, who will betray "the secrets of the English."

<sup>‡</sup> He was brought before the parliament, when he denied their jurisdiction over him, affirming that King Richard was still alive, and in Scotland; on which he was condemned without further hearing.

A.D. 1419.

The king holds his court at Rouen<sup>a</sup>, as duke of Normandy, and receives the homage of the nobles.

He has several conferences at Meulan, on the Seine, in July, with the queen of France, who brings her daughter "Madame Katherine," and the duke of Burgundy, but they separate after a time without any agreement.

The duke of Burgundy makes a treaty with the dauphin, July 11; but is assassinated at a conference with him, at Montereau, August 12. His son (Philip the Good) at once joins the English.

A truce is concluded between the king and the inhabitants of Paris and other towns which adhere to the Burgundians, and steps are taken to bring the dauphin to punishment.

The dauphin throws himself into Compiègne, and repulses a force of English and Burgundians.

The people of Paris put themselves under the English government.

The king keeps his Christmas at Rouen, and arranges terms of peace with the duke of Burgundy.

A.D. 1420.

A treaty is concluded at Troyes, May 21, for the marriage of Henry to the princess Katherine, and his reception as king of France<sup>a</sup> *de facto*.

Henry marries the princess Katherine at Troyes, June 2, and keeps his Christmas in Paris.

A.D. 1421.

The king holds a parliament at Rouen, in January, which decrees a new coinage<sup>b</sup>. He also there receives homage from his English lords for lands granted to them in France.

The king comes to England with his queen; she is crowned at Westminster, Feb. 23.

The duke of Clarence is defeated and killed at Baugé, in Anjou, by the Scottish auxiliaries of the dauphin, Mar. 22.

The king engages the earl of Douglas and other Scottish nobles in his service<sup>c</sup>.

A statute passed concerning offences committed by scholars of Oxford<sup>d</sup>, [9 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 8].

The king raises fresh troops, and returns to France, landing at Calais June 11. He captures Dreux, but is obliged to quit the siege of Orleans through want of provisions, and passes the Christmas at Paris.

A.D. 1422.

The king besieges Meaux, which surrenders after a desperate resistance, June 5.

He falls ill at Corbeuil, in July; is removed to the Bois de Vincennes, and dies there, Aug. 31<sup>e</sup>.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.
The Council of Constance . . . .	1414
The Portuguese commence a course of maritime discovery . . . .	1415
The Hussites take up arms in Bo-	

hemia . . . . .	1416
The Teutonic Knights defeated by the Poles, lose many of their possessions . . . . .	1422

<sup>a</sup> He had besieged the town for six months, when the governor expelled the old men, women, and children, in order to make his provisions hold out the longer. Henry treated the outcasts kindly, which had such an effect on the garrison that they rose on their governor and obliged him to surrender, January 13. Henry built a palace at Rouen, which was for a while the residence of the exiled James II., and existed until the time of the first French revolution.

<sup>b</sup> The dauphin was stated to have forfeited his right to the throne by his treachery to the duke of Burgundy. Charles and his queen were to retain their titles, but Henry was to have possession of the kingdom, although he was only to be styled heir during Charles's lifetime. As early as May 6, 1420, Henry styled himself "Heres et Regens Regni Francie."

<sup>c</sup> Agreeably to the treaty of Troyes, the coins bore the inscription "Heres Francie."

<sup>d</sup> The captive king of Scotland gave his consent

in the hope of obtaining his liberation, and himself served with them as a volunteer. A base advantage was taken of this by Henry, and any of the Scots of the dauphin's party who were captured were treated as traitors.

<sup>e</sup> It is stated that many clerks and scholars of Oxford, "armed and arrayed in manner of war," have put people out of possession of their lands and tenements in Oxford, Berks, and Bucks; have with dogs and greyhounds hunted in parks, forests, and warrens, and threatened the keepers; and have taken clerks convict of felony out of the hands of their ordinaries, and set them at liberty. If they do not surrender, they are to be outlawed, and also expelled from the University.

<sup>f</sup> The king's corpse was removed to St. Denis, where a solemn service was performed, Sept. 15. It was then carried with much pomp to England, three hundred torches being borne before the funeral car, and was deposited at Westminster, near the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor.



Great Seal of Henry VI.

## HENRY VI.

HENRY, the only son of Henry V. and Katherine of France, was born at Windsor, December 6, 1421. When less than nine months old he succeeded his father, (Sept. 1, 1422,) and was proclaimed king both in England and in France, the government being administered by his uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester and the bishop of Winchester. His education, when he had reached his seventh year, was entrusted to the earl of Warwick<sup>a</sup>, who from his proficiency in every knightly art was styled "the

father of courtesy," but who did not succeed in imparting any portion of his own warlike spirit and worldly wisdom to his royal pupil.

The events of Henry's reign were most important, but he had very little share in directing them. In his youth he was under the tutelage of his uncles, who quarrelled among themselves, and thus sacrificed his father's acquisitions; and when advanced to manhood, he was as completely guided by his ambitious, intriguing wife and her favourite ministers, Suffolk<sup>b</sup> and So-

<sup>a</sup> Richard, son of Thomas Beauchamp, condemned to death in the time of Richard II. (see A.D. 1397). He was long captain of Calais, received the office of regent of France in 1437, and died at Rouen in 1439. Richard Neville (the King-Maker) derived from him his title of earl of Warwick, having married his daughter Anne.

<sup>b</sup> William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, grandson of the minister of Richard II., was born in 1396. His father died at the siege of Harfleur, and his brother Michael was killed at Agincourt. He himself served in France, and was taken prisoner at Jergeaux, but recovered his liberty, was admitted to the king's council, and received a grant of the

reversion of the earldom of Pembroke, in case the duke of Gloucester, who then possessed it, should die childless. He was afterwards employed to negotiate a peace with the French, for which he was made a marquis; and he was also a chief instrument in bringing about the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou. He now became in effect prime minister, was created duke of Suffolk, and received the offices of grand steward, chamberlain, and admiral, and the wardship of Margaret Beaufort, the king's cousin. He was, however, exceedingly unpopular, being suspected of treacherously surrendering the English possessions in France, and also of being concerned in the death of the

merset". Their conduct occasioned bitter discontent, and in the end, though personally beloved for his pious and charitable conduct, splendid evidences of which remain to this day<sup>d</sup>, the "meek usurper" was deprived of his throne. He saw his friends cut off in the field or on the scaffold; he suffered exile and a tedious imprisonment himself, and he died in confinement in the Tower, presumably about the end of May, 1471<sup>e</sup>. His death has usually been ascribed to violence, but it was more probably owing to grief at the capture of his wife and slaughter of his son at Tewkesbury shortly before. His body was exposed in St. Paul's, and then buried with little ceremony at Chertsey Abbey, but by Henry VII. was removed to Windsor, and interred in St. George's Chapel.

In 1445 Henry married Margaret of Anjou (born March 23, 1429), daughter of René, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, but in fact a dependant on the king of France. To obtain her hand most of the remaining English possessions in France were given up,

and Margaret thus became unpopular with the English from her first coming among them. She was a woman of



Margaret of Anjou, from a window, Bodleian Library.

beauty and undaunted spirit; thus she gained an ascendancy over her weak husband which was often unwisely and sometimes cruelly exercised, and was the immediate cause of his downfall. She, however, fully shared his sufferings, and made the most vigorous attempts to retrieve his fortunes, enduring exile, innumerable perils by land and by sea, and a four years' imprisonment (1471—1475). Being

duke of Gloucester. At length he was impeached by the Commons, and committed to the Tower.



Arms of De la Pole, earl of Suffolk.

He was soon after banished, but was beheaded at sea, by order of the constable of the Tower, (John Holland, duke of Exeter,) in May, 1450. His son John, born in 1443, married Elizabeth, the sister of Edward IV.

<sup>c</sup> Edmund Beaufort was the grandson of John of Gaunt. Like his brother John he was made prisoner at Baugé, but afterwards distinguished himself in the French wars. He defended Rouen, and captured Harfleur and Montreuil; relieved Calais when besieged, and also ravaged Brittany. He received in succession the titles of earl of Mortain and Perche, earl and marquis of Dorset, and duke of Somerset, and in 1444 was appointed regent of Normandy, in succession to the duke of York. He acted feebly in this capacity, and surrendered Caen, almost without resistance, by which the province was lost. He returned to England, and, in spite of the popular discontent, on the death of the duke of Suffolk he succeeded to his place in the favour of the queen. The duke of York took up arms to bring him to trial, but after

some contention they were formally reconciled; this lasted only a short time, and in 1454 Somerset



Arms of Beaufort, duke of Somerset.

was imprisoned on charges of treason preferred by the duke. He was, however, soon set at liberty by the influence of the queen, and taking the command of some troops he advanced to St. Alban's, where he was met by the duke of York, defeated and killed, May 23, 1455, the assault being led by his brother-in-law, the earl of Warwick. He left three sons, who all died in the Lancastrian cause.

<sup>d</sup> He founded Eton College in 1440, and King's College, Cambridge, in 1443, beside assisting Chicheley's foundation at Oxford; his queen endowed a second college at Cambridge.

<sup>e</sup> In 1453 a subsidy was imposed on aliens, which was made payable yearly during Henry's life. In spite of his deposition, it was collected by Edward IV. till the year 1471. In some of the accounts which are preserved it is stated to have ceased on May 22, 1471, which might be taken to be the date of Henry's death, only that there exists a bill of the lieutenant of the Tower, in which the maintenance of "the lord Henry" and his keepers is charged for up to June, and was paid June 12.

ransomed by her father, she closed her chequered life in her native country, dying in poverty at Dampierre, near Saumur, Aug. 25, 1481.

Henry's only son, Edward, born October 13, 1453; married Anne, daughter of the earl of Warwick, in 1470, but was killed at Tewkesbury in the next year.

The arms of Henry VI. are the same as those of his father, France



Arms of Henry VI.

and England quarterly. His supporters are usually two antelopes, argent; but sometimes the dexter supporter is a lion; and in other instances a panther rampant, incensed, is the sinister. His badges are, an antelope collared and chained, two feathers in saltire, and sometimes a panther passant gardant, spotted with many colours and incensed; but this latter more properly belongs to the Beauforts. The well-known motto DIEU ET MON DROIT, appears to have been first assumed as such by this king, but it had been in use as a war-cry at least as early as the time of Richard I.

Henry in character was evidently well meaning, and sincerely pious<sup>f</sup>, but too weak and irresolute to hold sway in the turbulent days in which

he lived; still he justly claims our pity for his sufferings. His great misfortune was, that by the conduct of his grandfather he was placed in a position the duties of which he was, from ill health as well as other causes, entirely unfit to discharge.

A.D. 1422.

The duke of Bedford governs in France, and the duke of Gloucester in England, in the name of the infant king<sup>g</sup>, who is placed under the care of the earl of Warwick (Richard Beauchamp).

Charles VI. of France dies, Oct. 21. The dauphin is crowned at Poitiers as Charles VII. while Henry VI. is acknowledged as king in Paris.

Irish residents at Oxford and Cambridge ordered to leave the realm within a month, except graduates and benefited men, who can find surety, [1 Hen. VI. c. 3<sup>h</sup>].

A.D. 1423.

A treaty concluded at Amiens, by which the duke of Brittany (John VI.<sup>i</sup>) becomes an ally of the English.

The earl of Salisbury (Thomas Montacute) defeats the French and their Scottish allies at Crevant, in Burgundy, July.

The French defeat and capture Sir John de la Pole, at Gravelle, in Maine.

Merchandise of the staple to be carried only to Calais, [2 Hen. VI. c. 4].

Justices empowered to regulate wages and prices of victuals, [c. 18].

Persons committed for treason, making their escape, to be considered as convicted, [c. 21].

A.D. 1424.

King James of Scotland set at liberty, in April<sup>k</sup>.

James of Scotland causes the duke of Albany (the late regent), two of his

<sup>f</sup> He was popularly regarded as a saint, and Henry VII. took some steps to procure his canonization, but is stated by Lord Bacon to have been deterred by the expense.

<sup>g</sup> His regnal years are computed from Sept. 1.

<sup>h</sup> The reason given is that divers manslaughter, murders, robberies, felonies, riots, and other offences, have lately been committed by them. No fresh scholars from Ireland are to be received without proper testimonials of their being in the king's obedience.

<sup>i</sup> He was the elder brother of Arthur of Brittany, who was captured at Agincourt.

<sup>k</sup> He had shortly before married Joan, daughter of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset. He gave hostages for the payment of a heavy ransom, and agreed to a truce of seven years, from which the Scots serving in France were excluded. He was a man of literary ability, and some of his poems are still prized; but his conduct in Scotland was unwise and tyrannical, and he was at last assassinated after a troubled reign of thirteen years, in 1437.

sons<sup>1</sup>, and the earl of Lenox, to be executed as traitors, May 24.

The duke of Bedford defeats the French and Scots, at Verneuil<sup>m</sup>, in Perche, August 16.

The duke of Gloucester invades Hainault, in October, to recover the inheritance of his pretended wife, Jaqueline of Holland<sup>n</sup>. He is opposed by the duke of Burgundy (her kinsman), and at length obliged to withdraw.

The duke of Brittany abandons the party of the English.

A.D. 1425.

The duke of Gloucester and his uncle Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, contend for the rule in England, but, after a time, are outwardly reconciled by the duke of Bedford.

Britanny is invaded by the duke of Bedford, and its duke obliged to re-join the English.

The court of Charles VII. is torn by faction. The constable (Arthur of Brittany) puts the royal favourite to death.

A.D. 1426.

The duke of Gloucester abandons the contest in Hainault<sup>o</sup>. He endeavours to render himself absolute in the council in England, but is thwarted by Cardinal Beaufort and the chancellor, Archbishop Kempe<sup>p</sup>.

A.D. 1427.

The election of knights of the shire regulated by statute, [6 Hen. VI. c. 4; see also 8 Hen. VI. c. 7].

James of Scotland captures Alexander, lord of the Isles, and several other chieftains, by treachery, at Inverness.

A.D. 1428.

Lincoln College, Oxford, is founded<sup>q</sup>, Oct. 13.

<sup>1</sup> His youngest son escaped to Ireland, and died there.

<sup>m</sup> This battle struck such a blow at the fortunes of Charles VII., that the English afterwards contemptuously styled him only "King of Bourges," the name of a distant city to which he retired.

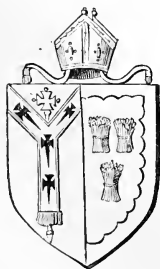
<sup>n</sup> The young countess had married her cousin, the duke of Brabant, but Gloucester persuaded her to quit him, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the clergy, wedded her himself, hoping thereby to gain possession of her states. He not only failed in this, but his conduct so offended the duke of Burgundy as to endanger his alliance with England.

<sup>o</sup> Jaqueline fell soon after into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, but escaped to Holland, where she died in poverty. Her pretended marriage with Gloucester was set aside by the pope (Martin V.) and the duke then married his mistress, Eleanor Cobham.

<sup>p</sup> John Kempe was a poor Kentish scholar, who received his education at Merton College, Oxford,

Durham he was raised, by a papal provision, to the see of Rochester, in 1419; by the same influence he was successively advanced to the sees of Chichester, London, York, and Canterbury, and made a cardinal. In 1426 he became chancellor, and supported Cardinal Beaufort against the Duke of Gloucester. In 1432 he resigned, and was succeeded by John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, who 18 years after was driven from office, when Kempe again received the great seal, and held it till his death, which happened March 22, 1454. He had in earlier days been chancellor of Normandy, as also judge of the Arches court. He displayed statesmanlike firmness and prudence in dealing with Cade and his followers, and also in endeavouring to reconcile the dukes of York and Somerset, whose animosity was kept within bounds during his life, but who no sooner lost his reasonable mediation than they carried their quarrel to a point where the sword alone could decide between them. Cardinal Kempe was liberal in his patronage of learning, founded a collegiate church at Wye, in Kent, his birth-place, and greatly contributed to the establishment of the Public Schools at Oxford.

<sup>q</sup> Its founder was Richard Flemmyng, bishop of Lincoln, who had been once a Wickliffite, but had changed his opinions, and beside performing the task imposed on him by the Council of Constance, of burning Wickliffe's bones, erected this college as



Arms of Archbishop Kempe.

and acquired a profound knowledge of the civil and canon law. From the office of archdeacon of



Arms of Lincoln College, Oxford.

a nursery for controversialists. The pope wished to promote him to the archiepiscopal see of York, but the king's council opposed it, and he died bishop of Lincoln in 1431. Thomas Rotherham,

The earl of Salisbury besieges Orleans. He is wounded there, Oct. 27, and dies Nov. 3.

A.D. 1429.

The siege of Orleans is continued by the earl of Suffolk (William de la Pole). The French are defeated at Roveroy, near Orleans, Feb. 12<sup>r</sup>.

The siege of Orleans is raised by Joan of Arc<sup>s</sup>. She entered the city April 29, and the English retired May 8.

The French begin to act on the offensive. They capture the earl of Suffolk at Jergeaux, June 12; defeat Sir John Talbot<sup>t</sup> at Patay, June 18;

and conduct their king to Reims, where he is crowned July 18. Many of the strong towns expel their English or Burgundian garrisons.

The steady decline of the power of the English in France may be dated from this period, although they were not completely driven out (except from Calais) till twenty years later. The impulse was no doubt given by Joan, but a countryman of hers, named Master Jean, rendered still better service to France by an improvement in artillery. He found that a small iron ball would do more damage than the cumbrous stone shot hitherto employed, and so he constructed guns

a later bishop of Lincoln, (subsequently archbishop of York,) so greatly augmented the revenues of the college that he is regarded as a second founder.

<sup>t</sup> The French attempted to cut off a convoy of Lenten provisions sent for the use of the besiegers, whence this action was called the battle of Herrings.

<sup>s</sup> Joan Darc (often called "of Arc") styled La Pucelle, or the Maid of Orleans, was a peasant-girl, born at Domremy, in Lorraine, about 1410. Her mind, naturally contemplative and pious, became disordered by brooding over the sufferings of her country, and she imagined that voices from heaven commissioned her to become its deliverer. In the year 1428, when the English had almost completed the conquest of France, she appeared before Charles VII., who kept his court at Chinon, announced herself as sent by Heaven to establish him on the throne, and though at first repulsed, at length obtained from him a horse, a suit of armour, and a few followers, with whom she proceeded to Orleans, then besieged by the earl of Suffolk, and on the point of surrender. She speedily raised the siege, next defeated Talbot at Patay, and finally conducted Charles to Reims, where she placed the crown on his head, July 18. The Maid, considering her mission complete, now wished to retire, but it was considered that she could render further service, and she was, unhappily for herself, persuaded to remain. Anxious to relieve Compiègne, then besieged by the Burgundians, she threw herself into it, and kept up the spirits of the garrison by many acts of daring courage, but was at length captured in heading a sortie. The Burgundians surrendered her for a sum of money to the duke of Bedford, who, though in general a wise and merciful prince, seems to have seriously believed that her former successes were owing to witchcraft. By his direction she was, after a long and rigorous imprisonment, brought before an ecclesiastical tribunal, at which the bishop of Beauvais presided, and was condemned to death as a sorceress. In consequence, she was burnt alive at Rouen, May 30, 1431, but this barbarity was far from producing its expected effect; the English cause declined from day to day, while the memory of the Maid was gratefully cherished by her countrymen; her family was ennobled, and her native village freed from taxes; and more modern times have witnessed the celebration of fêtes and the erection of numerous statues, which testify the sense justly entertained of her services to France.

<sup>t</sup> John Talbot, a younger son of Sir Gilbert Talbot, a knight on the Welsh border, married an heiress, and in her right became Lord Furnivall. For some reason now unknown he was imprisoned

in the Tower early in the reign of Henry V., but was soon after released, and appointed lieutenant of Ireland, a post which he held for some years.



John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury.

though frequently serving in France, where he was one of the firmest supports of the English rule. He was, however, defeated and taken prisoner at Patay, and though soon exchanged for a distinguished French captain, and employed for several years longer in the country, he was obliged to retire when Normandy was overrun by the troops of Charles VII. Talbot was, however, more successful in Ireland, where he captured several potent chieftains, and he received abundant honour and rewards. He was created earl of Shrewsbury in 1442, and earl of Waterford in 1447; his eldest son was appointed chancellor, and himself hereditary lord steward, of Ireland. When the Gascons appealed for aid against the French, the fame of Talbot pointed him out as the proper leader of reinforcements, and he accordingly sailed on the expedition, but after some slight successes he was defeated and killed at Castillon, in his 81st year, his young son John Lord Lisle, falling with him. Their bodies were brought to England, and buried with great pomp at Whitechurch, in Shropshire. He was succeeded by his eldest son, also named John, who was made treasurer of England, received large grants of the forfeited estates of the duke of York, and was killed on the Lancastrian side at the battle of Northampton, in 1460.



that were at once light enough to be easily moved from place to place, and yet far more destructive than the enormous bombards<sup>u</sup> with which Henry V. had subdued so many strong towns. The effect was ascribed to magic; and the courage of the bravest failed to support them in what they considered a conflict with the powers of darkness<sup>v</sup>. Hence, though there were occasional gleams of success, the English lost heart, and the Hundred Years' War came to its proper end by their expulsion.

The duke of Bedford raises fresh forces, and endeavours to bring the French to an engagement, without success.

The duke of Burgundy is appointed governor of Paris.

The young king is crowned at Westminster, Nov. 6.

A.D. 1430.

Joan is captured at Compiègne, May 26, but the English are shortly after obliged to raise the siege.

The truce with Scotland renewed until May 1, 1436, Dec. 15.

A.D. 1431.

An attempt made to deprive Beaufort of his see of Winchester, in consequence of his being a cardinal. After a discussion in the council, the proposition is rejected, Nov. 6.

The king is crowned at Paris, Dec. 17.

The French recapture Harfleur.

A.D. 1432.

Archbishop Kempe resigns the chancellorship; he is succeeded by John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, Feb. 25.

The duchess of Bedford dies, Nov. 14.

The duke of Burgundy (her brother) takes offence at a marriage soon after contracted by the duke of Bedford, and inclines to the French party.

A.D. 1433.

Various conferences for peace are held, under the mediation of the pope, (Eugenius IV.,) and through the means of the duke of Orleans<sup>w</sup>, but without effect.

A.D. 1434.

A rising against the English in Normandy is suppressed by the earl of Arundel (John Fitzalan<sup>x</sup>).

A.D. 1435.

A congress held at Arras to treat of peace, Aug. 20. The English envoys, offended at the offers of the French<sup>y</sup>, withdraw Sept. 6; the duke of Burgundy formally abandons the English alliance, Sept. 21.

The duke of Bedford dies at Rouen, Sept. 14. He is succeeded by the duke of York<sup>z</sup>.

James of Scotland resumes estates granted, particularly those of the earls of March and of Strathearn<sup>a</sup>, which occasions much discontent among his nobles, and they begin to conspire against him.

A.D. 1436.

The bishop of Winchester and the duke of Gloucester thwart each other's designs, and thus hinder reinforcements being sent to France.

Paris is retaken by the French, April 13.

The duke of Burgundy besieges Calais, June. He is forced to retire by the duke of Gloucester, Aug. 2.

The duke of York and Talbot are successful in Normandy, and ravage the country as far as Paris.

<sup>u</sup> See A.D. 1415.

<sup>v</sup> Even the regent Bedford, writing to the council, styles Joan "a disciple and limb of the Fiend, called the Pucelle."

<sup>w</sup> He had been captured at Agincourt, and did not obtain his liberty until 1440.

<sup>x</sup> He was mortally wounded shortly after at Gerberoi and taken prisoner. He died a captive at Beauvais, June 12, 1435, and was buried there, but his body was afterwards brought to England by his squire, Roger Eytou, and buried in the collegiate church of Arundel.

<sup>y</sup> They offered to cede Normandy and Guienne to be held by the ordinary homage, on condition of Henry resigning all claim to the crown and surrendering Calais and all other places that he then possessed in France.

<sup>z</sup> Richard Plantagenet, the son of the earl of Cambridge executed in 1415, and founder of the House of York.

<sup>a</sup> The earl of March (George Dunbar) had been engaged in intrigues with the English during the king's captivity, but had been pardoned by the regent, Albany; the king now seized his earldom, on the plea that the regent had no power to pardon treason. The earl of Strathearn (Malise Graham) was great-grandson of Robert II., by whom the fief had been limited to males; the earl's mother, however, had been allowed to hold it, and to convey it to her husband, who possessed it for many years unquestioned, and transmitted it to his son; Malise had been one of the king's hostages in England, and his treatment was highly resented by his fellow nobles.

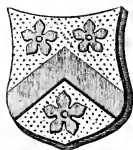
War breaks out with Scotland. James besieges the castle of Roxburgh, in August.

A.D. 1437.

Guilds and incorporate companies ordered to have their charters duly recorded before justices of the peace<sup>b</sup>, [15 Hen. VI. c. 6].

James of Scotland murdered at Perth, Feb. 20<sup>c</sup>. He is succeeded by his son James II., a child of six years old<sup>d</sup>.

All Souls' College<sup>e</sup>, Oxford, founded by Archbishop Chicheley, March 20.



Arms of All Souls' College, Oxford.

The duke of York is recalled from France, and the earl of Warwick (Richard Beauchamp) appointed governor in his stead, July 16.

The duke of Burgundy's territories ravaged by Talbot.

Harfleur recaptured by the English, but lost in the next year.

A.D. 1438.

England is afflicted with plague and famine.

A nine years' truce concluded with Scotland, March 31.

A.D. 1439.

Fresh conferences for peace are held in the summer, but without effect. A three years' truce is agreed to between England and Burgundy.

The constable of France (Arthur of Brittany) captures Meaux.

The Public Schools at Oxford are founded.

A.D. 1440.

The title of viscount created by patent<sup>f</sup>.

Louis the dauphin conspires against his father, Charles VII. The English take advantage of the confusion, ravage Picardy, and again capture Harfleur.

The duke of York is again appointed governor of France, July 2.

Eton College founded by Henry VI., Oct. 11.

The duke of Orleans is set at liberty<sup>g</sup>, Nov. 12.

William, earl of Douglas, and his brother, seized by treachery, and executed, Nov. 24.

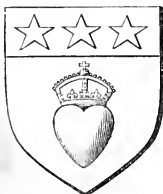
A.D. 1441.

Charles VII. takes Creil, in April, but is driven from Pontoise in August by the duke of York. He returns, and captures the town, putting the garrison to the sword.

The duchess of Gloucester, accused

<sup>b</sup> The preamble states that these bodies oftentimes made unlawful and unreasonable ordinances "for their own profit and common damage to the people," and for remedy the justices are empowered to revoke and repeal such; those who afterwards endeavour to enforce them being liable to a fine of £10 for each transgression.

<sup>c</sup> The chief conspirators were the earl of Athol, uncle to the king, and Robert Graham, uncle of the disinherited earl of Strathearn (see A.D. 1435); they were both tortured to death.



Arms of Douglas.

<sup>d</sup> His minority was disturbed by the struggles of the lords Crichton and Livingstone, the chancellor and the governor of the realm, who held, the one Edinburgh, the other Stirling, and contended for the possession of the king; by the intrigues of his mother and her second husband, Sir James Stuart, of Lorn; and by the turbulence of two successive earls of Douglas, who set all law at defiance, and made treasonable leagues with England and the lords of the Isles. The crowned heart in the Douglas arms is an augmentation in memory of the journey of Sir James Douglas to the Holy Land with the heart of King Robert Bruce. See A.D. 1328.

<sup>e</sup> It had its name from being designed mainly to support a body of priests to pray for the souls of all who had perished or might perish in the French war.

<sup>f</sup> John, Lord Beaumont, was the first person who received this new title, Feb. 12, 1440, accompanied by a grant of lands in France. He was killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460, on the Lancastrian side.

<sup>g</sup> The duke of Gloucester entered a formal protest against his being liberated, June 2, but his opposition was disregarded. One condition of his release was that he should endeavour to bring about a peace, in which case the heavy ransom (134,000 crowns) imposed on him was to be remitted.

of witchcraft, is sentenced to imprisonment for life<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1442.

The French gain several towns in the south of France; the duke of York ravages the north.

A.D. 1443.

The duke of Gloucester accuses the bishop of Winchester of treason; the bishop produces a general pardon from the king.

The truce with Burgundy is renewed, April 23.

King's College, Cambridge, founded by Henry VI.

A.D. 1444.

A truce is concluded with France<sup>i</sup>, May 28. It was to endure to May 1, 1446, and was afterwards prolonged to April 1, 1450.

The duke of York is recalled from France, and succeeded by the marquis of Dorset (Edmund Beaufort, afterwards duke of Somerset).

A.D. 1445.

The king marries Margaret of Anjou<sup>j</sup>, April 22; Margaret is crowned, April 30.

A.D. 1446.

The marquis of Suffolk is thanked

in the parliament for his services in negotiating the truce with France.

A.D. 1447.

A parliament held at Bury St. Edmund's, Feb. 10. The duke of Gloucester is charged with treason, Feb. 11, and is found dead a few days after<sup>k</sup>.

Cardinal Beaufort dies, April 11.

All former statutes made against Welshmen confirmed [25 Hen. VI. c. 1]. By this act all grants of markets, &c., to them in North Wales were made void; and all villeins of the king were to be constrained to do all such labours and services as they used to do of old time.

A.D. 1448.

Anjou and Maine surrendered according to treaty to the French. The discharged garrisons, being dismissed without pay, ravage Brittany.

A.D. 1449.

The French, alleging the truce to be thus broken, invade Normandy at several different points, and achieve its conquest with little trouble<sup>l</sup>.

Queens' College, Cambridge, founded by Queen Margaret, March 30<sup>m</sup>.

The duke of York is appointed lieutenant of Ireland, July 5. He conciliates the people, and his friends<sup>n</sup> bring forward his claim to the throne.

<sup>b</sup> The place of her confinement appears to have been often changed. Notices in the Public Records, which only style her "Eleanor Cobham," prove her to have been imprisoned at Chester, Kenilworth, and Calais. She was at last removed to the Isle of Man, where she was confined in the crypt under the cathedral of St. German, within Peel Castle. Robert Bolingbroke, a priest, and Margaret Jourdain, called the witch of Eye, her presumed confederates, were executed, and another (Thomas Southwell, a canon of St. Stephen's) died in the Tower.

<sup>i</sup> It was negotiated by the earl of Suffolk, and he was in consequence created a marquis, Sept. 14, 1444. On June 2, 1448, he was raised to the dukedom.

<sup>j</sup> The marriage was negotiated by Suffolk, who had before concluded the truce with France. The contract stipulated for the surrender of several of the remaining English possessions in France, and hence was opposed by the duke of Gloucester, but the influence of his rival, the bishop of Winchester, prevailed.

<sup>k</sup> He was suspected of a design to make himself master of the government by force, but his death prevented any formal inquiry; and in 1455 a parliamentary declaration of his innocence was made. Local tradition places his death on Feb. 24.

<sup>l</sup> The duke of Somerset was accused of surrendering Caen to secure the safety of his wife and children, who were besieged there.

<sup>m</sup> It was at first called St. Bernard and St. Mar-

garet's College, but being further endowed by the queen of Edward IV., it obtained its present appellation.

<sup>n</sup> The most influential of these parties was Richard Neville, a son of Ralph, earl of Westmoreland, who was born in the year 1400, and obtained the earldom of Salisbury by marriage with Alice, the heiress of Thomas Montacute, killed at Orleans, in 1429. He served in France



Arms of Neville, earl of Salisbury.

under the duke of York, who was his brother-in-law, became warden of the West Marches, in conjunction with his eldest son, ("king-making Warwick,") and rendered himself famous by his strenuous opposition to the surrender of the English provinces in France. When the civil war broke out, he took

A war breaks out with Scotland. The English burn Dumfries, and the Scots destroy Alnwick; the earl of Northumberland is defeated in Anandale. A truce for an unlimited period is concluded, Nov. 15.

A.D. 1450.

Insurrections break out in various parts of England, directed against the duke of Suffolk and his partisans. The chancellor (Archbishop Stafford) retires, and Cardinal Kempe is recalled<sup>o</sup>.

Adam Moleyne, bishop of Chichester<sup>p</sup>, is murdered at Portsmouth early in January.

The duke is impeached by the Commons, Jan. 28, and committed to the Tower.

He is brought before the parliament, March 17, and without trial sentenced to five years' banishment. He embarks at Ipswich May 3, but is overtaken and beheaded at sea, by order of the

constable of the Tower, (John Holland, duke of Exeter).

John Cade (calling himself Mortimer<sup>q</sup>) raises an insurrection in Kent, in May. He encamps on Blackheath, June 1, and, as "captain of the great assembly of Kent," requires the dismissal of evil councillors and the redress of grievances<sup>r</sup>.

Sir Humphrey Stafford (cousin of Humphrey, duke of Buckingham<sup>s</sup>) is sent against him, but is defeated and killed at Sevenoaks, June 27.

William Ascough, bishop of Salisbury, is murdered by insurgents at Edington, in Wiltshire, June 29.

Cade enters London, July 3. He beheads Lord Say<sup>t</sup>, and Crowmer the sheriff of Kent, July 4, after which his followers begin to plunder. The citizens resist, and after a fierce fight on London bridge, the insurgents are driven out, July 5.

The chancellor (Archbishop Kempe) and the bishop of Winchester (Wayne-flete) meet Cade in the church of St.

the field, and gained a victory over the Lancastrians at Bloreheath; owing to a sudden change of fortune, he was soon after obliged to flee to Calais, and was attainted. He returned the next year, and accompanied the duke of York into the north against Queen Margaret, but being taken at Wakefield, (where his son Thomas was killed, as well as the duke,) he was beheaded, and his head placed on the wall of York, whence it was removed in February, 1461, and buried with his wife at Bisham, in Berkshire, where he had prepared a place of sepulture before the battle of Bloreheath. He left three sons: Richard earl of Salisbury and Warwick, and John marquis of Montacute, both killed at Barnet, in 1471; and William, lord Falconbridge and earl of Kent, who died in 1493. Of his daughters, Margaret was the wife of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a staunch Lancastrian; and Katherine married first Lord Bonville, and afterwards Lord Hastings.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 1432.

<sup>p</sup> He was unpopular, as having been concerned, under Suffolk, in negotiating the king's marriage, and on Dec. 9, 1449, he had licence to go on a pilgrimage; hence, perhaps, his presence at Portsmouth.

<sup>q</sup> He was an Irish soldier of fortune, "a young man of a goodly stature and pregnant wit," and was supposed to be put forward by the duke of York, in order to ascertain the feeling of the nation towards his claim; hence his assumed name of Mortimer.

<sup>r</sup> The council refused to receive the statement of grievances, but it has been preserved, and may be seen in Stowe's Annals, (p. 388). It shows that the people had many very serious grievances to complain of, and that the picture given of Cade and his followers by Shakespeare does them great injustice.

<sup>s</sup> He was the grandson of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester. He served in France in the wars of Henry V. and VI., and was present at the coronation of the latter at Paris. In 1440 he was appointed captain of Calais, and on Sept. 14, 1444, he was created duke of Buckingham. A fierce

quarrel as to precedence ensued between himself and Henry Beauchamp, duke of Warwick and king of the Isle of Wight, but on Warwick's death soon after, he was declared first peer of the realm, and was also made constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460, and was succeeded by his grandson, his eldest son, Humphrey, having fallen at the first battle of St. Alban's, where he himself was wounded; his second son, Henry, became the second husband of Margaret, countess



Arms of Stafford, duke of Buckingham.

of Richmond. A frightful succession of calamities befel both the ancestors and the descendants of this potent noble, as well as himself. His grandfather was murdered at Calais, his father killed at Shrewsbury, his son at St. Alban's, and himself at Northampton; his grandson and great-grandson were both executed as traitors, and the great-grandson of the last was in 1637 compelled by abject poverty to relinquish the rank of Lord Stafford, to which he had become entitled, his sister being at the time the wife of a carpenter.

<sup>t</sup> He was treasurer of England, and had been a devoted adherent of the duke of Suffolk. He was also lord-lieutenant of Kent, and was accused by Cade of greatly oppressing the people in concert with William Crowmer, the sheriff, who was his son-in-law.

Margaret, Southwark, receive his statement of grievances, and consent to grant pardons for himself and his followers<sup>a</sup>, who thereupon begin to disperse, July 6.

Cade retires to Rochester with his booty. Quarrels arise among his followers, and he flees from them, July 11. He is killed in Sussex, shortly after, when his body is brought to London, and his head set on the bridge, July 15<sup>v</sup>.

Cherbourg is taken by the French, Aug. 12<sup>w</sup>.

The duke of Somerset, late governor in Normandy, returns to England, and takes the direction of affairs.

The University of Glasgow founded by papal bull.

A.D. 1451.

The French overrun Gascony. The last town that holds out is Bayonne, which is taken Aug. 25.

Truce for three years with Scotland, Aug. 14<sup>x</sup>.

A.D. 1452.

The duke of York takes up arms, and demands that Somerset shall be brought to trial. Being prevailed on to lay down his arms, he is imprisoned, but is shortly released, and retires to his castle of Wigmore.

Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, is sent to reconquer Gascony. Bordeaux surrenders to him, Oct. 23.

William, earl of Douglas, (cousin of the preceding earl<sup>y</sup>), is murdered by James II. of Scotland, Feb. 22. The Douglasses proclaim the king a perjured murderer, and declare themselves subjects of England.

They take up arms, but being unsuccessful, are reconciled with the king.

<sup>a</sup> These pardons remain on the Patent Roll of Henry VI. part 2, and they shew that many persons of good position and property had taken a part in the rising, in Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Essex. Thus for Kent alone, one knight (Sir John Cheyne, of Eastchurch in Shepey), 18 squires, and 74 gentlemen are pardoned, as well as the sheriff of Folkestone, the mayor of Quenborough, and the whole communities of Canterbury, Rochester, Chatham, Maidstone and Sandwich. The extent of sympathy with the insurgents may be gathered from the fact, that the heads and quarters of Cade and others were sent to such widely distant places as Norwich, Gloucester, Colchester, Salisbury, Stamford, Winchester, &c.

<sup>y</sup> On the same day a grant of 1000 marks out of the rebels' goods was made to Alexander Iden, sheriff of Kent, and others, who had brought the corpse to London.

<sup>w</sup> This, which was considered the virtual extinction of the English rule in France was for ages

A.D. 1453.

Talbot is defeated and killed at Castillon, July 23. Bordeaux is invested by the French, Aug. 1; taken by them, Oct. 17.

The king falls ill, and is totally incapacitated for the government, November.

The duke of York again comes forward, is admitted into the king's council, and procures the imprisonment of Somerset, Dec.

A.D. 1454.

The parliament meets, Feb. 14. The king's incapacity being fully certified, the duke of York is appointed "protector and defender of the kingdom," during the minority of Prince Edward, April 3.

Somerset is deprived of his offices<sup>z</sup>, and accused of treason, but the charge is not followed up.

James, earl of Douglas, rebels, but being defeated, flees to England<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1455.

The king recovers his health. He revokes the duke of York's commission as Protector, and releases Somerset from the Tower, Feb. 5.

The dukes of York and Somerset enter into bonds of 20,000 marks each to submit their disputes to arbitration, March 4.

The duke of York, being, only two days after, deprived of the captainship of Calais, takes up arms; Somerset advances against him. The armies meet at St. Alban's, May 23, when Somerset is killed<sup>b</sup>, and the duke of York gains a complete victory.

The parliament meets, July 9, when

celebrated by an annual solemn thanksgiving in the cathedral of Coutances. A monument to the Virgin was also raised at Cherbourg, where the annual ceremony was kept up with great pomp until the year 1700, when an accidental tumult occasioned its suppression.

<sup>z</sup> On the day before, a protest was made by Richard Andrew, dean of Durham, one of the English negotiators, that nothing in the document should be taken to prejudice the king's claim to the sovereignty of Scotland.

<sup>y</sup> See A.D. 1440.

<sup>a</sup> One of these was the captainship of Calais, which was bestowed on the duke of York, for seven years, July 28, 1454, but was taken from him shortly after.

<sup>b</sup> An annuity of £500 was granted to him, Aug. 7, 1455.

<sup>c</sup> Henry, earl of Northumberland, was also killed on the Lancastrian side; he was brother-in-law of the duke of York.

a declaration is made of the innocence of the duke of Gloucester<sup>c</sup>, and a general pardon issued.

The captainship of Calais bestowed on the earl of Warwick<sup>d</sup>.

The earl of Douglas invades Scotland; he is defeated, and two of his brothers killed.

The king again falls ill, when, at the desire of the parliament, the duke of York is a second time constituted Protector, to remain until dismissed by the parliament, Nov. 19.

A.D. 1456.

The king recovers, and again revokes the duke's commission, Feb. 25. The duke and his chief adherents retire to their estates<sup>e</sup>.

Donald, lord of the Isles, invades Scotland, in concert with the Douglasses. He burns Inverness, but soon retires.

A.D. 1457.

The French and Bretons ravage the English coast; they plunder Sandwich, Aug. 28.

The truce with Scotland renewed for four years, Dec. 31.

A.D. 1458.

The queen and the duke of York are formally reconciled<sup>f</sup>, March 25.

Magdalen College, Oxford, founded by William Waynflete<sup>g</sup>, bishop of Winchester, July 18.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1447.

<sup>d</sup> Richard Neville was the eldest son of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, and was born in the year 1428. Like his father he married an heiress, and thus became earl of Warwick. He acquired vast property with his wife, and he acted so liberally with it, making all comers welcome to his board, wherever he had an estate, and whenever he came to London, that he was a popular favourite. He espoused the cause of the duke of York, led the van at the battle of St. Alban's, where Somerset, his brother-in-law, was slain, and soon after received the appointment of captain of Calais, which important post he retained, through many vicissitudes of fortune, until his death. An attempt was made to assassinate him in the year 1458, which occasioned the Yorkists again to take arms. Though successful at first, they were eventually dispersed; the earl, among others, was attainted, and the young duke of Somerset, his nephew, was sent to dispossess him of Calais. Warwick, how-

ever, foiled him, and, being well used to service at sea, maintained his forces by a piratical warfare, in which he sometimes seized wealthy Lancastrians on the English coast and put them to ransom; at others, captured rich Spanish ships; then, returning to England, he gained the battle of Northampton, but was defeated by Queen Margaret at St. Alban's. Edward IV. now succeeded, and Warwick was for a while all-powerful. He gained the victory of Towton, was made captain of Dover, (Calais was already in his keeping), warden of the Scottish marches, lord chamberlain and lord steward, and had grants of forfeited lands to the amount of 80,000 crowns annually, while one brother was made earl of Northumberland, and the other archbishop of York. He at length found

rivals in the Woodvilles, the relatives of Edward's queen; quarrels and slight insurrections ensued, and in 1470 he suddenly espoused the Lancastrian cause, drove out Edward and restored Henry, from whom he received a confirmation of all his offices and acquisitions, and the post of admiral. Edward returned, and the earl was defeated and killed, together with his brother, at Barnet, April 14, 1471; their bodies were brought to London, exposed to the public gaze in one coffin, and afterwards buried at Bisham, with their father. Richard left two daughters: Isabella, who married the duke of Clarence; and Anne, first married to Edward, son of Henry VI., and afterwards to Richard, duke of Gloucester. His widow took sanctuary for a while at Beaulieu, and afterwards lived in poverty until the time of Henry VII., who made a show of restoring her estates, but she at once conveyed them to him, and received one manor (Sutton, in Warwickshire) for her support. She was living in 1490, but how long after is uncertain.

<sup>e</sup> John Neville, the younger brother of Richard, defeated the Lancastrians at Hexham, and was created earl of Northumberland; this was afterwards changed for the title of marquis of Montagu. He followed his brother's steps, and fell with him at Barnet. His son George, a child, who had been created duke of Bedford, was stripped of his estates, then deposed for his poverty, and imprisoned with the young earl of Warwick at Sheriff Hutton, where he died, May 4, 1483.

<sup>f</sup> They repaired to St. Paul's church to a solemn service, the duke leading the queen by the hand, and the chiefs on each side followed them, in a similar amicable fashion. "But," says Halle, "though their bodies were joined, their hearts were far asunder," as became evident enough not long after.

<sup>g</sup> His father's name was Richard Pattyn, but the son was usually styled William Waynflete, from the place of his birth. Like Chicheley he was a Winchester scholar, and like him he imitated Wykeham by founding a college. He was for a while master of Winchester School, was in 1443 appointed provost of Eton, and in 1447 succeeded Cardinal Beaufort as bishop of Winchester. He soon after commenced his academical foundation by procuring licence to found St. Mary Magdalen Hall (May 6, 1448), but did not obtain the foundation charter of his college until 1458. He held the post of chancellor from 1456 to 1460, and was with



Arms of Neville, earl of Warwick.

ever, foiled him, and, being well used to service at sea, maintained his forces by a piratical warfare, in which he sometimes seized wealthy Lancastrians on the English coast and put them to ransom; at others, captured rich Spanish ships; then, returning to England, he gained the battle of Northampton, but was defeated by Queen Margaret at St. Alban's. Edward IV. now succeeded, and Warwick was for a while all-powerful. He gained the victory of Towton, was made captain of Dover, (Calais was already in his keeping), warden of the Scottish marches, lord chamberlain and lord steward, and had grants of forfeited lands to the amount of 80,000 crowns annually, while one brother was made earl of Northumberland, and the other archbishop of York. He at length found

An attempt made to assassinate the earl of Warwick, in London, Sept. 9. He escapes to the north, arranges with his father (the earl of Salisbury) and the duke of York for their defence, and then repairs to Calais.

A.D. 1459.

The earl of Salisbury marches to join the duke of York. On his way he defeats and kills Lord Audley, a Lancastrian, at Blore-heath, in Staffordshire, Sept. 23.

The earls of Salisbury and Warwick join the duke of York. The Lancastrians, headed by the queen, advance to Ludlow against him, when Sir Andrew Trollope<sup>b</sup> deserts to them, Oct. 13; a pardon is offered, and the duke's army disbands<sup>i</sup>.

The duke of Somerset makes an attempt to get Calais out of the hands of the Yorkists, but fails.

A parliament held at Coventry, in which the duke of York and his chief adherents are attainted, Nov. 20.

A.D. 1460.

The Yorkist lords at Calais, invited by the people of Kent, land at Sandwich, about Midsummer. They enter London with a large army, July 2.

The queen raises a force, which is totally defeated by the Yorkists at Northampton, July 10. The duke of Buckingham, the queen's general, is killed, the king taken prisoner, and the queen and her son obliged to flee to Scotland.

James II. of Scotland is killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh, Aug. 3. He is succeeded by his son James III., a child not seven years old.

The parliament assembles, Oct. 7.

The duke of York returns from Ireland, Oct. 9. He makes a formal claim to the crown, Oct. 16.

A compromise is effected, Oct. 31, that Henry shall retain the crown for life, and be succeeded by the duke of York. The proceedings of the parliament at Coventry in 1459 are set aside as illegal, [39 Hen. VI. c. 1].

The queen raises an army in the north, and advances against the Yorkists. The duke of York leaves London to oppose her, Dec. 2.

The duke of York is besieged by Margaret's forces in Sandal castle, near Wakefield; he sallies out, and attacks them, but is defeated and killed, Dec. 30. His son, the earl of Rutland, is taken and butchered in cold blood by Lord Clifford<sup>j</sup>; and the earl of Salis-

Henry VI. at the second battle of Northampton. He was known as a decided partisan of the House of Lancaster, but was so generally esteemed for



Arms of Magdalen College, Oxford.

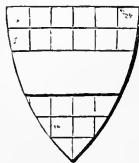
his integrity, that Edward IV. not only allowed him to retire unmolested to his see and granted him a general pardon, but also became visitor of his college and bestowed lands on it. Bishop Wayneflete died Aug. 11, 1486, and was buried at Winchester, where his tomb is still kept in repair by Magdalen College.

<sup>b</sup> He had long served in the French wars, and was much trusted by the earl of Warwick, with whom he came from Calais. He was killed on the Lancastrian side at Towton.

<sup>i</sup> He fled with one of his sons (the earl of Rutland) to Ireland. The earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick escaped to Calais, and ravaged the English coast with their ships, capturing on one

occasion Lord Rivers and other Lancastrians, who were assembling a force against them at Sandwich.

<sup>j</sup> John, lord Clifford, had been commissary-general of the Scottish marches, and from his fierce and lawless character bore the name of "the butcher." His father, Thomas, who was the nephew of Hotspur, had fallen on the Lancastrian side at the first battle of St. Alban's, and he himself was killed at Towton. He had made himself so obnoxious to the Yorkists, that his son Henry owed his life to being brought up as a shepherd, in which state he remained until the accession of Henry VII.,



Arms of Clifford.

who restored his title and estates; he served at the battle of Flodden, and died in 1535. Robert, a younger son of "the butcher," was employed by Henry VII. as a spy, and his treachery proved fatal to Sir William Stanley and many others.

bury and several other prisoners are beheaded without trial at Pontefract, the next day.

A.D. 1461.

The young duke of York (afterwards Edward IV.) defeats the earl of Pembroke<sup>k</sup> at Mortimer's Cross (near Wigmore), Feb. 2. The earl's father (Owen Tudor) and several other prisoners are beheaded on the field.

The queen advances southward, defeats the earl of Warwick at St. Alban's, Feb. 17, and rescues the king.

Her partisans ravage the country, when she is refused admission into London, and obliged to retire to the north.

The duke of York enters London, Feb. 28. His army being mustered in St. John's fields on Sunday, March 2, the Lord Falconbridge<sup>l</sup> addresses the citizens in favour of the duke's right to the crown.

The duke urges his claim before a council of such peers, prelates, and chief citizens as can be collected, and they declare him king, March 3.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Constantinople unsuccessfully besieged by the Turks . . .	1423	The Turks conquer Servia . . .	1439
The Schism of the West terminated by the resignation of the anti-pope Clement VIII. . .	1429	The Turks render the Morea tributary . . .	1446
The Council of Basle opened . . .	1431	Constantinople taken by Mahomet II. . .	1453
		The Turks conquer the Morea . . .	1460

<sup>k</sup> Jasper Tudor, second son of Owen Tudor and Queen Katherine. He escaped from the field, and lived an exile for years, carrying about with him his young nephew, afterwards Henry VII. He died in 1496, then having the title of duke of Bedford.

<sup>l</sup> William Neville, a younger brother of the earl of Salisbury; like him, he obtained his title by marrying an heiress. In 1462 he was created earl

of Kent, and died soon after. Thomas, called the Bastard of Falconbridge, a natural son of the preceding lord, was admiral of Warwick's navy when Henry VI. was restored. He in May, 1471, attempted to seize the Tower, where Edward's queen and young family resided: being repulsed from London, he lived awhile by piracy, having at one time a fleet of near 50 ships at Sandwich, but was at last captured and beheaded.



# THE PLANTAGENETS.

## HOUSE OF YORK.



Badges of the House of York.

LIONEL of Antwerp, duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, the third son of Edward III., was the ancestor of this House, as his younger brother John was of that of Lancaster. His wife was Elizabeth, heiress of William de Burgh, who had been killed by some of his fellow Anglo-Irish chiefs, and it was to recover her patrimony, which had been shared according to the native laws, that his expeditions to Ireland<sup>a</sup> were mainly undertaken. Their only daughter, Philippa, became the wife of Edmund, and the mother of Roger Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, who was in 1385 declared presumptive heir to the throne, and was killed in Ireland in 1398. He had married Eleanora, the daughter of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, (half-brother of Richard II.,) and left a son and two daughters. His son Edmund's claim to the throne was set aside by the parliament of 1399, and he died without issue in 1424; his daughter Anne married Richard, earl of Cambridge, (second son of Edmund of Langley, duke of York,) and was by him the mother of one son, Richard, who, though he never bore the title, is justly to be regarded as the first king of the House of York<sup>b</sup>.

Neither the place nor the date of

Richard's birth have been fully ascertained, but he cannot have been more than five years of age when his father was put to death<sup>c</sup>. He was placed in the guardianship of Joan, countess of Westmoreland, whose youngest daughter, Cicely, he afterwards married. In 1425 he was relieved from corruption of blood, and succeeded to the estates and titles of his uncles, Edward duke of York, and Edmund earl of March, and he was knighted along with the young King Henry in 1426. In 1430 the important office of constable of England was bestowed on him; in 1432, though still very young, he was employed to guard the coast of Normandy, and in 1436 he advanced almost to the gates of Paris. He was recalled in the following year, and though sent again in 1440 as lieutenant and captain to Normandy, he was again superseded by Beaufort, marquis of Dorset, who weakly or treacherously suffered himself to be expelled by the French, and then returning to England shared with Queen Margaret the direction of public affairs. York firmly opposed him, and in order to remove such an obstacle to their projects, he was made lieutenant of Ireland for ten years, from July 5, 1449.

Up to this time the duke of York

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1361, 1366.

<sup>b</sup> In the first parliament of his son's reign an act was passed [1 Edw. IV. c. 1], in which he is styled "the right noble and famous prince of worthy memory, Richard, late duke of York . . . in his life

very king in right of the realm of England, singular protector, lover and defensour of the good governance, policy, commonweal, peace and tranquillity thereof."

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1415.

had silently acquiesced in the Lancastrian usurpation, but he now (urged, it is said, by his brother-in-law and nephew, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick,) began to put forward his claim to the crown, having by his wise and mild government gained the firm support of the Irish, whose affection for his House continued unabated after its fall<sup>d</sup>. His claim was resisted far more strenuously by Margaret, and by Dorset (who had become duke of Somerset), than by Henry himself, and was looked on with favour by the bulk of the nation, not only from its real weight and the duke's brilliant services, but also from hatred to those who had lost the conquests of Henry V. Attempts were made to accommodate the dispute by bringing Somerset to trial, and declaring the duke of York Protector of the realm; but these failed through the violent spirit of Margaret, and arms were at length resorted to. The first battle was fought at St. Alban's (May 23, 1455); Somerset was there killed, and York again acknowledged Protector. This appointment was soon after revoked by Henry, and the Yorkists were obliged to retire. A formal reconciliation followed, but it was soon broken by an attempt to assassinate the earl of Warwick. The battle of Bloreheath next occurred (Sept. 23, 1459), where the Lancastrians were again defeated, but through treachery the Yorkist army was soon after dispersed, and the duke and his friends having taken to flight, were attainted by a parliament held at Coventry.

In the summer of 1460 they returned, defeated the Lancastrians at Northampton, took Henry prisoner, and had the duke of York declared heir to the throne. Margaret, however, did not abide by this, but raising a force in Scotland and the north of England, she advanced southward. The duke marched to meet her, but, by some mismanagement not to be expected in so experienced a soldier, he suffered himself to be surrounded

by her forces, and besieged in Sandal castle, in Yorkshire; and then, with equal imprudence, sallying out before his reinforcements arrived, he fell into an ambuscade and was killed, near Wakefield, Dec. 30, 1460. His head was placed on the wall of York, and garnished with a paper crown, but was taken down after the battle of Towton, and interred with his body and that of his son, the earl of Rutland, at Pontefract. Thence the bodies were removed in July, 1466, and buried with royal pomp at Fotheringhay.

By his marriage with the daughter of Ralph, earl of Westmoreland (who survived until May 31, 1495, when she died at Berkhamstead, and was buried with him at Fotheringhay,) he had a family of eight sons and four daughters. Of these,

EDWARD and RICHARD became kings.

Edmund, earl of Rutland, born at Rouen, May 17, 1443, was killed at Wakefield, Dec. 30, 1460.

George, born at Dublin in 1449, was created duke of Clarence, and also appointed lieutenant of Ireland (Feb. 28, 1462), soon after his brother's accession. He, however, conceived himself neglected and injured by the aggrandizement of the Woodvilles, and leagued with the earl of Warwick (whose daughter Isabel he married) first against them, and eventually against the king. His fickle temper led him to forsake Warwick shortly after, but his reconciliation with Edward was probably not sincere. A quarrel next arose with Richard, duke of Gloucester, concerning the Warwick estates, which Clarence endeavoured to secure entirely to himself, and which Gloucester was resolved to share; then fresh dissensions occurred with the Woodvilles. In 1477 he apparently gave his sanction to an attempt to calculate "by art magic, the death and final destruction of the king and prince," was thereupon convicted of treason, and was found dead in the Tower shortly after (Feb. 18, 1478<sup>e</sup>).

<sup>d</sup> He himself found safety there, with his son, the earl of Rutland, in 1459. The Irish also fought in the cause of his pretended grandson, Lambert Simmel, and afterwards joined Richard, who was probably his heir.

<sup>e</sup> His death is commonly ascribed to the machi-

nations of his brother Richard, but is more probably attributable to the Woodvilles. A strong presumption for this is found in the fact that Anthony, Earl Rivers, had the grant of a large part of his estates, the pretence being that Clarence had expressed a wish to that effect, in order to make

His wife and youngest child had died by poison about a year before, but he left a son and a daughter (Edward, earl of Warwick, and Margaret, countess of Salisbury), who both suffered death in the same prison under the Tudors.

Of the duke of York's daughters, Anne married first Henry Holland, duke of Exeter<sup>f</sup>, and afterwards Sir Thomas St. Leger. She died in 1475, leaving by her second husband a daughter, Anne, who married Sir George Manners, the ancestor of the dukes of Rutland.

Elizabeth married John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and was the mother of John, earl of Lincoln, who was nominated the heir of Richard III., but was killed in the battle of Stoke, during his father's lifetime; Edmund, earl of Suffolk, beheaded in 1513; Richard, known as the White Rose of England, killed at Pavia in 1525; Humphrey and Edward, who preserved their lives by taking holy orders; and two daughters.

Margaret married Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and surviving him near thirty years died at Mechlin, in 1503.

Henry<sup>g</sup>, William, John, Thomas, and Ursula, died young.

The peculiar seat of the House of York was the castle of Fotheringhay, on the Nen, in Northamptonshire. The manor was granted by Edward III. to his son Edmund of Langley, who rebuilt great part of the castle, and commenced a collegiate church, dedicated to the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin and All Saints, which was carried on by his son, and completed by his grandson, Richard, whose body was, in 1466, buried there under a handsome shrine on the north side of the high altar. His wife, the duchess Cicely, and their son, the earl of Rutland, were buried beside him; but the college being suppressed under Ed-

ward VI., and its site granted to Dudley, duke of Northumberland, the church, as was but too usual, was dismantled<sup>h</sup>, and the royal tombs fell to decay. At length Queen Elizabeth, visiting the spot, ordered the bodies to be removed to the parish church, where monuments, "by no means worthy," says Camden, "of such princes, sons of kings, and progenitors of kings of England," still exist to their memory.

So troubled a period as the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., might seem little favourable to peaceful pursuits, yet considerable progress was made both in commerce and in the encouragement of learning. The Statute-book, particularly of the Yorkist princes, shews how carefully what were then conceived to be the true interests of the nation as to trade were legislated for; and the period which witnessed the foundation of numerous colleges and halls in both Universities<sup>i</sup>, and of the public schools and library at Oxford, cannot justly be reproached as neglectful of the liberal arts. Indeed Edward and Richard were distinguished patrons of learning, although engaged in an almost incessant struggle for their lives. Among Edward's chief favourites were the accomplished scholar, John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, and Anthony Woodville earl Rivers, a gallant cavalier, though a man of doubtful character, but worthy of remembrance as the elegant poet, the translator of moral works, and the generous patron of William Caxton, who introduced the art of printing to England under his auspices.

Nothing can be more unjust than the tone that modern historians in general have adopted towards the House of York, the members and the partisans of which are represented as guilty of innumerable crimes, many

amends for the "great injuries and mighty offences" he had formerly done to the earl and his family.

<sup>f</sup> He was a Lancastrian, and was attainted in 1461. He lived awhile in exile, in abject poverty, (see p. 250), his forfeited estates being granted to his wife, who also sought a divorce. He returned in 1470, was wounded and left for dead at Barnet; he was conveyed to sanctuary at Westminster, and his wounds healed, but being unable to obtain his pardon, his wife vehemently opposing it, he left his asylum, and was soon after found dead on the coast of Kent.

<sup>g</sup> He was the eldest child, and was born Feb. 10, 1441.

<sup>h</sup> Some of the richly carved stalls have been preserved in the neighbouring churches of Hemington and Tansor; they are decorated with the Yorkist badges and crests.

<sup>i</sup> Lincoln, All Souls', and Magdalen Colleges, at Oxford; King's and Queens' Colleges and Catherine Hall, at Cambridge; and Eton College, still exist of the foundations of this era. Most of them were commenced under the Lancastrian princes, but the House of York protected them, and added to their endowments.

of them, in all probability, mere inventions of writers in the interest of the Tudors, whose object in vilifying their predecessors is sufficiently obvious. Though the fact is indisputable that Richard, duke of York, was the legitimate king, he is ordinarily spoken of as a rebel, and thus is laid on him the odium of the murderous conflict, so well known as the War of the Roses, (in which, according to a vague, but probably not exaggerated estimate, 12 princes of the blood, 200 other nobles, and 100,000 of the knights and gentry perished<sup>k</sup>;) when in reality it arose from the treason of Henry of Bolingbroke.

The falcon and fetterlock, the sun in splendour, and the white rose, (often

with the emblem of the Passion in its centre,) are the peculiar badges of the



Crest of Mortimer.

House of York; many other emblems are found, but they are rather the personal distinctions of each prince, as the lion rampant argent, of the earl of March; the black bull, of Clarence; and the white boar, of Gloucester.

<sup>k</sup> No chronicler then thought it necessary to record the loss of any who were not of noble or gentle blood; but it probably was not, in this contest, proportionately so great as that of the other

classes, who fought with all the fierceness of personal rivalry. "Kill the nobles, and spare the commons," was the maxim, and the practice, of both Edward and Margaret.



Great Seal of Edward IV.

## EDWARD IV.

EDWARD, the second son of Richard, duke of York, and Cicely, daughter of the earl of Westmoreland, was born at Rouen, April 29, 1442, while his father held the office of regent of France for Henry VI. He was obliged to flee to Calais when the Yorkist forces were dispersed in 1459, but returned in the following summer, when they gained a great victory at Northampton, and soon after Richard was recognised by the parliament as heir to the throne. At the end of the year the duke was killed at Wakefield, but Edward shortly after defeated the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross, and boldly advancing on London, in spite of a defeat experienced at St. Alban's

by his chief partisan, the earl of Warwick, he entered the city Feb. 28, and was installed as king March 4, 1461.

He had, however, to leave London almost immediately to meet the forces of Queen Margaret, and having defeated them at Towton, March 29, thus secured his throne. The Lancastrians rose again in 1464, but were defeated, and so completely crushed that they could offer no further opposition; Margaret retired to the continent, and Henry fell into his hands. Quarrels, however, arose between the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, and others of the old nobility, and the family of Edward's queen<sup>a</sup>, in conse-

<sup>a</sup> The Woodvilles were originally a Northamptonshire family, and their ancestors had frequently held the shrievalty there, but in the time of Richard II. they settled in Kent. Richard, the queen's father, held at different times the offices of seneschal of Normandy, constable of the Tower, and lieutenant of Calais. He married Jacquetta, the widow of the duke of Bedford, was ennobled in 1448, and being a warm partisan of the House of

Lancaster, was in 1459 seized at Sandwich by some of the exiled Yorkists and carried a prisoner to Calais. He was soon released, and lived apparently in retirement for a few succeeding years, but shortly after his daughter's marriage was created earl Rivers, and received many valuable grants, and the offices of constable and treasurer. At length, on the breaking out of the troubles which drove Edward IV. for a while into exile, the earl and

quence of which he was driven into exile, and King Henry restored, in 1470. Edward soon returned, however, defeated all his opponents at Barnet and at Tewkesbury, captured Queen Margaret, and reigned henceforth undisturbed by civil war, though by no means free from disquietude at the protection which the exiled Lancastrians met with abroad. He was engaged during the greater part of his reign in either covert or open attacks upon Scotland<sup>b</sup>, and he also, in 1475, led an army into France, but he effected nothing of consequence in either country; he was equally unsuccessful in a number of marriages which he planned for his children while yet infants, none of which took effect, and he died rather suddenly, April 9, 1483, after a reign of twenty-two years, marked by more cruelty and licentiousness than any former king had exhibited.

In 1463, or 1464, Edward married Elizabeth, widow of John Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby<sup>c</sup>, and daughter of Richard Woodville<sup>d</sup>, lord Rivers, by Jacquetta, formerly duchess of Bedford. The queen's relatives were all Lancastrians, they were also needy, but they were speedily married to the richest heirs and heiresses<sup>e</sup>, and engrossed the favour of the king to the exclusion of those who had placed him on the throne. This was deeply resented,

and caused his temporary expulsion; several of the Woodvilles perished on the scaffold; the queen was obliged twice to take sanctuary; and she at last died (June 8, 1492) in confinement in the nunnery at Bermondsey, where she had been placed by her son-in-law, Henry VII.

The children of Edward and Elizabeth were three sons and seven daughters.

1. EDWARD, became king.

2. Richard, born Aug. 17, 1472, was created duke of York, and also appointed lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Gormanstown being his deputy. In 1477 he was married to Anne, the heiress of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, but she died shortly after, and he is usually said to have been murdered with his brother, in the Tower, by order of their uncle, the duke of Gloucester; the fact, however, is not certain.

3. George, created duke of Bedford, died an infant.

Mary and Margaret died young; Bridget (born 1480) died a nun at Dartford, about 1517.

Of the remaining princesses, Elizabeth married Henry VII. Cicely (born 1469) married first Lord Wells, and afterwards Thomas Kyme, of the Isle of Wight; she died Aug. 24, 1507. Anne (born 1475) married Lord Thomas Howard, son of the earl of Surrey,

his son John were captured and beheaded. He left a large family, of whom Anthony succeeded

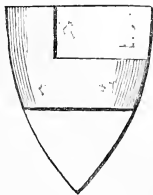
nephew, Edward V., but being seized at Stony Stratford, in April, 1483, was carried into Yorkshire, and beheaded at Pontefract about the 26th of June, by order of Richard III., with whom he had been long at variance.

<sup>b</sup> His interference was highly resented, and in an Act of the Scottish parliament of 1481 he is styled "the revare (robber) Edward calland him king of England."

<sup>c</sup> He was never summoned to parliament, and is usually known only as Sir John Grey. He was killed on the Lancastrian side at St. Alban's, in 1461.

<sup>d</sup> The partisans of his brother Richard asserted that he had a wife living at the time, Eleanor, daughter of Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and widow of Lord Butler, son of James, earl of Ormond and Wiltshire; the proofs of their statement appeared satisfactory to the first parliament of Richard III., but the Tudor writers allege that she was only his mistress.

<sup>e</sup> Her brother Anthony married the daughter of Lord Scales, believed to be the wealthiest heiress in the kingdom, and intended as the wife of the young duke of Clarence; John, another brother, married the dowager duchess of Norfolk; her son, Sir Thomas Grey, married the infant daughter of the duchess of Exeter (she was Edward's niece); and her five sisters were amply provided for in like manner; one of them (Katherine) married the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown.



Arms of Woodville, Earl Rivers.

him as earl Rivers, and also lost his life by violence; Lionel became bishop of Salisbury, conspired against Richard III. and died in exile; and Richard was killed in Brittany in 1489.

Anthony, in right of his wife, became Lord Scales, and is celebrated for his gallantry and love of literature. He received a grant of the Isle of Wight from Edward IV., fled with him to Holland, and on his return was appointed governor of Calais and captain general. He was the governor of his

Feb. 4, 1495, and died 1512. Katharine (born 1479) married Lord William Courtenay, son of the earl of Devon, and died Nov. 15, 1527. Her son Henry, marquis of Exeter, was beheaded in 1539, on a charge of corresponding with his cousin, Reginald Pole.

Edward left two natural children : 1. Arthur, who married an heiress, and was created Viscount Lisle<sup>f</sup>; he was a military commander, but being accused of a design to betray Calais,

he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died, March 3, 1542, it is said of joy at learning that the king was satisfied of his innocence; 2. Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Lumley.

The royal arms and motto were the same in this as in the preceding reign, but Edward employed other supporters, chiefly in token of various ancestral possessions. Some existing examples have a black bull and a white lion, (Clarence and March); some a white lion and a white hart; others two



Arms of Edward IV.

white lions. His badges are numerous, and likewise allude either to the possessions or the varying fortunes of his family. The black bull is the symbol of Clarence; the black dragon, of Ulster; the white wolf, the emblem of the Mortimers; the white hart shews his kindred with Richard II.; while the falcon and fetterlock indicate the depression, and the sun in splendour the triumph, of his house<sup>g</sup>.

Edward possessed great military skill and undaunted courage, a handsome person and fascinating manners; but he was also unscrupulous, licentious, and cruel. The fickleness of his temper is seen in his abandoning his father's and his own greatest friends, the Nevilles, for new favourites from his queen's family; his rapacity, in the "benevolences" which he extorted; and his want of natural affection, in the part he acted in the destruction of his brother Clarence. It was remarked that he witnessed an

execution with as much pleasure as others would a pageant; and indeed he seems seldom to have extended mercy to those who fell into his power<sup>h</sup>, being apparently more desirous to exterminate than to conciliate his opponents.

A.D. 1461.

Edward is solemnly installed at Westminster as king, March 4<sup>i</sup>.

George Neville, bishop of Exeter, is appointed lord chancellor, March 10; and his brother, Richard, earl of Warwick, is commissioned to receive the submission of the adherents of "Henry, late king of England," and to seize the property of all who may refuse, March 12.

Edward marches into the north, and defeats the Lancastrians at Towton, near Tadcaster, March 29, with terrible slaughter<sup>j</sup>. Henry, his queen

<sup>f</sup> His daughter Frances married Thomas Monk, a gentleman of Devon, and ancestor of Monk, duke of Albemarle.

<sup>g</sup> Shakspeare thus alludes to the latter well-known emblem:—

"Now is the winter of our discontent  
Made glorious summer by the Sun of York!"

<sup>h</sup> He, however, made an exception in favour of

learned men, and freely pardoned both Bishop Wayneflete and Judge Fortescue, though active Lancastrians, avowedly for their literary merits.

<sup>i</sup> His regnal years are computed from this day. He was not crowned until the summer.

<sup>j</sup> Lord Clifford was killed the day before in a skirmish at Ferry-bridge, as were Lord Fitzwalter and a natural brother of the earl of Warwick. The earl of Northumberland, lords Dacre

and son, with some of their adherents, escape to Scotland, but many are taken and executed<sup>k</sup>.

Henry surrenders Berwick to the Scots, April 25.

Edward returns to London, and is crowned, June 28, by the archbishop of Canterbury<sup>l</sup>. He creates his brothers, George and Richard, dukes of Clarence and Gloucester.

The Scottish regents are willing to assist the Lancastrians, but are embarrassed by the intrigues of Edward with the Lord of the Isles and other nobles, and obliged to agree to remain neuter.

The parliament meets, Nov. 4. It declares the Lancastrian princes usurpers [1 Edw. IV. c. 1], but allows acts done by "the said pretended kings" to remain valid, "except as to such persons, and every of them, whom our sovereign lord the king reputeth and holdeth for his rebels or enemies<sup>m</sup>."

All sheriffs except those of London, forbidden to proceed judicially<sup>n</sup>, [c. 2].

A.D. 1462.

The earl of Oxford (John de Vere<sup>o</sup>), his son Aubrey, and several other Lancastrians, beheaded in London, Feb. 26.

Edward makes a treaty for the conquest and partition of Scotland, with John, Lord of the Isles and other nobles, Feb. 13.

Queen Margaret, by a promise to surrender Calais if it should ever be

in her power, obtains a small body of French troops, who however are shipwrecked on Holy Island, and either killed or taken; she escapes to Berwick.

A.D. 1463.

The duke of Somerset (Henry Beaufort<sup>p</sup>) and many other Lancastrians abandon Henry, and make terms with Edward<sup>q</sup>.

The trade in and exportation of wool regulated by statute, [3 Edw. IV. c. 1].

The importation of "wares ready wrought" forbidden, [c. 4].

The apparel of all persons regulated according to their rank, [c. 5<sup>r</sup>].

Queen Margaret again sails to France, and obtains a body of troops from Louis XI. of France. She lands in Northumberland, in October, but not being joined by the people retires to Scotland. The earl of Angus makes an inroad as far as Alnwick in her favour.

A.D. 1464.

Queen Margaret marches into England, captures several northern castles, and is again joined by Somerset, the Percies, and her other adherents.

Edward marches against them.

John, Lord Montagu<sup>r</sup>, defeats the Lancastrians at Hedgley-moor (near Wooler) April 25, and at Hexham, May 15. Henry finds a refuge in Lancashire; the queen and prince retire to Flanders.

The duke of Somerset and many other prisoners are executed, and the estates and title of the Percies (earl

and Wells, Sir Andrew Trollope and many other knights, fell at Towton.

<sup>k</sup> Among these were the earls of Devonshire and of Ormond and Wiltshire, the father-in-law of Lady Eleanor Butler, who was afterwards asserted to be the wife of Edward. But in this horrible contest all ties of kindred or alliance seem to have been systematically disregarded by both parties; almost every noble family had fathers, sons, brothers arrayed against each other:—

"Long years of havoc urge their destined course,  
And through the kindred squadrons mow their way."

<sup>l</sup> Thomas Bourchier, brother of the earl of Essex, and uncle by marriage to the king.

<sup>m</sup> Edward took full advantage of this comprehensive clause, and transferred lands, and privileges, and offices to his active supporters to such an extent that hundreds of Lancastrians, not so compromised as to forfeit their lives, were yet reduced to abject poverty.

<sup>n</sup> The statute states that many liege people have been harassed by indictments and presentments "affirmed by jurors having no conscience, nor any freehold, and little goods," and even by the menial

servants and bailiffs of sheriffs, merely to extort money.

<sup>o</sup> He was born in 1409, and was a cousin of the favourite of Richard II. He had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and had served with much distinction both by sea and land in the French wars.

<sup>p</sup> The son of the duke killed at St. Alban's in 1455. He had fled to Scotland after the battle of Towton, and now gave up Bamfrough castle as the price of pardon, but he soon rejoined the Lancastrians, was taken at Hexham, and beheaded. His brothers Edmund and John suffered the same fate after the battle of Tewkesbury.

<sup>q</sup> Others fled to France, where they lived in abject poverty. Philip de Comines, indeed, asserts that he saw the duke of Exeter (the brother-in-law of Edward) begging in the streets.

<sup>r</sup> The commons of the realm, as well men as women, are said to wear excessive and inordinate apparel, to the great displeasure of God, the enriching of strange realms, and the destruction of this realm. A somewhat similar statute was passed in Scotland in 1457.

<sup>s</sup> He was the brother of the earl of Warwick, and after a variety of fortune met his death with him at Barnet, in the year 1471.



of Northumberland) are soon after granted to Montagu.

Prince Alexander of Scotland captured at sea by the English, but released.

A fifteen years' truce concluded with Scotland, June 1; the Scots engaging to give neither assistance nor shelter to the Lancastrians.

Edward avows his marriage with Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, Sept. 29<sup>t</sup>. He heaps favours on her relatives, the Woodvilles, and thus arouses the jealousy of his brothers and his great supporter, the earl of Warwick.

#### A.D. 1465.

The manufacture of cloth regulated by statute, [4 Edw. IV. c. 1].

Passage to or from France by any other ports than Dover and Calais forbidden, except to soldiers and merchants with merchandize<sup>a</sup>, [c. 10].

Edward sends ambassadors to France, Brittany, and Burgundy, to endeavour to procure the expulsion of the Lancastrians, but is unsuccessful.

Edward's queen is crowned with great pomp at Westminster, May 26.

#### A.D. 1466.

Henry is captured in Lancashire, in July<sup>v</sup>; he is conducted to London, treated with much ignominy, and imprisoned in the Tower.

Lord Boyd, of Kilmarnock, and his brother Alexander, become the favourites of the king of Scotland, and dispose of everything at their pleasure.

#### A.D. 1467.

The queen's relatives (the Woodvilles) endeavour to lessen the influence of the Nevilles<sup>x</sup>. In consequence, the king takes the seals from the archbishop of York, June 9, and threatens to resume the great estates they had received<sup>y</sup>.

Edward forms an alliance with the duke of Burgundy (Charles the Bold) against France, and gives him his sister Margaret in marriage<sup>z</sup>.

#### A.D. 1468.

The giving of liveries prohibited<sup>a</sup>, [8 Edw. IV. c. 2].

The Nevilles and Woodvilles are formally reconciled.

Edward forms alliances with the kings of Aragon and Castile, and the duke of Brittany, preparatory to an invasion of France.

#### A.D. 1469.

The duke of Clarence marries Isabel, daughter of the earl of Warwick, July 11<sup>b</sup>, and leagues with him against the Woodvilles.

James II. of Scotland marries Margaret, daughter of Christiern I. of Denmark. The Orkney and Shetland isles are surrendered to him as security for her marriage portion.

An insurrection is raised, when the king's troops are defeated at Edgecote, near Banbury, July 26, and the queen's father and brother (John), together with the earl of Pembroke (William Herbert<sup>c</sup>) and his brother (Sir Richard), captured, and executed.

<sup>t</sup> He had married her some time before, but authorities differ as to how long.

<sup>u</sup> The king's command and stress of weather, duly proved, exonerated violators of this ordinance. One half of the penalties was to go to the king; the other half to be employed upon the reparation of the castle of Dover; or, according to another copy of the statute, given to any freeman of Dover who should sue for the same.

<sup>v</sup> He had often been hid in the house of John Maychell, at Crackenthorpe, in Westmoreland; Maychell received a pardon for concealing him, Nov. 20, 1466.

<sup>x</sup> Of the three brothers, Richard was earl of Warwick and Salisbury and captain of Calais; John, earl of Northumberland and warden of the Scottish marches; and George, archbishop of York and chancellor. They were all rich, and famed for keeping open house, which contrasted strongly with the conduct of the Woodvilles, who kept all their newly-gotten wealth for themselves.

<sup>y</sup> He was empowered to do this by a statute for the resumption of improvident grants, [7 Edw. IV. c. 4], passed, as was supposed, by the advice of the Woodvilles.

<sup>z</sup> They were married July 9, 1463.

<sup>a</sup> They were still allowed to be given on public occasions, and for the time only, as at coronations, installations of prelates, &c.

<sup>b</sup> The ceremony was performed at Calais, by Archbishop Neville.

<sup>c</sup> He had received this dignity only the year before, but he had been the governor of the castle of Pembroke ever since the flight of Jasper Tudor, and he had acted with great kindness to Jasper's orphan nephew, who subsequently became king as Henry VII. His will, made the day after the battle in the immediate prospect of death, contains the following affecting passage addressed to his wife: "Remember your promise to me, to take the order of widowhood, as ye may be the better master of your own, to perform my will, and to help my children, as I love and trust you." He concludes, "Wife, pray for me, and take the said order that ye promised me, as ye had in my life my heart and love. God have mercy upon me, and save you and our children, and our Lady and all the saints in heaven help me to salvation. Amen."

The Boyds fall into disgrace; their estates are forfeited; Lord Boyd and his son, the earl of Arran, escape; Sir Alexander is executed.

Henry Percy, son of the attainted earl of Northumberland, is released from the Tower, and takes the oath of allegiance, Oct. 27.

The estates and titles of the Percies restored, Nov. <sup>d</sup>

A.D. 1470.

The Lancastrians rise in Lincolnshire, under Sir Robert Wells, but are speedily suppressed, March.

The earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence are denounced as traitors by the king, March 31. They flee to Calais, but being refused admission, retire to France, where they are received by Louis XI.

Warwick is reconciled to queen Margaret, and agrees to assist in restoring King Henry <sup>e</sup>. His daughter Anne is married to the young prince in July or August.

Clarence becomes dissatisfied, and secretly promises to rejoin his brother.

Warwick and Clarence land at Dartmouth, Sept. 13.

Edward assembles an army against them, but being deserted by Lord Montagu (Warwick's brother), flees to Lynn, and there embarks for Flanders, Oct. 3 <sup>f</sup>.

Warwick enters London, Oct. 5, and

releases King Henry from the Tower<sup>g</sup>, but himself assumes all the powers of government.

John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester <sup>h</sup>, is captured and beheaded, Oct. 15.

A.D. 1471.

A parliament held at Westminster, which repeals the attainder of the Lancastrians, attaints the Yorkists, and settles the crown anew on King Henry and his son Edward, and, in case of failure of issue, on the duke of Clarence.

Edward sails from Zealand with a small force supplied by the duke of Burgundy, March 11, and lands at Ravenspur (at the mouth of the Humber), March 14.

Edward makes oath in York minster that he only desires to recover his family estates (probably Mar. 19); but being joined by numerous partisans he reassumes the name of king, and marches on London.

Clarence joins him at Coventry, March 30; he then advances to London, is admitted by the citizens<sup>i</sup>, and sends King Henry again to the Tower, April 11.

Edward has homage publicly rendered to him at Paul's cross, April 13.

Warwick follows him from Coventry, but is defeated and killed at Barnet, on Easter Sunday, April 14 <sup>k</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> John Neville, the new-made earl, was, in recompense, raised to the higher title of marquis of Montagu, but he was deeply offended, declaring that the king had given him a fine name, with only a magpie's nest to support it. He was killed soon after fighting on the Lancastrian side at Barnet.

<sup>e</sup> It is believed that Warwick originally designed to make the duke of Clarence king, but finding this distasteful to both Yorkists and Lancastrians, he undertook the restoration of Henry VI., at the instigation of Louis XI. of France, who lived in constant apprehension of an attack from Edward. Clarence, enraged at being thus put aside, prepared to desert his confederates at the first opportunity.

<sup>f</sup> His queen took sanctuary at Westminster, Oct. 1, and her eldest son (afterwards Edward V.) was born there, Nov. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Henry dated the resumption of the royal power from Oct. 9; and on the 13th of the same month he went to St. Paul's, in great state, to return thanks for his restoration.

<sup>h</sup> He was the brother-in-law of Warwick, having married his sister Cicely. He was educated at Oxford, and after visiting the Holy Land, resided for some years in Italy, where his learning and cloquence attracted much attention. On his return to England he was promoted to many high offices by Edward IV., and refusing to abandon his cause, was put to death on charges of mal-adminis-

tration in Ireland, where he had been successively chancellor, deputy, and lieutenant, as well as constable of England; he is said by the Lancastrian writers to have acted with great cruelty in this latter office, but this is probably a calumny. Caxton laments his death with simple earnestness: "O good blessed Lord God! what great loss was it of that noble, virtuous, and well-disposed lord, the earl of Worcester. . . . At his death the axe did at one blow cut off more learning than was in the heads of all the surviving nobility."

<sup>i</sup> Archbishop Neville, who was left in charge of King Henry, paraded him through the streets, hoping to induce the citizens to espouse his cause, but in vain.

<sup>k</sup> Edward's victory was greatly assisted by his having with him a number of Germans armed with hand-guns, then a new and terrible weapon. The forces arrayed against him had recently been enemies, and had little confidence in each other. Warwick's men mistook the badge of the earl of Oxford for that of the king, which it nearly resembled, and attacked their allies, who, suspecting treachery, hastily left the field.

John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was born in 1442. Although his father and brother had been beheaded as Lancastrians, (see A.D. 1462,) he was favoured by Edward IV., but quitted his party when Henry VI. was restored, and sat as lord steward in judgment on Tiptoft, earl of Worcester. After the battle of Barnet, he fled first to Scotland, then to France,

Queen Margaret lands at Weymouth, April 14. On receiving the news of Warwick's death she seeks sanctuary at Cerne Abbey, in Dorsetshire. On being joined by the duke of Somerset (Edmund Beaufort) and others, who had escaped from Barnet, she sets out to join the Tudors in Wales.

Edward marches against the Lancastrians, totally defeats them at Tewkesbury<sup>1</sup>, Saturday, May 4, takes Margaret prisoner, and puts to death the duke of Somerset and many other nobles<sup>m</sup>.

King Henry is found dead in the Tower shortly after<sup>n</sup>.

A great council held, at which an oath is taken to maintain the right of Edward's infant son as his successor, July 3.

A parliament meets at Westminster, October 5, which attains many members of the Lancastrian party; several bishops, however, who had acted with them in the late commotions, are pardoned.

A.D. 1472.

The archbishop of York (George Neville) is stripped of his possessions and imprisoned at Guisnes,

near Calais, on the charge of correspondence with the Lancastrian exiles.

A.D. 1473.

The earl of Oxford surprises St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, in September, but being obliged to surrender (in February, 1474,) he is imprisoned for twelve years in the castle of Hammes, near Calais.

The dukes of Clarence and Gloucester quarrel about the inheritance of the earl of Warwick<sup>o</sup>.

Edward renews his alliances with foreign states preparatory to an attack on France.

He obtains large sums of money from the parliament, and also extorts "benevolences, or free gifts," by which, says the Chronicler of Croyland, "each man gave to the king what he pleased, or rather, what he did not please."

Catherine Hall, Cambridge, founded.

The prince of Wales allowed to give his livery and badge, notwithstanding existing statutes, [12 Edw. IV. c. 4].

Wears obstructing rivers ordered to be pulled down, [12 Edw. IV. c. 7<sup>p</sup>].

and obtaining a few vessels in Brittany, he supported himself for a while by piracy; he afterwards seized on St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, where he resolutely endured a siege of some months. He



Arms of De Vere, earl of Oxford.

was at last obliged to surrender on promise of life; when he was sent to the castle of Hammes, in Picardy, where he remained until 1484. He then induced the governor of the place and many of the garrison to espouse the cause of Henry of Richmond, accompanied him to England, and powerfully contributed to his victory at Bosworth. He received large grants of the confiscated estates of the duke of Clarence, of the Nevilles, and of Catesby, was appointed constable of the Tower, and admiral, and survived until March 4, 1513. His wife, the sister of the earl of Warwick, is said to have supported herself during a part of his imprisonment by her needle, but at length her "great poverty" was relieved by a pension of £100 a-year from Edward IV., which Richard III. continued to her (Patent Roll, 21 Edw. IV. p. 1, m. 10, and 1 Rich. III. p. 5, m. 132).

<sup>1</sup> One of the parties killed was John, lord Wen-

lock, who had formerly been an officer of Queen Margaret's household, and had been wounded on the Lancastrian side at the first battle of St. Alban's. He however soon after joined the Yorkists, fought for them at Towton, and received, beside many grants of lands, the office of chief butler. He also was made lieutenant of Calais under the earl of Warwick, and was greatly trusted by Edward IV., being employed on several important commercial embassies. He joined in the attempt to restore Henry VI., and was one of those who induced Margaret to renew the struggle after the defeat at Barnet. He, however, held back from the fight at Tewkesbury, and Somerset, suspecting that he waited an opportunity of joining the king, rushed on him, and killed him with his own hands.

<sup>m</sup> The young prince Edward is stated, in a contemporary manuscript, to have been killed while fleeing from the field, and not to have been butchered in Edward's presence, as commonly reported. The duke of Somerset, the lord prior of the Knights Hospitallers (John Longstrother), and about a dozen knights and squires, were dragged from the church, where they had taken refuge, and beheaded, May 6.

<sup>n</sup> The day of Henry's death is not certainly known; but it seems probable that it was early in June. See p. 231.

<sup>o</sup> Warwick left only two daughters; Isabel was in 1469 married to Clarence, and Anne to Edward, prince of Wales. After the death of Warwick and the prince, Clarence endeavoured to retain the whole of the estates, and therefore laboured strenuously to prevent his sister-in-law from marrying again, even obliging her to disguise herself as a cook-maid; but the duke of Gloucester discovered the cheat, and married her.

<sup>p</sup> This was only doing what Magna Charta had provided should be done, 250 years before. See p. 141.

A.D. 1474.

Edward passes the year in preparing for an expedition to France.

Special privileges as to livery of lands and other matters granted to persons who should accompany the king to France, [14 Edw. IV. cc. 1, 2].

A.D. 1475.

Edward lands at Calais, July, and demands the crown of France.

He is deceived in his expectations of support from the duke of Burgundy. Agrees to a truce for seven years, Aug. 29, has an interview with Louis XI., who promises him a large pension<sup>a</sup>, and returns to England, Sept. 28<sup>r</sup>.

Queen Margaret is ransomed by her father<sup>s</sup>, and retires to France, Nov.

Donald, Lord of the Isles, is attainted by the Scottish parliament, Nov. 27<sup>t</sup>.

A.D. 1476.

Edward endeavours in vain to induce the duke of Brittany (Francis II.) to surrender the earls of Pembroke and Richmond<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1477.

The earl of Mar, uncle of James III. of Scotland, expressing his hatred of the king's low-born favourites<sup>s</sup>, is imprisoned, and soon after dies, from

what cause is uncertain. John duke of Albany (the king's brother), is also seized, but escapes to France.

The duke of Clarence retires from court<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Burdett and John Stacy, dependants of his, are executed on frivolous charges<sup>s</sup>. Clarence returns, and asserts their innocence before the council.

A.D. 1478.

Clarence is committed to the Tower, Jan. 16; brought to trial, when the king pleads personally against him, and condemned to death, Feb. 7; he is found dead in the Tower, Feb. 18. Many of his estates are granted to Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, the queen's brother.

The circulation of Irish money in England forbidden, [17 Edw. IV. c. 1].

The exportation of coin or plate without the king's licence, declared felony, [Ibid.]

A.D. 1479.

England ravaged by a pestilence.

Edward raises large sums by a strict inquiry into breaches of obsolete laws<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1480.

Louis XI. refuses to abide by the treaty of 1475<sup>b</sup>.

War breaks out with Scotland. The

<sup>a</sup> It was to be 50,000 crowns annually, for 100 years after the decease of which of the two kings should die first; but very few payments were made.

<sup>r</sup> Philip de Comines places the conduct of Edward's councillors in a very odious light; according to him, they all received bribes from the French king.

<sup>s</sup> He obtained the money for this (50,000 crowns) by selling his county of Anjou to the king of France (Louis XI.), and died very soon after.

<sup>t</sup> He was restored in blood the following year, but his possessions on the mainland of Scotland (Ross, Cantyre, Knapdale, and other tracts) were annexed to the crown.

<sup>a</sup> Jasper and Henry Tudor. See p. 242.

<sup>b</sup> The king had a taste for the fine arts, and gave much more of his favour and society to their professors than was agreeable to his kindred or his fierce nobles.

<sup>c</sup> His duchess and his youngest son, Richard, had died shortly before, and John Thursby and Ankerett Twinnewe were convicted before the judges in Warwickshire, of having poisoned them, at the instigation of Sir Roger Tocotes, another member of the duke's household; Sir Roger's trial was removed into the court of King's Bench, but he was either acquitted or pardoned. He was afterwards concerned in the risings against Richard III., and was attainted, but eventually received a pardon.

<sup>d</sup> Burdett was charged with having, in confede-

racy with Stacy, procured Thomas Blake, a priest, to calculate the nativities of the king and his eldest son. This was in November, 1474, according to the indictment afterwards found against them. Stacy and Blake "worked and calculated by art magic, necromancy and astronomy, the death and final destruction of the king and prince . . . although according to the determinations of holy Church, and the opinions of divers doctors, it is forbidden to any liegeman thus to meddle concerning kings and princes in manner aforesaid, without their permission." In May, 1475, they are said to have treacherously made known to many persons that they had ascertained that the king and prince would shortly die, "to the intent that the cordial love of the people might be withdrawn from the king, and the king, by knowledge of the same, would be saddened thereby, so that his life would be thereby shortened." Burdett was further charged with "dispersing and disseminating divers seditious and treasonable bills and writings, rhymes, and ballads, containing complaints, seditious, and treasonable arguments." The prisoners were tried and found guilty by a special commission, July 19, 1477, and Burdett and Stacy were the next day executed at Tyburn, but Blake obtained a pardon, at the intercession of the bishop of Norwich (James Goldwell).

<sup>a</sup> This proceeding furnished a model for the iniquitous course pursued by Empson and Dudley in the reign of Henry VII.

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1475.

duke of Gloucester makes an unsuccessful attempt on Berwick.

A.D. 1481.

The English fleet sails into the Frith of Forth, but effects little.

The English and Scottish armies face each other for a considerable time on the borders, and then withdraw without a battle.

A.D. 1482.

The duke of Albany comes from France, styles himself king of Scotland<sup>c</sup>, and by treaties (dated at Fotheringay, June 10 and 11,) engages to hold the kingdom of Scotland as a fief of England, to break off all alliances with France, to surrender Berwick and the frontier districts of Annandale, Eskdale and Liddisdale, and to marry Cicely, Edward's daughter<sup>d</sup>.

Berwick is invested by the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, in July.

James of Scotland raises an army, and marches towards the border. Ar-

chibald, earl of Angus, seizes the royal favourites and hangs them<sup>e</sup>; when the king is carried a prisoner to Edinburgh, and his army disbands itself.

The dukes leave the siege of Berwick, and capture Edinburgh.

The king and Albany are apparently reconciled, and the English army retires, early in August.

Berwick is captured by the duke of Gloucester.

A.D. 1483.

Louis XI. of France breaks off a marriage contract which had been formed between his son and the king's daughter Elizabeth. Edward, in consequence, prepares for war.

The duke of Albany renews his alliance with the English, by treaty dated Feb. 11.

An act passed conferring many important trading privileges on the town of Berwick<sup>f</sup>, [22 Edw. IV. c. 8].

Edward dies, April 9. He is buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor, April 19, his nephew, the earl of Lincoln, attending as chief mourner<sup>g</sup>.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Gibraltar taken from the Moors by the Spaniards . . . . .	1462	Ivan III., grand duke of Moscow, throws off his dependence on the Mongols . . . . .	1477
The Teutonic Knights become feudatories of Poland . . . . .	1466	The Turks invade Italy, and take Otranto . . . . .	1480
The Portuguese make conquests in Barbary . . . . .	1471	Otranto recovered by a league of the Italian States . . . . .	1481
Cyprus conquered by the Venetians	1475		

<sup>c</sup> He declared the king to be illegitimate.

<sup>d</sup> This princess, then aged 13, was already engaged to his nephew, prince James; and he himself had two wives (one, the daughter of the earl of Orkney, he had abandoned) living, and a family by each.

<sup>e</sup> Their names have been preserved: Cochrane, an architect, Rogers, a musician, Preston, Hommel, Torfean, and Leonard, whose occupations do not

appear. The only gentleman, John Ramsay, was spared.

<sup>f</sup> The trade with Scotland is ordered to be shared between Carlisle and Berwick, and the burgesses of the latter town are to have, exclusively, the farm of the salmon fishings in the Tweed, and the trade in the fish.

<sup>g</sup> This circumstance is worthy of remark, as shewing the approaching fall of the Woodvilles.



Great Seal of Edward V.

## EDWARD V.

EDWARD, the fourth child but eldest son of Edward IV., was born in the



Arms and Supporters of Edward V<sup>a</sup>.

Sanctuary at Westminster, during his father's brief exile, Nov. 4, 1470. He was soon after created prince of Wales, and in 1479 also earl of Pembroke; in 1482 he was sent to keep a mimic

court at Ludlow, in the Welsh marches, being under the guardianship of Anthony Woodville earl Rivers, his maternal uncle, and attended by his half-brother Sir Richard Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and others of the Woodville party. The death of his father on the 9th of April, 1483, called him to the throne, but after a mere nominal possession of less than three months<sup>b</sup>, he and his brother, Richard duke of York, both disappeared, and nothing is known as to their fate.

A.D. 1483.

Edward is proclaimed king, April 9.

The queen-mother endeavours to obtain the regency, but is foiled by the union of the dukes of Gloucester and

<sup>a</sup> Used also in the latter part of the reign of Edward IV.

<sup>b</sup> According to a memorandum in the Red Book of the Exchequer, his reign "ceased" on June 22,

the day that had been appointed for his coronation, and the same on which his uncle's claim was publicly brought forward; from that day to the 26th of June was an interregnum.

Buckingham, Lord Hastings<sup>c</sup>, and others, who resolve to depress the Woodvilles.

The young king, being sent for to London, is met at Stony Stratford by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, April 30. They seize Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, and Haute<sup>d</sup>, and send them prisoners to the north, and bring Edward to London, where he arrives May 4.

The queen-mother takes sanctuary at Westminster, with the duke of York and her daughters<sup>e</sup>, May 1.

The duke of Gloucester is appointed by a great council of prelates, nobles, and chief citizens, protector of the king and kingdom<sup>f</sup>.

The duke of Buckingham is appointed chief justice, chamberlain, seneschal and receiver of Wales, and constable of "all the king's castles" there, May 16<sup>g</sup>.

The protector issues proclamations appointing June 22 for the coronation of the young king.

Lord Hastings is seized while at the council-board in the Tower, and be-

headed, June 13<sup>h</sup>. The Woodville prisoners are executed at Pomfret shortly after.

The queen allows the duke of York to leave the Sanctuary and join his brother in the Tower.

Ralph Shaw<sup>i</sup>, a popular preacher, sets forth the Protector's claim to the throne, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, Sunday, June 22.

The duke of Buckingham makes a speech to the like effect at the Guildhall, Tuesday, June 24.

"The lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the land," wait on the Protector at Baynard's Castle, June 25, with a "bill of petition, wherein his sure and true title" to the throne "is evidently shewed."

The duke accepts the offer, and, the next day, repairs to Westminster Hall, where certain deputies, in the name of the nobles and people of the north, present a petition to the assembly, desiring that he may take the office and title of king: "the children of Edward IV. being illegitimate, those of the duke of Clarence attainted, and

<sup>c</sup> William, lord Hastings, was the son of Leonard Hastings, a favourite esquire of Richard, duke of



Arms of Lord Hastings.

<sup>e</sup> Her brother Sir Richard Woodville, and her son the marquis of Dorset, attempted to seize on the Tower, and to raise a fleet, but failed; they remained concealed until Buckingham's rebellion, in which they took part.

<sup>f</sup> The day is uncertain: the first public document now known in which he is styled Protector is dated May 14.

<sup>g</sup> These grants gave him power to appoint all the officers heretofore appointed by the crown, and to survey and array the population.

<sup>h</sup> The archbishop of York (Thomas Scott or Rotherham) and the bishop of Ely (John Morton) were also seized. The former was soon released. Morton was given shortly after into the custody of the duke of Buckingham, who was weak enough to be persuaded by him to take up arms. On Buckingham's death Morton made his escape and joined Richmond; a pardon was granted to him by Richard, Dec. 11, 1484, but he did not return until Richmond was established on the throne. He became the minister of Henry VII., to whom he is said to have suggested many of his most oppressive measures, and in 1486 he was made archbishop of Canterbury, in which post he died, Sept. 15, 1500.

<sup>i</sup> He was the brother of the lord mayor of London (Sir Edmund Shaw). Taking for his text a passage from the book of Wisdom (iv. 3), "The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips, nor lay any fast foundation," he dwelt on the alleged marriage of Edward IV. to Lady Butler, which if true rendered the young Edward, his brothers and sisters, illegitimate, but it is incredible that he also asserted that Edward and Clarence were base-born; the Protector surely would not thus defame his own mother, who beside favoured his claim; yet this is the statement of Sir Thomas More, who has given form and distinctness to the vague charges of earlier writers.

York, who through the duke's influence obtained the sheriffdom of Warwick and Leicester. The son was equally favoured by Edward IV., received a large share of the Lancastrian forfeitures, was employed on embassies, held the posts of master of the mint, captain of Calais, constable of many other castles, and chamberlain. He was, however, on bad terms with the Woodvilles, although made by the queen guardian of her son Thomas, and hence he readily joined with Richard, duke of Gloucester, against them. From some cause which has never been clearly ascertained, Hastings was seized at the council board, by order of the Protector, and immediately beheaded in the Tower, June 13, 1483. He left, by his wife Katherine, the widow of Lord Bonville and sister of the earl of Warwick, a son, Edward, who succeeded him, and became, in right of his wife, Lord Hungerford, and whose son was created by Henry VIII. earl of Huntingdon.

<sup>d</sup> Commonly, but wrongly, called Hawes. He was a kinsman of the Woodvilles.

the blood of Richard, duke of York, remaining uncorrupt only in the person of Richard, the Protector, duke of Gloucester."

The petition is received, the Pro-

tector assumes the style of Richard the Third, and rides in state as king to St. Paul's, "and was received there with great congratulation and acclamation of all the people<sup>k</sup>."

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<sup>k</sup> These are Richard's official statements, made to the garrison of Calais, who, having taken an oath to Edward V., required some formal document to justify the transfer of their allegiance.





Great Seal of Richard III.

## RICHARD III.

RICHARD, the youngest son of Richard duke of York, was born at Fotheringhay in 1450<sup>a</sup>. In his eleventh year he was sent for safety to Flanders, on the occasion of the death of his father, but was speedily recalled by his brother Edward, to whose fortunes he seems to have closely attached himself, accompanying him in his exile in the year 1470, and receiving from him in return many important grants. Very early in his reign Richard had been created duke of Gloucester, and he subsequently became constable, justiciary of Wales, and warden of the west marches; he served under his banner at Barnet and at Tewkesbury, went with him to France, and commanded an army against Scotland, with which he captured both Berwick and Edinburgh.

When Edward IV. died the duke of Gloucester was in the north, but as he, like his late brother Clarence, had

a long-standing quarrel with the Woodvilles, he marched southward, took his nephew out of their hands, and escorted him to London, sending earl Rivers, Sir Thomas Gray, Vaughan and Haute, his chief attendants, to Sheriff Hutton and other castles in Yorkshire. He was accompanied by a large body of troops who had served under him in the north, and was speedily declared Protector of the kingdom, the queen-mother having in the mean time retired to the Sanctuary at Westminster, with her youngest son and her five daughters.

So far Richard seems to have been supported by numerous parties whose only bond of union was dislike of the Woodvilles; these were now helpless, and the confederates quarrelled; but the real course of events in the months of May and June, 1483, has never yet been ascertained. We only know that Hastings, one of the chief opponents

<sup>a</sup> "On the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins," (i.e. St. Ursula, October 21,) according to Rous.

of the Woodvilles, was executed, apparently on the spur of the moment, in the Tower: that, shortly after, earl Rivers and his friends were put to death at Pomfret<sup>b</sup>, and that between these two events the young duke of York was withdrawn from the Sanctuary (whether by force or fraud is an open question), and joined his brother in the Tower; neither was publicly seen after, and nothing is known, though much has been plausibly conjectured, as to what became of them<sup>c</sup>.

Whilst these events were in progress Richard had brought forward a claim to the crown, (founded on an alleged pre-contract of marriage of Edward IV. which rendered his union with "dame Elizabeth Gray" invalid, and the attainder of his brother Clarence,) which appeared satisfactory to the parliament; he was in consequence received as king, June 26, and was crowned with much pomp and a larger concourse than ordinary of the nobility<sup>d</sup>, July 6.

Richard made a progress through the country, and knighted his son with much ceremony at York, Sept. 8. This was hardly concluded when the duke of Buckingham, many of the old Lancastrians, and some of the Woodvilles combined against him, but were speedily crushed; the earl of Richmond, in concert with them, attempted an invasion, but his fleet was dispersed by bad weather. Richard visited the disturbed districts, and on his return took vigorous measures to guard the coast.

In the parliament which met early in 1484, several statutes were passed, mainly directed against abuses in the administration of justice; some laws

also were enacted for the protection of traders and the extension of commerce. The same assembly declared the marriage of Edward IV. and his queen a nullity, and revoked all grants made to her, thus rendering her totally dependent on Richard, who induced her to leave the Sanctuary, by the promise of a suitable maintenance for herself and daughters; it also took an oath to support the right of Richard's son to the throne. This arrangement was foiled by the young prince's death soon after, and then Richard's nephew, John earl of Lincoln, was recognised as his heir. The king, however, felt his throne perpetually endangered by the hostility of the Lancastrian exiles, and endeavoured, but without success, to get their chiefs into his power. He made a truce with Scotland, and knowing that a plan was on foot for a marriage between Henry earl of Richmond and Elizabeth of York, he laboured to thwart it by offering to marry her himself, a proposal to which, strange as it may appear, both she and her mother seem to have agreed<sup>e</sup>. But before anything could be done, Richmond landed in Wales, and penetrated without opposition to the centre of England, with the secret concurrence of many who professed to adhere to Richard. One decisive battle took place at Bosworth, in Leicestershire, and there, through the desertion of Stanley and others, the king lost both his crown and his life<sup>f</sup>, on the 22nd of August, 1485. His body, which was found covered with wounds on the field, was carelessly thrown across a horse, and carried into Leicester, where it was interred in the Grey Friars monastery<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> They were not executed on the same day, as is commonly stated. Hastings was put to death June 13, and Rivers made his will June 23; he is believed to have been beheaded June 25 or 26.

<sup>c</sup> The most received theory is, that the two children were murdered by Richard; another, that they were only imprisoned by him, and that their mother contrived the escape of one or both from the Tower, in the interval between Richard's death and the entry of Henry VII. into London; if true, this would account for Henry's harsh treatment of her and her son, the marquis of Dorset.

<sup>d</sup> Thirty-five peers attended it, being nearly the whole of the body, so much had it been reduced by the wars and attainders. His mother was present, and Margaret, countess of Richmond (the mother of Henry VII.) bore the train of his queen.

<sup>e</sup> A strong presumption arises from this that their

nearest relatives did not believe Richard to be the murderer of his nephews.

<sup>f</sup> The duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers, Sir Robert Brakenbury, were killed; and his chancellor of the exchequer, William Catesby, taken and beheaded. Catesby is mentioned in a Lancastrian distich as one of Richard's principal councillors:—

"The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel, that dog,  
Rule all England under the Hog."

The Rat is either Sir Richard or Robert Ratcliff (both devoted partisans, and the recipients of grants from the crown). Either Lovel was particularly obnoxious, as the son of a Lancastrian; or the expression "that dog" may be an allusion to his crest, a talbot passant.

<sup>g</sup> A mean tomb was erected over his remains by Henry VII. at a cost, as appears from his Privy Purse Accounts, of £10 1s. At the suppression of

Richard married, after much opposition from his brother Clarence<sup>b</sup>, Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Prince Edward. She died, after a lingering illness, March 16, 1485, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Their only child, Edward, born at Middleham, in Yorkshire, in 1473, was by Edward IV. created earl of Salisbury in 1477, and in the first year of Richard's reign, prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He died April 9, 1484.

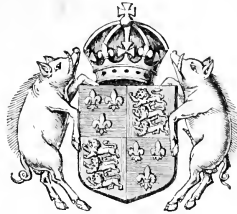
Richard had a natural daughter, Katherine, who married William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon<sup>i</sup>, but is believed to have died shortly after. Two natural sons are also ascribed to him, and a tale has been told of one of them living in Kent to the time of Edward VI. (1550), and following for safety the craft of a bricklayer, but its truth is very doubtful.



Badges of Richard III.

The character by which Richard III. is popularly known was drawn in the first instance by two or three writers who lived in the time of his victorious opponent<sup>1</sup>; but their glaringly prejudiced statements<sup>m</sup> having been adopted and embellished by the talents of Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon, and Shakspeare, have thus gained a place in received history, and have caused him to be generally regarded rather as a monster than a man. The Public Statutes and Records of his reign, however, exhibit him in a very different light. It may also be remarked, that the crimes laid to his

The royal arms remained the same as in the time of Edward IV., but Richard adopted different supporters: sometimes a lion and a boar, some-



Arms of Richard III.

times two white boars<sup>k</sup>. Beside the badges of his house, the sun in splendour, and the white rose, which he bore sometimes separately, at others one within the other, he had a singular cognizance of a falcon with a virgin's face holding a white rose.



charge are not, in any one instance, supported by really conclusive evidence; while it is certain that his succession to the throne was agreeable to the main body of the nation, which seems to have imitated the example of Saxon times<sup>n</sup>, in preferring the rule of a man skilled in arms and government to the dangers of a long minority. His enemies are obliged to confess that he swayed the sceptre with vigour and ability, and that wise and equitable laws were enacted by his parliament; they also allow him military skill and courage<sup>o</sup>; and it is now well understood that his

the monastery, this was destroyed, and Richard's stone coffin is said to have long after served as a horse-trough at an inn in the town.

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1473.

<sup>i</sup> The son of the earl of Pembroke, who was taken and beheaded at Edgecote in 1469.

<sup>k</sup> Hence "the Hog," in the complaint.

<sup>m</sup> These are, the anonymous continuer of the Chronicle of Croyland; John Rous, a priest of Warwick; and Robert Fabian, a London alderman and city annalist.

<sup>n</sup> We give as a specimen a few lines from Rous, which contain the chief charges: "Gloucester ob-

tained, or rather invented, the title of Protector. . . . He received his master, Edward, with kisses and fawning caresses, and in three months murdered him and his brother, poisoned his own wife, and, what was most detestable both to God and the English nation, slew the sanctified Henry VI."

<sup>o</sup> Ethelred and Alfred the Great both became kings, to the prejudice of their nephews, owing to the disturbed state of the nation. See pp. 43, 44.

<sup>p</sup> It is, however, done reluctantly: "If I may venture to speak anything to his honour," says Rous, "though he was a little man, he was a noble and valiant soldier."

fall was caused, not by hatred of his crimes among the ancient friends of his House, but by the arms of his and their hereditary foes rendered triumphant by the treachery of such men as Stanley and Northumberland, who held most important offices under him<sup>p</sup>.

Brief and troubled as was the period of Richard's rule, several matters which date from it, are justly considered of great importance at the present day. The statutes of his parliament are the first that were drawn up in the English language, as they were also the first that were printed; the office of consul, so necessary to the interest of merchants and travellers abroad, was established by him<sup>q</sup>; and that great engine of modern convenience, the post-office, is based on a system of couriers established by him for the rapid transmission of intelligence during his campaigns in Scotland in 1481 and 1482.

The Public Statutes of Richard's reign may perhaps not be regarded as conclusive evidence of his personal character; but numerous entries on his Patent Rolls indicate with certainty that he has, in many most important particulars, been unjustly treated by historians in general. They prove him<sup>r</sup>, like monarchs of very different reputation, to have granted numerous pardons to his opponents<sup>s</sup>, and to have

been lenient in his treatment of their families<sup>t</sup>; lavish in his own grants<sup>u</sup>; and regardless of those of his predecessors<sup>v</sup>; vigilant in providing for the defence of his shores, and the improvement of his ports<sup>w</sup>; anxious to repress piracy<sup>x</sup>; and ready to compensate the sufferers<sup>y</sup>; desirous to encourage trade by affording protection to merchants and foreigners<sup>z</sup>, of which they must have been fully sensible, judging from the numerous denizations recorded; guarding the purchaser against frauds<sup>aa</sup> in the wool manufacture, and also protecting the workman by directing his payment to be made in "ready lawful money"<sup>ab</sup>. In his private character he appears grateful for services rendered to his House "in prosperity and adversity"<sup>ac</sup>; mindful of old servants<sup>ad</sup>; and willing to lessen his own revenue to benefit faithful towns<sup>ae</sup>, or relieve distress<sup>af</sup>. He devoted deodands and forfeitures to charity<sup>ag</sup>; liberated his bondmen<sup>ah</sup>; founded a collegiate church, and several chantries<sup>ai</sup>; bestowed liberal alms on various religious bodies<sup>aj</sup>; and was a benefactor to a college in each University<sup>ak</sup>.

A.D. 1483.

Richard assumes the crown, June 26. He is crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, July 6.

John Howard, lord Howard<sup>a</sup>, is created duke of Norfolk, June 28.

<sup>p</sup> Stanley was high constable, and Northumberland great chamberlain as well as warden of the Scottish marches. Both had received portions of the forfeited estates of Buckingham, and both had accepted their high offices long after the alleged deaths of the young princes, which gives rise to the question, did they believe the tale to be untrue, or were they the willing agents of a murderer?

<sup>q</sup> The English merchants abroad had before his time chosen one of their number governor, but Richard first made him an officer of the state. Lorenzo Strozzi, of Florence, was in 1485 appointed consul and president of the English merchants in Italy by patent from the king.

<sup>r</sup> See Note, p. 265.

<sup>s</sup> Lord Howard was the grandson of Thomas

Mowbray, the first duke of Norfolk, who was banished by Richard II. He held the office of sheriff of Norfolk, went to Gascony with Talbot, and was present at the battle of Castillon. He afterwards served principally at sea, at one time ravaged the coast of Brittany, and took the town



Ditto, with the augmentation.



Arms of Howard, duke of Norfolk.

of Conquet. He was much favoured by Edward IV., who made him treasurer of the household, employed him on embassies, and appointed him captain-general at sea in 1478. He became deputy of Calais, constable of the Tower, and afterwards was admiral of the fleet which accompanied the duke of Gloucester's invasion of Scotland in 1482. By Richard III. he was made earl-marshal, and admiral for life, beside receiving most liberal grants

Norfolk is, on the same day, appointed earl-marshal<sup>1</sup>.

The duke of Buckingham receives the appointment of constable of England, and a confirmation and extension of his former grants<sup>2</sup>, July 15.

Edward, prince of Wales, appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland for three years, July 19.

The treason of the duke of Albany<sup>3</sup> being discovered, he flees into England, having first surrendered his castle of Dunbar to the English<sup>4</sup>.

Richard makes a progress through the country, visiting Oxford, Gloucester, Coventry, and arriving at York, knights his son there with great pomp<sup>5</sup>, Sept. 8.

Plots are formed against him, in which his former partisan, the duke of Buckingham, joins<sup>6</sup>.

The malcontents take arms in various quarters<sup>7</sup>, on the same day, Oct. 18. Richard returns southward, issues a proclamation from Leicester, Oct. 23, offering a free pardon to the common people, and large sums for the apprehension of the leaders.

Buckingham, being prevented by a flood in the Severn from joining his confederates, seeks shelter with one of his dependants, but is betrayed by him, carried to Salisbury, and there

beheaded, Nov. 2. The other malcontents disperse, some finding refuge in sanctuaries, others repairing to Brittany<sup>8</sup>.

The earl of Richmond attempts a landing near Poole, in Dorsetshire, in October; but his fleet being dispersed by a storm, he is obliged to retire to Normandy, where he gains the protection of the Lady of Beaujeu, the regent of France.

Richard proceeds through the west of England, punishing some of the insurgents<sup>9</sup>, but pardoning the greater number, and returning to London at Christmas, is received with great rejoicings.

A.D. 1484.

A parliament held at Westminster, Jan. 23, when several valuable statutes are enacted. 1. An act forbidding secret feoffments [1 Rich. III. c. 1]; 2. forbidding benevolences<sup>10</sup>, (c. 2); 3. allowing bail in accusations of felony, and forbidding the seizure of persons' goods before conviction, (c. 4); 4. remedying the abuse of insufficient jurors, (c. 6); 5. regulating the conduct of aliens<sup>11</sup>, (c. 9). Another act annulled all letters patent granted to "Elizabeth, late wife of Sir John Gray<sup>12</sup>," (c. 15); and by another the

in lands and money; he steadily adhered to him, and was killed in his quarrel at Bosworth-field, Aug. 22, 1485. His son, Thomas, who had been aquire of Edward IV., was created earl of Surrey on the same day that the father was made a duke; and he also fought at Bosworth. He suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower, but at length had the title of earl of Surrey, and a portion of his estates, restored to him by Henry VII. He was repeatedly employed against the Scots, and gained the victory of Flodden, by which he obtained an honourable augmentation to his arms; his sons also distinguished themselves both by sea and land. In consequence he had his dukedom and the earl-marshalship restored in 1514, was made lord treasurer and knight of the Garter. He died in 1524.

<sup>1</sup> His fee was to be £20 annually from the fee-farm of Ipswich. He had a grant of a great number of manors and lordships, including Farley Castle, July 25, on which day he was appointed admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> It was recovered by the Scots in the summer of 1485.

<sup>5</sup> The ceremony is sometimes spoken of as a second coronation, but this is an error.

<sup>6</sup> Buckingham considered that he had a claim to the crown as the descendant of Thomas, duke of Gloucester; but his crafty prisoner, the bishop of Ely, is believed to have lured him to his ruin, by inciting him to demand the lands of the earldom of Hereford, which had belonged to his great grandfather, but had been annexed to the crown ever since the accession of Henry IV. Richard refused this, and Buckingham took up arms, but being

a man possessed of neither courage nor conduct, utterly failed in his enterprise.

<sup>7</sup> Buckingham raised forces in Wales; the marquis of Dorset, the bishop of Exeter (Peter Courteney), and others, in Devonshire; Sir Richard Woodville, and his brother the bishop of Salisbury, in Wiltshire; Sir John Fogge and Sir George Browne, in Kent; and Sir William Norris in Berkshire.

<sup>8</sup> The three bishops of Ely, Exeter, and Salisbury were among the latter number. The bishop of Salisbury (Lionel Woodville, brother of Edward's queen,) died about a year after in exile, but the others survived Richard, and then returned to their seats.

<sup>9</sup> One of the parties executed was Sir Thomas St. Leger, Richard's brother-in-law; he had married the duchess of Exeter, but she was now dead.

<sup>10</sup> The statute states that the king, remembering how his subjects have, by new and unlawful inventions and inordinate covetousness, been obliged to pay great sums of money, to their almost utter destruction, ordains, with the consent of parliament, that the exactions called benevolences shall be annulled for ever.

<sup>11</sup> Importers of books or printers, of any nation or country, are specially excepted from the restraints of this act [1 Rich. III. c. 9], which is an important testimony to the value already attached to the then newly invented art of printing. The king was a man of literary tastes, and in his reign the Statutes were first printed.

<sup>12</sup> The use of this term for the widow of the late king, seems to indicate that Richard's parliament

earl of Richmond was attainted, Jan. 26.

The manufacture of cloth regulated by statute<sup>f</sup>, [1 Rich. III. c. 8].

The members of the two houses of parliament take an oath to support the succession of Richard's son Edward to the throne, Feb.

Both houses of convocation petition the king to relieve them from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. He complies by a charter dated Feb. 23<sup>g</sup>.

The queen-dowager is deprived of her estates by the parliament. Richard induces her to leave the Sanctuary at Westminster, taking an oath to provide for her and her daughters, March 1.

The heralds and pursuivants of arms incorporated by charter<sup>h</sup>, March 2.

Richard's son dies, April 9.

Richard declares his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, his heir<sup>i</sup>.

The earl of Richmond, apprehensive of being delivered up by the duke of Brittany, seeks shelter in France, where he is allowed to raise forces.

A three years' truce concluded with Scotland, Sept. 21, and a marriage arranged between Prince James and Anne de la Pole, Richard's niece.

The duke of Albany invades Scotland with a body of English borderers. He is defeated at Lochmaben, June 22, and flees to France<sup>k</sup>.

The earl of Oxford corrupts the garrison of Hammes, and gains temporary possession of the castle<sup>l</sup>.

A.D. 1485.

Richard raises money by way of "benevolence," which greatly impairs his popularity.

Richard's queen dies, March 16.

He proposes to marry the princess Elizabeth, which is agreed to by her mother.

The earl of Richmond, alarmed at this news<sup>m</sup>, hastens his preparations.

A fleet fitted out in April, under Sir George Neville<sup>n</sup>, to intercept the Lancastrians.

Richmond sails from Harfleur, Aug. 1; evades Richard's fleet, and lands at Milford Haven, Aug. 7.

Richard repairs to Nottingham, as a central station, where he orders his friends to join him.

Richmond advances through Wales into Staffordshire; is joined by Sir George Talbot and others, and comes to an understanding with Lord Stanley<sup>o</sup>.

The castle of Dunbar recovered by the Scots.

Richard, on the news of Richmond's approach, repairs to Leicester. He leaves it, Aug. 21, and encamps near Bosworth.

The battle of Bosworth, Aug. 22, in which Richard, betrayed by Lord Stanley and the earl of Northumberland<sup>p</sup>, is defeated and killed. His body is brought into Leicester, and buried in the Grey Friars monastery, Aug. 25.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

Civil war of the Moors in Granada . . . . .	A.D. 1483
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Ferdinand of Aragon makes war successfully on them . . . .	A.D. 1485
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were satisfied that their marriage was null and void, in which case Richard would not be a usurper.

<sup>f</sup> Some of the enactments appearing injudicious, the penalties were remitted by the king's proclamation, Oct. 25, 1484.

<sup>g</sup> This was in imitation of what his brother Edward had done in the early part of his reign.

<sup>h</sup> The grant is made to Garter (John Writhe), Clarence, Norroy, and Gloucester, kings of arms. It confers on the college the house called Cold Arber, in the parish of Allhallows the Less, London, and permits the purchase of lands to the value of £20 yearly for the support of a chaplain to say mass in the house daily.

<sup>i</sup> He also received the appointment of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which the deceased prince had held, Aug. 21.

<sup>k</sup> He was shortly after killed there at a tournament.

<sup>l</sup> It was recovered in a few days, when Oxford escaped and joined Richmond, some of the gar-

risson accompanying him. Thomas Brandon and seventy-three other soldiers, and Elizabeth, wife of James Blount, supposed to have connived at this, received a pardon, Jan. 27, 1485.

<sup>m</sup> It had been for some time understood that he was to marry the princess himself; which he afterwards did.

<sup>n</sup> Neville received large grants "for services against the rebels," June 30 and July 1, 1484. On the triumph of the Lancastrians he went abroad, but he received a pardon July 18, 1501. He afterwards joined the De la Poles, and is believed to have died in exile.

<sup>o</sup> Stanley was Richmond's step-father. He held the office of constable, and with his son, Lord Strange, had obtained valuable grants for "services against the rebels," though he was really in league with them.

<sup>p</sup> He, like Stanley, had received a share of the forfeited estates of Buckingham.

## NOTE.

## CHARACTER OF RICHARD III.

THE character ascribed to this prince differing materially from that usually given, it is deemed necessary to furnish references to some of the very numerous documents on the Patent Roll from which the conclusions have been drawn. The assertions and the authorities for them are numbered to correspond.

<sup>1</sup> The Patent Rolls contain pardons for 170 individuals; among them appear those of Sir John Sainthlo, April 24, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iv. no. 65]; John Morton, bishop of Ely, Dec. 11, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 109]; Sir Roger Tocotes, Jan. 27, 1485 [pt. ii. no. 105]; Sir Richard Woodville, Mar. 30, 1485 [pt. iii. no. 81]; pardon and restoration of Kentish manors to Sir John Fogge, of Ashford, Feb. 24, 1485 [pt. ii. no. 135], and pardon to Thomas Brandon and 73 other soldiers of Hammes, and Elizabeth, wife of James Blount, Jan. 27, 1485 [pt. iii. no. 33]; they had connived at the escape of the earl of Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Grants appear of £100 a-year to Catherine, wife of Sir Thomas Arundell, out of his forfeited lands, Feb. 23, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 147]; of a like amount to Margaret, countess of Oxford, March 10, 1484 [pt. v. no. 132]; of 200 marks to Katherine, duchess of Buckingham, June 20, 1484 [pt. iv. no. 77]; lands were also assigned to pay her husband's debts, [pt. ii. no. 20]. Katherine, the widow of Lord Hastings, had a grant of the custody of his possessions and the marriage of his son and heir, Feb. 9, 1485 [2 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 10]. Several manors which had been forfeited by Margaret, countess of Richmond, were granted for life to her husband, Lord Stanley [1 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 148; pt. iii. no. 185; pt. iv. no. 13].

<sup>3</sup> Richard's own grants are too numerous to be specified in full. Many were doubtless for political purposes, as those to the duke of Buckingham [1 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 29, &c.], the earl of Northumberland [pt. i. no. 82, &c.], Lord Howard, (afterwards duke of Norfolk.) [pt. i. no. 6, &c.], Sir Richard Ratcliff [2 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 147, &c.], as well as those to James Metcalf, Feb. 15, and to Sir John Conyers, March 4, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. v. nos. 88 and 130], "for services in England and Scotland, and very recently, touching the king's acceptance of the crown;" or for "services against the rebels," under which name many manors were granted to Lord Stanley, and his son Lord Strange, Sept. 17, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 113]. State reasons may also have induced the grant of £200 a-year to James, earl of Douglas, Feb. 12, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. v. no. 55], but such motives could not have caused

<sup>4</sup> The fresh grant of a pension bestowed by Edward IV. on William Staveley, who had been severely wounded in a sea-fight when in the company of the earl of Warwick, some five-and-twenty years before, Aug. 21, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 165]; or the continuation of an annuity of 20 marks to Margaret, wife of John Barnard, which had been granted to her in 1463 by the same earl, Feb. 26, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 73]; or of another of like amount to a yeoman of the crown under Edward IV., and his wife, Feb. 23, 1484 [pt. iii. no. 49].

<sup>5</sup> Commissions were issued to Sir John Audley and others to act for the defence of the coast

against foreign invasion, March 1, 5, 23, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 3, d, &c.]. A fleet was raised and placed under the command of Sir George Neville [2 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 15, d]; among the royal ships appear the names of the Little Anne of Powey, the Antony, the Elizabeth, the Garçya of Spain, le Governore, le Grace de Dieu, the Lucas, the Margaret of Sandwich, the Mary of Greenwich, and the Mary of Yarmouth. Dartmouth, Dover, Newcastle, Plymouth, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Youghal, had grants for fortifying their ports or improving their havens [1 Rich. III. pt. v. no. 67; pt. v. no. 29; pt. iii. no. 128, &c.].

<sup>6</sup> Letters of marque and reprisal against pirates were granted July 21, 28, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 3, d, 69]; reparation was enforced from the Flemings for a ship seized Sept. 27, 1470, Aug. 7, 1483 [pt. i. no. 40]; commissioners of inquiry appointed, May 16, 1484 [pt. iv. no. 1, d]; security against piracy exacted, and rules as to prizes established, Aug. 11, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 18, d]; and

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Lye, Thomas Grayson, and other commissioners, were sent into Devon and Cornwall, to inquire into the piratical seizure of woad from three Spanish ships, and to enforce restitution, Jan. 11, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 4, d]. Commissioners of inquiry and restitution were again appointed, Feb. 24, 1485 [2 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 10, d]. An order occurs for the restitution of a Hanse town ship, illegally seized, Jan. 31, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 3, d]; a Spanish ship piratically seized had been before restored, Nov. 22, 1483 [p. 1, no. 21, d]; and a grant was made of 400 marks to plundered Spanish merchants, March 16, 1485 [2 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 72]. Ralph Bukland and John Langley had a grant of £40 towards a ransom of £130 piratically imposed on them in Brittany, March 8, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 43], and Peter Hoke, of Calais, who had been seized at sea, carried to Boulogne, and obliged to pay 250 gold crowns, was allowed to export, duty free, 100 oxen to Calais or Flanders, from Dover or Sandwich, Jan. 24, 1485 [2 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 57].

<sup>8</sup> The German merchants were incorporated, Richard Gardener, alderman, being appointed their justice in pleas of debt, Feb. 28, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 7, d]. The denizations amount to twenty-two, in less than as many months, (Dec. 12, 1483—July 27, 1485).

<sup>9</sup> John Petite, merchant, and John Bolle, woolman, were appointed inspectors to search into frauds in wool, and levy the statutory penalties, July 3, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 20, d].

<sup>10</sup> Writs exist, dated Feb. 14, 1485, directing the justices of each county to publish a proclamation against unlawful dealings in wool or woollen cloth, and commanding wages to be paid to the workmen in ready lawful money [2 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 4, d].

<sup>11</sup> Richard's grants for services to his House are numerous. Among them are one to Hull, of £60 of the customs for twenty years, on account of services and expenses incurred by them on the king's voyage to Scotland, Feb. 21, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. v. no. 97]; a confirmation of the charters of Waterford, on account of their immense expenses for Richard, duke of York, March 25, 1484 [pt. ii. no. 161]; grants to Thomas Sandland, of Shrewsbury, for services to the king's father in England and Ireland, £8 a-year, April 2, 1484

<sup>4</sup> They were directed to search for fleeces sold with sand, stones, dung and other rubbish therein to increase the weight.

[pt. v. no. 120] ; to Henry Wedehoke, the office of yeoman of the Tower, for his services to Richard, duke of York, and Edward IV., in Ireland, April 7, 1484 [pt. ii. no. 162] ; to David Keting, on the same day, a manor in Ireland for like services [no. 163] ; to Thomas Alleyn, for services to the king's father, one of the auditorships of the duchy of Cornwall, Aug. 20, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 53] ; to Nicholas Harpissfield, "for services to Richard, late duke of York, Edward IV. and Richard III., in prosperity and adversity, in England, Ireland, Holland, and other places," £10 a-year, Feb. 12, 1485 [pt. iii. no. 23], and to Robert Radclyff, "in consideration of the dangers, hardships, and imprisonments he has undergone in the king's service," £60 a-year, April 15, 1485 [pt. ii. no. 53].

<sup>12</sup> £20 a-year was granted to Anne de Caux, nurse to Edward IV., Jan. 2, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 92] ; and 20 marks to Isabella Burgh (and her husband Henry), nurse of the king's son, now deceased, June 28, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 150].

<sup>13</sup> Beverley, Cambridge, Dublin, Gloucester, Huntingdon, Newcastle, Northampton, Oxford, Shrewsbury, and York, had their fee-farm rents reduced or abolished ; and the mayor of York was appointed chief serjeant-at-arms to the king, Feb. 19, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 69].

<sup>11</sup> Winchester was relieved of £20 out of its fee-farm rent of 100 marks, in consequence of its decay from the plague, Mar. 3, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 48] ; the crown moiety of the manor of Brentmarsh, Somersetshire, was granted to the parson of the parish, (Thomas Baret,) to repair the sea walls, which had been broken down, Feb. 24, 1485 [2 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 133]. There are also several grants to individuals, on account of their "great poverty."

<sup>15</sup> John Taillour, the king's almoner, had a grant of the goods of suicides, and all deadlands, in augmentation of the royal alms, Dec. 4, 1483 [1 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 24]. Walter Felde, his successor, had a similar grant, May 27, 1484. Of the lands forfeited by rebels, some were applied to pious

uses, as lands of Sir George Browne, in the Isle of Thanet, and at River, to the Maison Dieu, at Dover, Mar. 10, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 44].

<sup>16</sup> A charter of manumission was granted, Feb. 19, 1485, to Alexander Lang, and eighteen other bondmen of the king's manor of Framlingham, Devon [2 Rich. III. pt. iii. no. 155].

<sup>17</sup> The collegiate church of Middleham†, Yorkshire, was founded by Richard, while he was yet a subject (Feb. 21, 1477,) as was also a chantry in the church of Allhallows Barking, London. After his accession, a chantry at Wem, Shropshire, had a grant of eight marks annually out of the fee-farm rent of Shrewsbury, Sept. 7, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 141] ; on others, founded by private individuals, at York, Dec. 4, 1483 [1 Rich. III. pt. v. no. 10], Old Sleaford, March 3, 1484 [pt. ii. no. 116], and elsewhere, he bestowed mortmain licences, and other privileges.

<sup>18</sup> He either made, or confirmed, or added to, grants to the prior and canons of Carlisle ; the Carthusians of Mountgrace ; the Minorites of Cambridge, Gloucester, Oxford, and Worcester ; the white nuns of Worcester ; the nuns of Wilberfoss, Yorkshire ; St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Dec. 15, 1483 [1 Rich. III. pt. iv. no. 116] ; and St. George's chapel in the Tower, at Southampton. He also reincorporated the guild of Holy Cross at Abingdon, with extended powers, for keeping the roads and bridges of the neighbourhood in repair, Feb. 20, 1484 [p. ii. no. 129].

<sup>19</sup> Richard Mayew, the president, and the scholars of Magdalen College, Oxford, had a grant of "a three-yard land," in Westcote, Warwickshire, forfeited by Henry, duke of Buckingham, Feb. 21, 1484 [1 Rich. III. pt. ii. no. 56]. Andrew Doket, president, and the fellows of Queens' College, Cambridge, had a grant of an annuity of £110, and lands and manors in the counties of Berks, Bucks, Lincoln, Northampton, and Suffolk, July 5, 1484 [2 Rich. III. pt. i. no. 105].

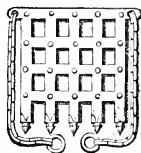
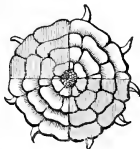
[Summarized from the Ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.]

\* The lordship and manor came to him in right of his wife, and he devoted 200 marks yearly for the support of the establishment ; he also procured for it exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary. The Rev. Mr. Atthill, a canon of the church, has published the various charters, as a vindication of Richard's memory, (Camden Society, No. 33.)

\* The guild "gave him their aid and assisted his host in his wars against Henry, earl of Richmond. In which battle King Richard was slain, many of his side lost their lives, and this fraternity their lands and liberties," but they eventually received a pardon from the victor. (Monument of Christian Munificence.)



## THE TUDORS.



Badges of the Tudors.

WHEN Henry of Richmond had succeeded in possessing himself of the English crown, he found no difficulty in procuring from Wales a duly authenticated pedigree, in which his descent from Caractacus and consequent right to the British sceptre was clearly shewn<sup>a</sup>. English writers, however, are content to discover the first noted person of his family in a Welsh squire, named Owen Tudor (Tedder, or Theodore), whose handsome person procured him the alliance of Katherine of France, the relict of Henry V.; he lost his life in the Lancastrian cause, but his grandson became a king.

The Tudors ruled for nearly one hundred and twenty years (A.D. 1485—1603); during which, changes of the most important nature were effected, and mainly by the sovereigns themselves. Henry VII. gave its death-blow to the decaying feudal system, and began to rear something like our present state of society in its stead<sup>b</sup>; the iron hand of Henry VIII. broke up monastic establishments, and by destroying the dependence of the Church of England on that of Rome, gave opportunity for the purification

of the former from stains contracted by its long connexion with a Church "which hath erred, not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." These reformatory measures were carried on by the advisers of his son; and, though somewhat retarded by his daughter Mary, received their completion in the reign of the last of the Tudors, Elizabeth; but not without giving rise to an opposition that, when the sceptre had passed into feebler hands, for a time destroyed both Church and State.

Though fierce political and religious dissensions disturbed the Tudor era, the nation made great advances in commerce and navigation; voyages to India were undertaken, and vigorous efforts were made to share the riches of the New World. The mode of government, however, if less openly tyrannical, was more systematically oppressive than heretofore<sup>c</sup>; but the patronage shewn, especially under Elizabeth, to literature, has enriched the period with names that can never die.

Like the House of York, the Tudors

<sup>a</sup> The pedigree will be found *in extenso* in Powell's "History of Wales."

<sup>b</sup> The nobility had been greatly reduced in number by the civil war, and most of those who survived were in a state of poverty. Henry VII., professedly to relieve them, allowed them to dispose of their lands, free from the burdens of feudalism; much of the soil of the country thus came into the possession of merchants and traders, and a middle class sprang up, into whose hands the real power of the State has been gradually drawn; a change the import-

ance of which it is impossible to over-estimate.

<sup>c</sup> The Tudors were such absolute rulers, and their parliaments and their judges so subservient, that new laws were made and old ones interpreted without regard to anything except meeting the wishes of the sovereign. Hence the forms of law were strictly observed in innumerable cases where every principle of justice was disregarded, and the constitution which had been gradually built up from the time of the Great Charter was temporarily subverted.

changed only the supporters of the royal arms, substituting a red dragon for one of the lions, as a token of their alleged descent from Cadwalader. The badges of the House consist of the red and the white rose united in various ways; the portcullis, the badge of the Beauforts; and the fleur-de-lis, for their nominal realm of France. Beside these, a variety of badges were used by individual rulers: as, the crowned hawthorn bush by Henry VII.; the white greyhound by him and by Henry VIII.; the old Yorkist badge of the sun in splendour by Edward VI.; the Tudor rose impaled with a sheaf of arrows by Mary; and the thornless rose by Elizabeth. The badges of the queens of Henry VIII. will be found under his reign.



Great Seal of Henry VII.

## HENRY VII.

MARGARET, daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, was born in the year 1441, and on the death of her father in 1443 she became the ward of William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who endeavoured to unite her to his son John, (afterwards the husband of Elizabeth of York, sister of Edward IV.); but in 1455 she married Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, (son of Owen Tudor and Katherine of France,) who died in the following year, leaving her and her infant (perhaps unborn) son Henry to the care of his brother Jasper, earl of Pembroke<sup>a</sup>.

This, her only child, was born in the year 1456, probably in the castle

of Pembroke, and as early as his fifth year he experienced the calamities of the time, being attainted by the first parliament of Edward IV., apparently in revenge for the active part which his uncle Jasper had taken on the Lancastrian side. Jasper was a fugitive, and his castle and earldom were granted to William Herbert, who coming to take possession found there Margaret and her son; though in effect their keeper, he treated them with kindness<sup>b</sup>, and provided for the education of the child. Jasper made some unsuccessful attempts to recover his stronghold, and Herbert was captured and executed by insurgents; but it was not until 1470, upon the tem-

<sup>a</sup> The death of the father and the birth of the child were certainly very near each other, but authorities are at variance as to which occurred first. The countess in 1459 married Sir Henry Stafford, a younger son of the duke of Buckingham, who died in 1481. In 1482 she married her third husband, Thomas, Lord Stanley, and survived until June 29, 1509. Though naturally an object of suspicion to the Yorkist princes, on account of her son,

she was leniently treated, her estates forfeited according to law by her correspondence with him being granted to her husband by Richard III. Her wealth was great, and she has left in each University numerous evidences of her pious charity.

<sup>b</sup> His will, an extract from which is given at p. 251, affords a favourable impression of his character.

porary restoration of Henry VI., that the young earl was set at liberty, presented to his royal kinsman, and, as some writers affirm, sent to Eton College. If so, his stay there could be but short; Edward IV. returned, and Richmond and his uncle escaping by sea, were driven on the coast of Brittany, where they long remained in a position between guests and prisoners. As Henry grew to manhood he attracted the more particular attention of both friends and enemies. His personal character for ability and courage caused him to be recognised, though without a shadow of hereditary

claim, as the head of the Lancastrian exiles, and both Edward IV. and Richard III. endeavoured, by bribes to Landois, the minister of the duke of Brittany, to get him into their hands. He was fortunate enough to escape this danger, and at length withdrew into France, where he was joined by the earl of Oxford, Morton, bishop of Ely, and several of the Woodville party. His first attempt to invade England (in October, 1483) was unsuccessful, but he renewed it in 1485, and by the one decisive victory of Bosworth (Aug. 22) established himself on the throne<sup>c</sup>.



Henry VII.

From their Monument, Westminster Abbey.



Elizabeth of York.

As this event was soon followed by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, Henry's accession is ordinarily spoken of as the result of the support of the Yorkists, and a compromise of the claims of the two Houses; but such was not his own view of the matter<sup>d</sup>. Before he would enter on the marriage he procured the settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs only; and in his will he speaks of "the crown which it pleased God to give us, with the victory of our enemy in our first field."

Henry had been bred in adversity, but he had not learnt mercy. He entertained a deep hatred of the House of York, and he laboured, but too successfully, to depress all its members and adherents. Numerous insurrections were the consequence, but he succeeded in suppressing them all, and,

though not wanting in courage, was indebted far more to policy than to arms for the tranquillity which attended his later years. He more than once declared war against France and against Scotland, but he never proceeded to hostilities, and the people of his own time suspected him of fomenting the misunderstandings that arose as mere pretexts for demanding subsidies, which he applied to his own purposes. As a piece of state policy, he considered poor subjects less difficult to rule than rich ones, and the acquisition of treasure seems to have been his ruling passion. Cardinal Morton, his chancellor, taught him how to give an appearance of legality to his projects, and he found ready instruments in two lawyers (Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley<sup>e</sup>) who so dexterously perverted ex-

<sup>c</sup> He, as well as many of his adherents, had been long under attainer; the judges, however, prudently declared that his success purged that defect in him, and the parliament which shortly after assembled relieved the rest (107 in number) from their disabilities.

<sup>d</sup> He held language to his first parliament, which implies that his victory was his real title to the crown; but he chose to put that victory as God's testimony to "his just hereditary title."

<sup>e</sup> Empson was the son of a sieve-maker, but Dudley was a gentleman, of the family of Lord

isting laws or revived obsolete ones, for the purpose of extortion, that the most innocent were obliged to pay enormous fines for imaginary offences to avoid utter ruin. Having lost his queen and eldest son, Henry engaged in various schemes for a new marriage, but the negotiations were delayed by his wish to obtain a rich portion. In the midst of his projects he was surprised by illness, when he founded monasteries and released debtors, but he neglected to put a check on the extortions of the "two ravening wolves," as Empson and Dudley are justly styled by a writer of the time<sup>f</sup>. He at length died at Richmond, April 21, 1509, and was buried in the sumptuous chapel at Westminster which bears his name<sup>g</sup>, May 10.

By his wife, Elizabeth of York, (who was born in 1465 or 1466, and died Feb. 11, 1503,) he had three sons and four daughters :—

1. Arthur, born at Winchester, Sept. 20, 1486, married Katherine of Arragon, Nov. 14, 1501, and dying April 2, 1502, was buried in Worcester Cathedral, April 27.

2. HENRY, became king.

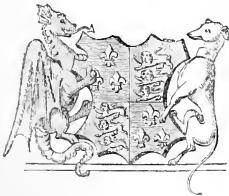
3, 4, 5. Edmund, Elizabeth, and Katherine, died young.

6. Margaret, born Nov. 29, 1489, was married successively to James IV. of Scotland; to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus; and to Henry Stuart, Lord Methven. She was the grandmother of both Mary queen of Scots and her husband Darnley, and after a life of considerable vicissitude, died at Methven, near Perth, Oct. 18, 1541.

7. Mary, born in 1498, married first Louis XII. of France, and afterwards Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk; Lady Jane Grey was her grand-daughter by this latter marriage. She died June 25, 1533.

Whilst retaining the royal arms and motto unchanged, Henry VII. employed for supporters a red dragon and a white greyhound, sometimes the former being the dexter supporter, and sometimes the latter<sup>h</sup>. For badges he used the hawthorn bush royally crowned<sup>i</sup>, and the white greyhound courant; he also employed the red dragon and the dun cow as badges, as he claimed descent both from Cadwalader and from Guy of Warwick.

Henry's conduct throughout his reign



Arms and Badge of Henry VII.



was unworthy of the station to which his enterprise and abilities had raised him. No consideration of justice or

mercy prevailed in his dealings with the adherents of the House of York<sup>j</sup>; and he sacrificed those who in early

Sutton of Dudley. He had a grant of the wardship of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Grey, Lord Lisle, and married her, whence their son (the duke of Northumberland of the time of Edward VI.) in after years obtained the title of Lord Lisle.

<sup>f</sup> "Noble men grudged, mean men kicked, poor men lamented, and preachers openly at Paul's Cross and other places exclaimed, rebuked, and detested," says Halle, a Tudor partisan, but the oppression continued as long as Henry lived.

<sup>g</sup> His tomb was commenced at Windsor in 1501 or earlier, but it was removed to Westminster in 1503.

<sup>h</sup> In one instance (the Bishop's palace, Exeter) the supporters are both greyhounds.

<sup>i</sup> In commemoration, it is said, of King Richard's

crown having been found in a bush on the field of battle.

<sup>j</sup> His treatment of the sisters of his wife seems a proof of his settled purpose to depress their house; they were all married much beneath their rank. Some modern writers have asserted that he shewed kindness and liberality to his queen, but the following among other entries in his Privy Purse Accounts are opposed to such a view :—

"1497, Feb. 1. Delivered to the queen's grace to pay her debts, which is to be repaid, £2,000.

"1502, April 29. To the queen's grace in loan upon certain plate, £500."

From another entry after her death (dated May 2, 1503), it would seem that the queen also obtained money from other parties, as a sum is noted as paid to redeem her pledges.

life had rendered him the most important services. He had no friends, no confidants, but was, in reality, his own minister<sup>k</sup>, and he devoted his whole soul to the acquisition, even by the vilest means, of treasure, which he guarded with all the jealousy of a miser under his own lock and key, though he lavishly disbursed it for the preparation of a pompous burial-place<sup>l</sup>. His government at home was marked by the creation of the Star Chamber, which reduced the occasional oppression of former kings to a regular system; and all his transactions with foreign powers betray his dark, designing, treacherous and ungrateful character.

A.D. 1485.

Henry, earl of Richmond, is proclaimed king by his partisans on the field of battle, Aug. 22<sup>m</sup>.

He enters London, August 27, and is crowned October 30.

The young earl of Warwick<sup>n</sup> is brought from Yorkshire, and confined in the Tower.

A parliament meets Nov. 7. The crown is settled on Henry and his heirs, "and none other," [1 Hen. VII. c. 1,]<sup>o</sup> the attainders of the Lancastrians (107, beside Richmond himself) are reversed, and the duke of Norfolk, Lord Lovel, and other partisans of Richard III. (to the number of 30) attainted.

Wines from Gascony forbidden to be imported except in English, Irish, or Welsh vessels, [1 Hen. VII. c. 8<sup>p</sup>].

A general pardon for all offences

committed by Henry's adherents against those of Richard, [c. 6].

Beside these proceedings in parliament, Henry took several steps on his own sole authority. Thus, he revoked all crown grants made since the 34th of Henry VI. (1454-5), which placed the possessions of the Yorkists especially at his mercy; and having procured the attainder and confiscation of property of the richest of Richard's friends, he granted a pardon to the rest. Many of them, however, distrusted him, and either remained in sanctuary or quitted England.

A.D. 1486.

Henry marries Elizabeth of York, Jan. 18; but she is not crowned until near the end of the next year.

Lord Lovel and Humphrey and Thomas Stafford<sup>a</sup> rise in arms in April, but are soon forsaken by their followers. Lovel escapes to Flanders, Humphrey Stafford is executed, and Thomas pardoned.

Though this rising was easily crushed, Henry's rule was still insecure; this was especially the case in Ireland, where the House of York had been long exceedingly popular, and where all the chief officers were still its devoted partisans. The Butlers, earls of Ormonde, who had taken the Lancastrian side in the former contests, had been driven out, and ever since the accession of Edward IV. the Fitzgeralds, earls of Kildare, had been the real rulers of the country. Gerald, the ninth earl, had procured the passing of a statute in 1484, which con-

<sup>k</sup> In the Public Record Office are preserved rolls of fines imposed, indorsed in his own hand, "Fines of the counties of —, whereof — is receiver, and must answer the money."

<sup>l</sup> He also expended some portion on the restoration of the palaces at Richmond and Greenwich, and, as before stated, he founded a few Franciscan convents; but all these disbursements very little affected his hoard, and he died the richest prince in Christendom.

<sup>m</sup> His regnal years are ordinarily computed from this day, but some of the statutes of his first parliament (those of attainder and resumption,) date his reign from August 21, the day before the battle, and thus represent King Richard and his friends as rebels against their sovereign lord King Henry. "Perhaps there never was such a blot on the English statute book. A notorious lie was deliberately enacted for the purpose of attainting the adherents of a defeated cause. It is true, the number of attainders was not great, but the stretch of power even in that day was unprecedented." (Gairdner's *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.*)

<sup>n</sup> The son of the duke of Clarence, since whose death (in 1478) he had been kept in a kind of honourable custody at the castle of Sheriff Hutton. Though commonly called Warwick, his real title was earl of Salisbury, and he did not become earl of Warwick until the death of his grandmother (the widow of "the King Maker," and countess in her own right,) about 1490.

<sup>o</sup> The statute against Edward's queen (p. 263) was also repealed, and a few manors were given to her instead of her dower lands.

<sup>p</sup> In 1489 another statute was enacted [4 Hen. VII. c. 10], which prohibited the bringing of wine and woad in alien ships, or the employment of such ships by native merchants while native ships were to be had, thus establishing the principle of the Navigation Acts, long regarded as the mainstay of British commerce, but now abrogated.

<sup>a</sup> The Staffords were cousins of the duke of Buckingham. Lovel was the son of an attainted Lancastrian, but had attached himself to the duke of Gloucester; he served with him in Scotland, and when his patron became king, received many valuable grants and high offices. See p. 260, note.

firmed himself in the deputyship for life, and made the like provision as to other great offices, which were all held by his brethren or kinsmen. Henry did not venture to repeal this act, but allowed Gerald to remain as deputy, when he gave the lieutenantship to his own uncle, Jasper, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford. This circumstance induced the Yorkists to make a desperate effort at the conquest of England, well known as the rising of Lambert Simnel, whose ready reception by Kildare and the Irish council can only be accounted for by supposing them to have been privy to the scheme from the beginning. It failed, but the power of the Fitzgeralds was little affected thereby<sup>†</sup>, and the Earl of Kildare died possessed of the office of lord deputy, which was also held by his son, Gerald, whose tragic story belongs to the next reign.

The court of Starchamber established, [3 Hen. VII. c. 1<sup>st</sup>].

Taking away of women against their will declared felony, [c. 2].

A three years' truce concluded with Scotland, July 3.

A.D. 1487.

Lambert Simnel<sup>†</sup>, calling himself Edward earl of Warwick, lands in Ireland, in February, and is favourably received.

Henry exhibits the earl of Warwick to the public and sends the queen-

mother to the nunnery of Bermondsey, and her son Thomas, marquis of Dorset, to the Tower.

The earl of Lincoln (John de la Pole) repairs to Flanders, when his aunt Margaret of Burgundy furnishes him and Lord Lovel with troops to support Simnel.

Lincoln lands, May 5; and Simnel is crowned with great pomp in the cathedral of Dublin as Edward VI. on Whitsunday, May 14.

Simnel and his forces land in Lancashire, June 4. They defeat Lord Clifford at Bramham moor, June 10. Henry advances against them, defeats them at Stoke, near Newark, June 16. The earl of Lincoln, and most of their leaders, are killed, and Simnel and his tutor, Richard Simon, a priest, are taken<sup>u</sup>. Vast sums are raised by exactions from persons supposed to have favoured the rising<sup>v</sup>.

Henry receives a subsidy for a war against France, in behalf of the duke of Brittany<sup>x</sup>.

Henry proposes intermarriages of their families to the king of Scotland, who insists first on the restoration of Berwick.

The queen crowned, Nov. 25. Her half-brother, the marquis of Dorset, is shortly after set at liberty, but her mother is still imprisoned<sup>y</sup>.

A.D. 1488.

The people in the north resist the

<sup>†</sup> In 1488 Sir Richard Edgecombe was sent to Ireland to treat with Kildare and the rest for their return to obedience. The result was that Kildare, 2 archbishops, 3 bishops, 10 abbots and priors, 7 peers, and 8 judges, beside the treasurer and the king's attorney, received a full pardon, dated May 25, on their own terms.

<sup>‡</sup> The establishment of this court was contrary to the spirit of Magna Charta (see p. 141), but Henry only reduced to a system what former kings had done irregularly and occasionally: the king's council having from time immemorial dealt with both civil and criminal causes, unfettered by the rules of law. The court was to be composed of the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, a bishop, a lord of the council, and the two chief justices; their power embraced the punishment of "murders, robberies, perjuries and untruths of all men living," in as full manner as if the offenders had been "convicted after the due order of the law."

<sup>§</sup> He was a handsome, intelligent youth of about twelve years of age, and had been tutored for his part by Richard Simon, a young priest of Oxford, who accompanied him to Ireland.

<sup>u</sup> Simon was imprisoned for the rest of his life, and Simnel was made a scullion, and afterwards a falconer, in Henry's household: Lord Bacon assigns a motive of superstition for Henry's ap-

parent clemency in both cases. Lord Lovel is believed to have escaped from the field, and to have lived for a while in concealment at Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire, but at length to have been starved to death through the neglect or treachery of an attendant. His Northamptonshire lands were granted to the countess of Richmond, and she also received some manors that had belonged to the earl of Warwick.

<sup>v</sup> Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells, was imprisoned until his death (May 1491) on this charge. He had been chancellor in the time of Edward IV., and was personally obnoxious to Henry, as he had been employed in endeavours to induce the duke of Brittany to give up the Lancastrian refugees; he was also understood to have celebrated Edward's marriage with Lady Eleanor Butler. Henry prevented any examination of this matter in his first parliament, by declaring that he pardoned the false statement that the bishop had made.

<sup>x</sup> Francis II., to whom Henry was indebted for his life; yet he kept the greater part of the subsidy raised for his service, abandoned him to the French king, and ruined his daughter Anne by the expense of bodies of troops who were sent into her states, but not allowed to fight for her.

<sup>y</sup> She died in the nunnery at Bermondsey, June 8, 1492, and was buried at Windsor.

payment of the subsidy, and kill the earl of Northumberland<sup>a</sup>, who endeavours to enforce it, April 28. Sir John Egremont heads them, but they are dispersed by the earl of Surrey<sup>a</sup>.

The earl of Angus and other partisans of the duke of Albany<sup>b</sup> conspire against James III. and get his eldest son into their hands. A pacification is concluded at Blackness, Fifeshire, in May.

The king endeavours to gain the castle of Stirling, when he is attacked by the insurgents, near Bannockburn, and defeated, June 11. He is slain in his flight, and is succeeded by his son (James IV.).

Sir Richard Edgecombe sent to Ireland to receive the submission of the deputy and others<sup>c</sup>, June.

Henry makes a truce with France, and endeavours to keep the subsidy which had been voted for the war<sup>d</sup>; but on the news of the battle of St. Aubin, he is obliged, by the public clamour, to send troops to Brittany, where, however, by secret agreement with the French, they remain inactive.

A.D. 1489.

The earl of Lennox and Lord Forbes attempt to avenge the death of James III., but are surprised and defeated.

Butchers forbidden to slaughter cattle within the walls of any city, Carlisle and Berwick excepted, [4 Hen. VII. c. 3].

The benefit of clergy restrained, [c. 13<sup>e</sup>].

The conservancy of the Thames from Staines to Yenlade assured to the city of London, [c. 15].

A.D. 1490.

Henry makes treaties with various states, professedly for the defence of Brittany; but nothing is done, and the duchy is in the next year seized by France.

A.D. 1491.

Lord Bothwell (John Ramsay) and Sir Thomas Todd propose to seize the young king of Scotland and his brother, and deliver them to Henry; but are unable to effect their purpose<sup>f</sup>.

Soldiers deserting declared felons without benefit of clergy, [7 Hen. VII. c. 1].

True standard weights and measures of brass ordered to be sent by the king's treasurer to every city and borough, [c. 3].

All Scots not naturalized ordered to quit the realm, within forty days<sup>g</sup>, [c. 6].

The attainder of Thomas, earl of Surrey, reversed<sup>h</sup>, [c. 16].

Sir Robert Chamberleyn, John Hayes, and Richard White attainted by parliament, without trial, on charges of treasonable correspondence with the king of France, [cc. 22, 23].

A five years' truce concluded with Scotland, Dec. 26.

A.D. 1492.

Henry raises money by way of "benevolence<sup>i</sup>," and receives also supplies from the parliament.

<sup>a</sup> Henry Percy, who deserted Richard III. at Bosworth.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Howard, the son of John, duke of Norfolk, killed at Bosworth, and himself but lately released from the Tower. Egremont escaped to Flanders, but John Chambres, his lieutenant, and many more, were taken and hanged.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1482, 1483, 1484.

<sup>d</sup> With considerable difficulty he got them to take fresh oaths of fealty, July 21, and he then delivered to them the pardons that he had brought from England. Their submission, however, was by no means so complete as he had demanded. Henry required bonds for their future behaviour, but these they absolutely refused, saying that they would rather become "Irish enemies" at once.

<sup>e</sup> The duke of Brittany, however, made a desperate effort to drive out the French, but was defeated at St. Aubin, July 28, where Lord Rivers (uncle to the queen) and some English auxiliaries which he had raised, were slain.

<sup>f</sup> It was only to be pleaded once by those who were not in orders; and murderers and felons were to be branded on the left thumb in open court.

<sup>g</sup> They had been greatly favoured by the late king, but were now exiles in England. The title of earl of Bothwell was bestowed on Patrick Hepburn. Though this scheme failed, Henry kept several of the Scottish nobles in his pay, and their treacherous proceedings greatly embarrassed their countrymen.

<sup>h</sup> They were to be sought for by the constables and passed from hundred to hundred to Scotland, "in like manner as abjured men are conveyed from sanctuary to the port of embarkation."

<sup>i</sup> He had restoration of a portion only of his estates, those received from Richard III. being expressly excluded.

<sup>j</sup> He made the sums given a test of men's apparent liking for him, saying openly that he should value their love by the amount that each gave in proportion to his means. The Yorkists were thus obliged to purchase their safety, and the London merchants were forced to pay largely, by a device which was termed "Morton's Fork [dilemma]." They were summoned before the chancellor, who told those who were richly dressed, that their appearance was a proof of their wealth; and the



A young man lands in Ireland, in February, calling himself Richard<sup>j</sup>, duke of York, son of Edward IV. He is joined by John Water, the late mayor of Cork, and some others, and opens a correspondence with the king of Scotland, March. In September he is invited to France by Charles VIII., where Sir George Neville<sup>k</sup> and many other English gentlemen repair to him.

Henry passes over to France, Oct. 2. He besieges Boulogne for a few days; negotiates for a peace, and concludes a treaty<sup>l</sup>, and returns to England by the middle of November.

A.D. 1493.

Henry publishes an account of the death of Richard duke of York, and his brother Edward V., in the Tower, but dismisses the alleged murderers without punishment<sup>m</sup>. He also professes to discover that his rival is an impostor, and makes treaties with the kings of France and Scotland, by which they agree not to give shelter or assistance to any of his enemies.

Richard is in consequence obliged to retire from France, in August. He repairs to Flanders, where Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, receives him with joy as her nephew.

A.D. 1494.

The Yorkists in England send over to Flanders, and from the reports they receive, are satisfied that Richard is not an impostor<sup>n</sup>.

Lord Fitzwalter (John Ratcliff), Sir Simon Montfort, and several others, are seized, condemned, and executed<sup>o</sup>.

The truce with Scotland extended to April 30, 1501.

Sir Edward Poynings is appointed deputy of Ireland Sept. 13. He passes an important statute, called Poynings' Law, by which all legislation in the Irish parliament was confined to matters first approved of by the king and council in England.

A.D. 1495.

Clifford returns to England in January. He charges Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, with treason<sup>p</sup>, who is condemned, and executed, Feb. 16.

Richard collects troops for an invasion of England<sup>q</sup>. A party which lands on Deal beach, July 3, is cut off by the people of Sandwich<sup>r</sup>, and he then proceeds to Ireland.

Ships fitted out, and men raised to guard against other attempts, July.

Richard lays siege to Waterford,

meanly clad he maintained must be well off through their commendable parsimony. He, however, had to bear a like burden himself, and paid a benevolence of £1500, June 27, 1496.

<sup>j</sup> Historians in general style him Perkin Warbeck, but this name assumes what has never yet been proved, namely, that he was an impostor. The name Richard only is here employed, which does not prejudice the question, like Perkin Warbeck or Richard of York. See Note, p. 279.

<sup>k</sup> Richard's admiral, who failed to intercept Richmond's fleet. See A.D. 1485.

<sup>l</sup> Beside the public treaty, which provided for peace and strict alliance, there was a private agreement for payment of the annuity promised to Edward IV. See A.D. 1475.

<sup>m</sup> Their names were Dighton and Forrest. Several years after it was alleged that they had been employed by Sir James Tyrell.

<sup>n</sup> Their agent was Sir Robert Clifford, son of the Lord Clifford who killed the young earl of Rutland at Wakefield. If not from the first an emissary of Henry, which seems most probable, he soon became so, and betrayed to him the names of those with whom he had corresponded. He had his pardon formally granted, Dec. 22, 1494, before his return to England; and he appears, from the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII., to have received a reward of £500, Jan. 20, 1495.

<sup>o</sup> Many pardons were, however, granted to Richard's adherents in Ireland, as to Walter Fitz Symonds, archbishop of Dublin, Aug. 8, 1494; to Maurice, earl of Desmond, Dec. 12, 1494; and a general pardon (from which Lord Barry and John Water, late mayor of Cork, were excepted), Aug. 26, 1496.

<sup>p</sup> He had been justice of North Wales under Richard III., and was the brother of Lord Stanley, who had married Henry's mother. The charge against him was, that he had said, that if he were sure that young man were King Edward's son, he would not bear arms against him; a declaration obnoxious to Henry, but very little like treason as usually understood.

<sup>q</sup> Halle speaks of Richard's forces and friends as only "a rabblement of knaves," but the acts of attainer [11 Hen. VII. c. 64, &c.] give many of them a social position of very different character. These name Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Giles Debenham, Sir Richard Harleston, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir George Neville, Sir John Ratcliff, Sir H. Savage, and Sir William Stanley; James Keting, prior of Kilmainham; Robert Radcliff, and two other esquires; William Daubeney and five other gentlemen; and John Heyron and four other merchants. Among the persons who had supported Richard in Ireland, we find the archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Desmond and Lord Barry, and John Water, a wealthy merchant; and in the Scottish treasurer's accounts, the dean of York is often mentioned as in attendance on Richard, and receiving his monthly pension from James IV.

<sup>r</sup> They were treacherously invited to land, and then attacked. Many fell in the fight, and all the prisoners (169 in number) being brought to London, "railed in ropes like horses drawing in a cart," says Halle, were hanged by Henry's order. The mayor of Sandwich (William Salmon) was thanked, and the sheriff of Kent (John Pechy) knighted, for their services in the matter.

July, August. Failing to take the city, he repairs, in November, to Scotland, where James formally receives him as the "prince of England<sup>s</sup>."

The parliament meets, Oct. 14.

No person going with the king for the time being to war, or otherwise serving him, to be liable to attainder or other "vexation, trouble, or loss," [11 Hen. VII. c. 1].

Tynedale annexed to Northumberland, [c. 9,] the reason given being that the inhabitants abused their franchises, and, in company with the Scots, "the ancient enemy of the realm," daily and nightly committed great and heinous treasons, robberies and murders.

Benevolences unpaid made recoverable by imprisonment, [c. 10].

Suing *in forma pauperis* admitted<sup>1</sup>, [c. 12].

Taking game, or eggs of hawks or swans, on the estate of another, (said to be much practised by "persons having little substance to live upon,") made punishable by fine and imprisonment, [c. 17].

The wages of labourers and artificers regulated<sup>2</sup>, [c. 22].

Jurors giving untrue verdicts to be fined at the discretion of the judges, and rendered infamous, "so that they shall never after be of any credence, nor their oath accepted in any court," [c. 24].

Henry declared entitled to all the property of Richard III. [c. 28], and "improvident grants" of Edward III. and Richard II. to Edmund of Langley resumed, [c. 29].

Leases and grants of offices in Wales and the Welsh marches made

void, as having been granted at too low rents, "to the great hurt and damage of the King and Prince [Arthur]," and offices therein, created since the 1st Edward IV., abolished, [c. 33<sup>3</sup>].

Edmund de la Pole, on the payment of £5000, has a portion of the estates of his father, John, duke of Suffolk, restored<sup>4</sup>, [c. 39].

The royal household regulated, [c. 62]. The annual expense was fixed at £12,059 9s. 11d.

Lord Fitzwalter, Sir William Stanley, and many others attainted, [c. 64].

The heirs of several attainted persons restored in blood; among them those of Catesby<sup>5</sup> and Ratcliff.

#### A.D. 1496.

Henry concludes a commercial treaty with Philip, duke of Burgundy, Feb. 24<sup>6</sup>, which provides that Richard shall not receive shelter in Flanders.

Jesus College, Cambridge, founded by John Alcock, bishop of Ely<sup>7</sup>.

James and Richard advance into England with a large army in October. Few join them, when the Scots ravage the country, and return by the end of the year.

#### A.D. 1497.

The parliament meets at Westminster, Jan. 16, when a subsidy is granted for a war with Scotland. The people of Cornwall resist the collection of the tax, and march towards London; they are defeated at Blackheath, June 22, and their leaders executed<sup>8</sup>.

Henry negotiates with James for the surrender of Richard<sup>9</sup>, which is refused.

James fits out a small fleet for Richard, who, with his wife, quits his

<sup>1</sup> This, or "duke of York," is the title given to him in the Scottish Treasurer's accounts preserved in the Register-house, Edinburgh; but when he invaded England in the next year he issued a proclamation styling himself "King Richard the Fourth."

<sup>2</sup> The statute directs that writs shall be granted by the chancellor, and counsel be assigned by the judges, without fee or reward, to persons not of ability to bear the expenses of the law, in order that all persons may have justice administered to them.

<sup>3</sup> This statute was soon repealed, [12 Hen. VII. c. 3].

<sup>4</sup> There are several provisions saving the rights of particular persons, and the statute was evidently meant only to affect the adherents of the House of York.

<sup>5</sup> He had received the title of earl of Suffolk by agreement with the king, Feb. 26, 1493.

<sup>6</sup> Catesby's heir had some lands in Northamptonshire restored.

<sup>7</sup> The duke's ambassadors received gifts (they would now be called bribes) of from £20 to £60 each, as appears by the Privy Purse Expenses.

<sup>8</sup> It had been formerly the nunnery of St. Radegund, founded by Malcolm IV. of Scotland.

<sup>9</sup> These were James, lord Audley, a man of broken fortune, Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, who had assured them that the barons of the north were bound by the tenure of their estates to defend the realm against the Scots at their sole expense. Audley was beheaded on Tower-hill in a coat of his own arms reversed and torn; the others were hanged at Tyburn.

<sup>10</sup> Henry was very urgent on this point, and his instructions to his ambassador (Fox, bishop of Durham) say, "Less we may not do with our honour than to have the deliverance of him, though the deliverance or having of him is of no price or value."

court, July 6, and repairs to Ireland, landing at Cork July 30.

James again invades England, July. He besieges Norham, but retires on the approach of the earl of Surrey, August.

A truce of seven years concluded with Scotland, Sept. 29.

Richard is invited from Ireland by the people of Devon and Cornwall. He accordingly lands at Whitsand (near Penzance), Sept. 7; is joined by a large body of partisans, and seizes St. Michael's Mount, where he leaves his wife, and marches on Exeter.

He besieges Exeter in vain for a few days, and then pushes forward into Somersetshire.

Lord Daubeney marches against him with a large force. Learning that Henry is also approaching, he quits his partisans near Taunton, and takes sanctuary at Beaulieu, Sept. 21.

The monastery being surrounded, Richard surrenders on a promise of life. He is brought to Henry at Taunton, Oct. 5, and then sent prisoner to London.

Richard does not seem to have been treated as an impostor; on the contrary, he was manifestly used as a prisoner of rank. Numerous entries regarding him appear in Henry's Privy Purse Accounts; several sums of money are paid for him; he was, for a time at least, allowed a horse, and a riding-gown was bought for him (May, 1498); and the bill of "Jasper, Perkin's tailor," was discharged from the same fund in February, 1499.

Heavy fines are levied on persons supposed to have favoured Richard or the Cornish insurgents.

A.D. 1498.

Richard escapes from his keepers, June 9, and flees towards the sea-coast. He is traced, and takes sanctuary at Shene (now Richmond); but is induced to leave the monastery on a promise of life, and is then sent to the Tower, under the charge of Sir Simon Digby<sup>f</sup>.

A.D. 1499.

Richard and the earl of Warwick are tried and executed on a charge of high treason, Nov.

A.D. 1500.

Henry passes over with his queen to Calais, in May, and has an interview with the archduke Philip; they return after a stay of nine weeks. He arranges for the marriage of his son Arthur with Katherine of Aragon<sup>g</sup>, and of his daughter Margaret with James IV. of Scotland.

A commission issued to discover, and compound with, persons suspected of having favoured the claims of Richard, Aug. 6<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1501.

Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk<sup>i</sup>, and his brother Richard quit England, August.

Katherine of Aragon arrives at Plymouth, October 2, and is married to Prince Arthur, November 14.

A.D. 1502.

A treaty of peace is concluded with Scotland, Jan. 24, which provides that James shall marry the Princess Margaret<sup>k</sup>.

Several noblemen and others, ac-

<sup>e</sup> Two lists of these fines remain, for the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Wilts and Hants. In these counties alone, the number of names is about 5000, and the sums amount to £13,430 5s. 4d. These documents seem to have been of great interest to Henry, as he has endorsed them with his own hand, and made a careful note of the names of the receivers, who "must answer the money."

<sup>f</sup> Halle and Grafton state that he was also placed in the stocks, and read a confession of his imposture, but the fact is doubtful.

<sup>g</sup> The daughter of Ferdinand VI. and Isabella of Spain, born 1485. The negotiation had been carried on for years, but Ferdinand would not consent to the match so long as "one doubtful drop of royal blood" remained; hence the execution of Warwick and Richard, as Katherine herself avowed, many years after.

<sup>h</sup> See A.D. 1497. The commissioners raised large sums from wealthy men, who, whether innocent or guilty, believed that their only chance of safety consisted in coming to a composition, and thus

avoiding a trial, as they feared the false witnesses who might be brought against them.

<sup>i</sup> He was the brother of the earl of Lincoln, killed at Stoke, and on the death of the earl of Warwick was looked on as the head of the Yorkist party. He had once before left England and returned, but now suspecting his life to be in danger he went abroad, and sought the aid of the emperor Maximilian to obtain the crown. Maximilian promised to espouse his cause, but abandoned him for a sum of £10,000 paid by Henry, July 28, 1502. He, however, declined to deliver him up, as Henry requested, and Suffolk wandered about for nearly four years longer, a source of much uneasiness to the king, as a plot to put him in possession of Calais was discovered in 1504. At length he was surrendered by Maximilian's son, the archduke Philip, and was lodged in the Tower, March, 1506.

<sup>k</sup> Partly in consequence of the youth of the bride, the marriage was not solemnized until August 8, 1503.

cused of favouring De la Pole, are imprisoned, and some executed<sup>1</sup>.

Henry's eldest son, Arthur, dies, April 2. To avoid repaying the fortune she had brought, Henry contracts his widow to his surviving son Henry, a boy of eleven years of age<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 1503.

The pope (Alexander VI.), at the request of the king, limits the right of sanctuary<sup>n</sup>.

A.D. 1504.

A parliament meets at Westminster, (Jan. 25,) of which Edmund Dudley, the great agent of Henry's extortions, is chosen speaker. The earl of Suffolk and his adherents<sup>o</sup> are attainted, and their estates forfeited, [19 Hen. VII. c. 34], a grant of £40,000 made<sup>p</sup>, [c. 32], and further sums raised by a "benevolence."

Corporations forbidden to make ordinances without the assent of the chancellor, [19 Hen. VII. c. 7]<sup>q</sup>.

The severity of former statutes against beggars and vagabonds mitigated, [c. 12].

Persons giving or receiving liveries to be prosecuted either in the Star-chamber, in the King's Bench, or before the Council, [c. 14].

The privileges of the merchants of the Hanse confirmed by parliament, [c. 23].

The king empowered, on his own authority, to reverse acts of attainder<sup>r</sup>, [c. 28].

Henry falls ill. Proclamation made

allowing all persons who have received injury in the King's name to prefer their complaints to the chief justice and others<sup>s</sup>, Aug. 19.

A.D. 1505.

Christ's College, Cambridge, founded by Margaret, countess of Richmond.

A.D. 1506.

The archduke Philip, being driven by bad weather into Weymouth, Jan. 26, is conducted to court, and obliged to agree to a new commercial treaty much less favourable than the existing one<sup>t</sup> for his subjects, and also to deliver up the earl of Suffolk<sup>u</sup>.

A.D. 1507.

Henry again falls ill. He releases a number of persons confined in the London prisons for small debts; but at the same time continues to allow Empson and Dudley, with the assistance of false witnesses (called promoters) and corrupt jurors, to plunder the rich, who are either ruined by excessive fines for pretended offences, or driven to give large sums by way of composition<sup>v</sup>.

A.D. 1508.

The Scots carry on a naval war against the Portuguese, under the conduct of three brothers of the name of Barton<sup>w</sup>.

A.D. 1509.

Henry dies at Richmond, April 21. He is buried in the chapel he had built at Westminster, May 10.

<sup>1</sup> Among these last was Sir James Tyrell, who was beheaded May 6, 1502. He had long been employed by Henry, as captain of Guisnes, an important post, and the charge of being the murderer of the young princes in the Tower was not brought against him until after his death.

<sup>m</sup> Katherine was six years older. The marriage did not take place till 1509.

<sup>n</sup> Persons who had taken sanctuary and had left it, were not allowed to avail themselves of it a second time, as had till now been the practice.

<sup>o</sup> His brother, William de la Pole, and William Courtenay, son of the earl of Devon and husband of the princess Katherine, were among the number; the whole list contains 53 names.

<sup>p</sup> This was instead of the aids due on knight-riding his eldest son and marrying his eldest daughter, (see p. 83). Henry refused to receive more than £30,000, being, as the act says, "right well pleased with their loving offer," and remitting the rest, on account of "the poorail [poverty] of his commons."

<sup>q</sup> See A.D. 1437.

<sup>r</sup> The reason given is, that certain petitioners for such reversal would otherwise have a long time to wait, the parliament drawing to its close, and the king, "for the ease of his subjects," not intending to call another.

<sup>s</sup> This apparently was meant to check the pro-

ceedings of Empson and Dudley, but did not do so, as they continued their exactions until the king's death.

<sup>t</sup> See A.D. 1496.

<sup>u</sup> The archduke stipulated that Suffolk's life should be spared, and he was therefore imprisoned in the Tower as long as Henry lived. His brother Richard, who was intended to be given up, made his escape to Hungary. He afterwards joined the French army, when Suffolk was immediately put to death.

<sup>v</sup> The magistrates of London suffered severely from these men. Sir William Capel (mayor in 1507) paid in 1495 a fine of £1,000; he was now accused of negligence in the discharge of his office, and refusing to pay a composition of £2,000, was imprisoned in the Tower until Henry's death; Sir Thomas Knesworth (mayor in 1503) paid £1,400; Sir Lawrence Aylmer (mayor in 1499) paid £1,000, and was likewise committed to prison; sheriffs and aldermen also were heavily fined, and one of the latter (Christopher Hawes) Stow says "was so long vexed by the said promoters, that it shortened his life by thought-taking."

<sup>w</sup> The Portuguese had, thirty years before, seized a ship belonging to the father of the Bartons, and refusing to restore it, his sons obtained letters of reprisal, but the contest soon degenerated into piracy.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
The Portuguese reach the Cape of Good Hope, opening a maritime route to India . . .	1486	France into Italy . . .	1495
Columbus discovers America . .	1492	The Portuguese reach India by sea	1497
Granada taken, and the Moorish kingdom subverted . . .	1492	Cabot, employed by Henry VII., discovers Newfoundland . .	1497
Expedition of Charles VIII. of		Naples conquered by the Spaniards	1503
		The League of Cambray formed against the Venetians . .	1508

## NOTE.

## RICHARD, OTHERWISE PERKIN WARBECK.

CONCLUSIVE evidence that this young man was Richard of York has not come down to us<sup>2</sup>, but this is not surprising, as, except his proclamation in 1496, which could hardly be expected to give a more detailed statement than it does<sup>3</sup>, all our accounts are derived from his professed enemies. These accounts, however, are replete with contradictions and absurdities, and must be rejected, even if we had nothing to supply their place.

Henry first published a statement that the youth's real name was Perkin (Piers or Peter) Warbeck; that he was the son of John Osbeck or Olbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay, but dwelling in London, where his son was born, and in such favour (for some unknown reason) with Edward IV. that the king became godfather to the child; that he was early carried over to Tournay, and then resided at Antwerp, and that he wandered thence into countries which were unknown, but where he ever associated himself with the English, though it would seem that the one fact could not easily be ascertained without the other. This meagre account, not very credible in itself, is in many points contradicted by a confession said to have been read by the young man when in Henry's power<sup>4</sup>. He is there stated to have been born at Tournay; nothing is said of his royal godfather, or of his Jewish parentage; his father is instead represented as controller of the town, and other relatives are mentioned as holding office there. His various wanderings are now fully detailed. His parents are stated to be alive at the date of the confession<sup>5</sup>, but, for

some reason not given, he is made to reside "for a certain season" with an uncle in the same town; then he is taken by his mother to Antwerp, to learn Flemish; returns to Tournay; goes as a servant to Antwerp, and resides near the house of the English; then goes to "Barowe marte" [Bergen op Zoom], next to Middleburgh, where he lives from Christmas to Easter with an English merchant, "for to learn the language;" then goes to Portugal, where he serves a knight called "Peter Vaz de Cogna, which said knight had but one eye;" then, "because he desired to see other countries," took service with a Breton, called Pregent Meno, who brought him to Ireland. When he landed at Cork, "because he was arrayed in some clothes of silk of his master," the men of the town insisted that he was the son of the duke of Clarence, which he denied; they next declared him to be a natural son of King Richard, which also he denied; but they, "to be revenged upon the King of England," promised to aid and assist him, if he would style himself Richard, duke of York, and then, "against his will, they made him learn English, and taught him what he should say and do."

Such statements as these cannot at the present day be accepted as authentic history; and perhaps it is not unreasonable to expect that the researches daily being made among the Public Records may eventually bring to light documents that may remove the uncertainty which has so long prevailed regarding this remarkable person.

But should this expectation prove futile

<sup>2</sup> Some papers relating to him have been published in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxvii.), from the originals in the British Museum, and are considered by Sir Frederick Madden, who communicated them, to prove him an impostor; but they do not appear to the present writer sufficiently decisive to justify such a conclusion.

<sup>3</sup> In this document, issued when he invaded England in company with James IV. of Scotland, he says, "We, in our tender age, escaped, by

God's great might, out of the Tower of London, and were secretly conveyed over the sea to other divers countries, there remaining certain years as unknown."

<sup>4</sup> That it was ever read by him is uncertain, neither Fabian nor Polydore Vergil mention the circumstance in their accounts of him.

<sup>5</sup> "My father's name is John Olbeck,—and my mother's name is Catherine de Faro."

the Scottish Treasurer's accounts shew that Richard was received as a welcome, royal guest by James IV.<sup>d</sup> He is uniformly spoken of as "Prince Richard," or "the duke of York," and he evidently had a numerous retinue. The king supplied him and them with a handsome equipment, beside a monthly allowance of £1200 Scots; and frequent gratuities for Richard's offerings at church, of nearly as large an amount as those of the king, appear in the accounts, as well as sums "to put in his purse." Many of his followers also were supported by the king, and his horses were redeemed from pledge. In return for all this liberality, Richard bound himself by treaty, in case the expedition of 1496 should be successful, to deliver up Berwick, and to pay to James the sum of 50,000 crowns in two years. And when in the following summer Richard withdrew from Scotland, these accounts shew that James's friendship remained unabated; he liberally equipped his small fleet, and would seem to have placed one of the Bartons, known as his best naval officers, in command. He also, after Richard's death, speaks of him as "duke of York," in a letter to the Queen of France<sup>e</sup>; but, when James's chivalrous character is considered, perhaps the strongest evidence of his firm belief in Richard is furnished by the fact of his giving him Lady Katherine Gordon, as a wife<sup>f</sup>; for it is hard to believe that he would willingly sacrifice his own kinswoman to an impostor.

It is also worth notice that Henry's Privy Purse Accounts contain numerous entries which prove that Richard, whilst he remained at or near the court, was treated as a prisoner of rank. Instead of being

sent to the kitchen like Simnel, he was allowed a horse, and a riding-gown was bought for him in May, 1498, but a very short time before he escaped. Several other sums of money appear to have been paid for him, and even after his committal to the Tower, which he left only for the scaffold, the bill of "Jasper, Perkin's tailor," was paid by Henry in February, 1499.

From the correspondence of De Puebla, the Spanish ambassador, it seems probable that the determination to put Richard to death was taken at the recommendation of Ferdinand VI., who declined to ally his daughter Katherine with the son of Henry, whilst "one doubtful drop of royal blood" remained. Accordingly he and the unfortunate earl of Warwick, who had lived so long a prisoner<sup>g</sup>, were arraigned on a charge of treason, and executed.

No record of the trial of Richard (who was hanged and quartered at Tyburn, Nov. 23, 1499<sup>h</sup>.) is known to exist, but we learn the charges against both from the indictment preferred against the earl of Warwick, in the court of the Lord High Steward (John, earl of Oxford,) and Peers, Nov. 21, and to which he is recorded to have pleaded guilty.

This document states that Thomas Astwode and Robert Cleymound had, early in the month of August, conspired with the earl, to make him king. Cleymound is the chief actor; he gives the earl a hanger to defend himself, and receives in return a cloak and a jacket of velvet, and also an image of wood, (which in one place the earl is said to have made, in another to have received from one Walter Bluet<sup>i</sup>.) which was to induce one Thomas Ward,

<sup>d</sup> Extracts from these accounts are printed in Gairdner's "Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.," vol. ii. pp. 326—335. The first entry notices the receipt of "letters forth of Ireland from King Edward's son and the earl of Desmond," with the reward given to the bearer, Edward Ormond. Then we have some of the expenses of a public reception of "the Prince of England" at Stirling; followed by a considerable outlay for his clothing, in which to appear at a tourney; there is also mention of the provision of a velvet "great coat of the new fashion" for him. Mention is afterwards made of his monthly pension; of the hire of 30 horses for his attendants; of a cloak and a "sea gown" for the duchess of York; and of considerable sums paid for the expenses of partisans coming to him from Ireland. Lastly, the provision made for his voyage to Ireland is on a liberal scale, and strongly opposed to the assertion of the Tudor writers, that James sent him from his country, because he had found out that he was an impostor. These accounts, and the documents relating to the De la Poles, are among the most important papers of Mr. Gairdner's very interesting volumes.

<sup>e</sup> Printed in Gairdner's 2nd vol., p. 185. Unfortunately the date does not appear, but the expres-

sion, "quondam Eboracensem ducem," shews it to have been written after Richard's death.

<sup>f</sup> She was a daughter of the earl of Huntley, and after Richard's defeat was kept awhile at Henry's court. She afterwards married a Welsh knight, Sir Matthew Cradock, who raised a stately tomb, still existing, for her and himself, in the church of St. Mary, at Swansea. Katherine, however, survived the knight, married a third, and a fourth husband, and by this last, Christopher Ashton, of Fyfield, Berkshire, was buried in the church of that parish, in October or November, 1537; her handsome tomb still remains there.

<sup>g</sup> Warwick had lived under restraint from his childhood, but it does not appear that he was treated as a close prisoner before the accession of Henry.

<sup>h</sup> John Water, the ex-mayor of Cork, long one of his partisans, was executed with him.

<sup>i</sup> Astwode and Bluet were two of the earl's keepers; they were shortly after hanged at Tyburn. Who Cleymound was, or what became of him, does not appear; he seems to have been in the confidence of the governor, as he is represented as going freely from one prisoner to another; and as the indictment states that these matters were made known while in progress to the king, it is

a priest, "to be more well affected to them," although Cleymound had already consulted Ward as to their schemes, and taken his advice as to what sanctuary he should choose in case of their failure.

Various modes of carrying their purpose into effect are attributed to the conspirators. It is first said that they proposed to seize the Tower, and defend themselves there; then, that they intended to seize the royal treasure, blow up the magazine in the Tower, and in the confusion make their escape beyond sea and abide there; next, that they were to make public proclamation in the Tower for adherents to repair to them, to whom they would promise 12*d.* per diem from the said treasure.

On the same day, however, (Aug. 2,) that these schemes in favour of Warwick are said to have been devised, the very same parties are stated to have intended to set at liberty "Peter Warbeck, of Tournay," and to make him king. Cleymound, with the assent of the earl, knocks on the floor and calls out to Peter (who was confined beneath), "Perkin, be of good cheer and comfort," and promises to bring him a letter which he had received for him from Flanders.

On the following night, "when the earl and Cleymound were both in bed in the

Tower," Cleymound told the earl that he had spoken with Perkin, who had told him "certain matters which made him very sad," that is, that they ought, "if they could perform the same by any subtlety or craft," to get possession of the Tower.

The next day Cleymound is reported to have said to the earl, "My lord, all our purpose which we intended to fulfil is made known to the king and his council by Peter Warbeck, and the said Peter hath accused you and me and Thomas Astwode." Yet in spite of this alleged betrayal, the earl makes a hole in the floor of his chamber, "to the intent that he might converse with him concerning their said treason" . . . "and many subsequent times spoke to the said Peter, adhering to and comforting him, saying, 'How goes it with you? be of good cheer.'" On these charges the earl was beheaded within the Tower, November 28, after an imprisonment of upwards of 14 years.

The ridiculously contradictory and incredible nature of these accusations all but demonstrate that they were mere pretexts to get rid, not of an impostor, but of a prince who had already shaken Henry's power, and who it was feared might at a future day overturn it, if suffered to live.

probable that he was a spy, a vile class largely employed by Henry, as is evident from his Privy Purse Accounts. From them it is seen that Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Robert Curzon, Lord Both-

well, and even the duke of Ross, the brother of James of Scotland, beside many meaner agents, were in his pay.



Great Seal of Henry VIII.

## HENRY VIII.

HENRY, the second son of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, was born at Greenwich, June 28, 1491. In his fourth year he was created duke of York; on the death of his elder brother he became prince of Wales, and he had important offices bestowed on him even in his childhood<sup>a</sup>. In 1509, on the death of his father, he became king.

The first act of the new king was the popular, but unjust one, of con-

demning Empson and Dudley, the agents of his father's extortions, while he retained much the greater part of the fruits of their iniquity; his second, the marriage with Katherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, from which such important consequences afterwards arose. He was soon engaged in war, was successful against both France and Scotland, and mainly from his vast, though ill-gotten treasure, aided by the talents of Wolsey<sup>b</sup>, re-

<sup>a</sup> He was made lord lieutenant of Ireland Sept. 11, 1494, Sir Edward Poyning's being named his deputy two days after. He also received a learned education, though probably not with the view of his entering the Church, as has been asserted. The tale seems only a sarcasm on the avarice of Henry VII., as if he coveted the large revenue of the see of Canterbury.

<sup>b</sup> He was born at Ipswich in 1471, his father (Robert) being perhaps, as is commonly asserted, a butcher, but evidently wealthy. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and found patrons in Thomas, marquis of Dorset, and Dean, archbishop of Canterbury, whose chaplain he became. He also served as chaplain to Sir John Nanfan, the treasurer of Calais, and shewed so much aptitude for secular business, that he was by

him recommended to Henry VII., who employed him in embassies to Germany and Scotland, and made him dean of Lincoln.

On the accession of Henry VIII. Wolsey became a favourite with him. He accompanied the king to France, received high promotion in the Church, (he held at different times the sees of Bath and Wells, Durham, Lincoln, Winchester, and York, and the dignity of cardinal and papal legate, and he was the administrator of the see of Tournay for some years), and for several years appeared to dispose of the affairs of Europe almost at his pleasure, although he once fell into disgrace through the failure of an attempt to raise money independently of the parliament, and had to surrender his newly-built palace of Hampton Court to the king to make his peace. He induced the king after-



vived the influence of England on the continent which has never since been lost, though it has suffered occasional diminution from various temporary causes. He several times crossed the sea, sometimes for pomp and negotiations only, but at others for actual warfare, and he retained until his death his conquest of Boulogne.

Henry's government at home does not present so favourable a picture. His scruples, whether real or affected, about his marriage, brought him into collision with the pope, and his imperious temper led him to endeavour to destroy the power which thwarted his views. Hence many of the violent and cruel measures which disgraced his reign. His quarrel really was, not with the doctrines, but with the supremacy of the pope; and the riches, rather than the vices of the monastic

orders, were the cause of their fall. Impartial in his tyranny, he burnt as heretics those who disbelieved transubstantiation, and he hanged as traitors those who refused to allow his chosen title of Head of the Church. Among these the monastics were conspicuous, and partly from anger, but probably much more from covetousness, he threw down the establishments which his predecessors from time immemorial had endowed, and turned their inmates out on the world<sup>c</sup>. A reform of the monasteries was doubtless necessary to the purification of the Church, and if such purification had been Henry's real object, his proceedings in the matter might be justified as a whole; but no such defence can be offered for the jealous tyranny of which Buckingham, Fisher, More<sup>d</sup>, the kindred of Cardinal Pole and so

nately to league with and to make war on the emperor and the king of France. His schemes, however, were foiled, and his temporizing conduct with regard to the king's divorce (which he is accused of originally suggesting) at last produced his own ruin.

Though he had received the royal permission to act as papal legate, Wolsey was, in 1529, accused of an offence against the statutes of *Præmunire* for so doing, was stripped of most of his vast possessions, and sent to reside on his diocese of York. He now began to devote himself to the duties of a Christian bishop, which he had before neglected, but he was soon apprehended on a charge of treason, and died at Leicester on his way as a prisoner to London, Nov. 29, 1530. Wolsey had always patronized learning, and had bestowed large estates, obtained by the suppression of small monasteries, on a college at Oxford, which he called Cardinal's College; the estates, through the neglect of certain legal formalities, fell into the hands of the Crown, but they were re-granted a few years after, when the college of Christ Church, Oxford, was founded by Henry VIII.; not, however, on the magnificent scale which the cardinal had intended, as his foundation was for a dean and a sub-dean, 100 canons, 13 chaplains, 10 professors and tutors, beside singing men and choristers, and other officers, making in the whole 186 persons. "Cardinal Wolsey had been an honest man if he had had an honest master," was a part of the "reasonable discourses" for which Lord Montacute (the brother of Reginald Pole,) was convicted and executed; it is, perhaps, a just estimate of Wolsey's character. His correspondence, which is preserved in the State Paper Office, shews that Henry only took the cardinal's advice when it pleased him; he does not appear to have changed any of his own purposes.

<sup>c</sup> Pensions, it is true, were granted to some, but they seem to have been altogether inadequate, and thousands of monastics became beggars, against whom acts perhaps the most atrocious in any Statute-book were passed in the next reign, [1 Edw. VI. c. 3]. See A.D. 1547.

<sup>d</sup> The cruel fate of these two eminent men affixes a blot on the personal character of Henry which no sophistical pleadings can remove. He had acknowledged them as his intimate friends, but as in their consciences they could not approve of his proceedings in the matter of the divorce, he suffered

them to be brought to the block by the inquisitorial diligence of Rich, the attorney-general.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and a Roman cardinal, was born in 1459, at Beverley, and was educated at Michael-house, Cambridge. He became confessor to Margaret, countess of Richmond, and was greatly instrumental in carrying out her pious intentions in the Universities. In 1504 he became bishop of Rochester, but continued his care of the University of Cambridge, of which he was the first chancellor chosen for life. He greatly pleased Henry by taking up his pen against Luther, but entirely lost his favour by maintaining with firmness the cause of Katherine of Aragon. His affection for that unfortunate queen induced him to listen to the declarations of the Maid of Kent, and he was in consequence attainted, sentenced to be imprisoned for life in the Tower, and was treated with extreme hardship. After a time his death was determined on, and being entrapped into a declaration that the king, as a layman, could not with a good conscience style himself Head of the Church, he was tried, condemned, and beheaded, at the age of 76, June 22, 1535.

Thomas More was the son of Sir John More, a judge, and was born in London, probably about 1476. He was brought up in the household of Cardinal Morton, studied at Oxford, and obtained an important legal post in the city of London. He cultivated literature, and being introduced at court about 1521, he soon became a favourite with the king, and, as is usually said, assisted him in the composition of his work against Luther. More was made speaker of the House of Commons, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, sent on an embassy to France, and at length succeeded Wolsey as chancellor. This last high office he resigned in 1532, as he disapproved of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn. More was looked on with suspicion by Wriothesley and others, and harassed with false charges of treasonable correspondence; these were abandoned, but the oath of supremacy being offered to him, he declined to take it, and for this he was condemned and executed July 6, 1535, preserving in his last moments the serenity and cheerfulness which had ever distinguished him. More was a most amiable character in every domestic relation; he conscientiously opposed the opinions of the Reformers, and laboured to suppress their translation of the Bible, but he solemnly denied a charge of cruel persecution which

many others, were the victims. Even in matters which did not belong to the great political or religious questions of his reign, his government was harsh, and numerous severe laws were enacted, and rigorously executed\*. He ruled more absolutely than any English king had done before him; and such was the servility of his parliaments that they allowed his proclamations in some cases to have the force of laws; not only granted him, by the plunder of the Church, an amount of wealth which no former king had possessed, but twice cancelled his debts; enforced all his changing opinions by the penalties of treason; and lastly, after three times settling the succession as he was pleased to require, they enabled him to dispose of it by will, as if the monarchy had been his private estate.

The last year of Henry's life was marked by the fall of the duke of Norfolk<sup>f</sup>, who had long been a main supporter of the Romish doctrines; Seymour, Cranmer, and others of the reformers, were appointed by his will the guardians of his son, and the king died shortly after, Jan. 28, 1547. He was buried at Windsor, Feb. 16, according to the Roman ritual, and a very gorgeous tomb was commenced to his memory; but it was never completed, and was at length plundered,

and afterwards destroyed during the civil war in the time of Charles I.

Henry contracted the unusual number of six marriages, all except the last fatal to his partners. His first union, with his sister-in-law, Katherine of Aragon, though clearly unlawful in its nature, was sanctioned by the authority of the pope, and afforded him, from the virtues of the unhappy lady, the only calm and peaceful years that he enjoyed in the married state. Scruples as to its legality were suggested, which were converted into certainty by the attractions of Anne Boleyn, an attendant of Katherine, who became queen only to find a dishonoured grave a few months after the death of her injured mistress. Henry next married Jane Seymour, who shortly died in child-bed; a political union was then entered into with Anne of Cleves, and shortly after unceremoniously dissolved, its chief result being the ruin of its contriver, Thomas Cromwell. His fifth marriage was with Katherine Howard, who in less than two years was brought to the block; and in eighteen months more Henry espoused a widow lady, Katherine Parr, who though endangered by her favour for the doctrines of the Reformation, had the fortune to survive him.

Beside children who died young<sup>g</sup>, Henry had by Katherine of Aragon,

they urged against him, and the whole tenor of his life leads us to hope that it is greatly exaggerated, if not wholly untrue.

\* The chronicler Holinshed says that 72,000 persons were executed in the course of his reign; a number not incredible, when it is considered that new treasons and felonies were created by almost every parliament, and that sparing life when convicted was seldom thought of, in the Tudor times.

<sup>f</sup> Thomas Howard, born in 1473, was the son of the earl of Surrey who gained the victory of Flod-

land; he procured the passing of the Act of the Six Articles, and otherwise greatly hindered the Reformation. At last, after many years of high favour, he fell into disgrace with Henry VIII., who seems to have suspected him and his son of aspiring to the crown, was attainted, and ordered for execution, but the king dying at that very period, the new government contented themselves with keeping him a prisoner during the whole of the reign of Edward VI. He was released by Mary, and his attainer reversed, but he took little further part in public affairs beyond presiding at the trial of the duke of Northumberland; he died July 18, 1554. He married, first, the princess Anne, daughter of Edward IV., who died in 1512, and, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, duke of Buckingham.

Henry, earl of Surrey, one of our early poets, was the son of the duke, and was born in 1516; he was the companion and brother-in-law of the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son; travelled abroad, and distinguished himself in arms, in Scotland and France. He was for awhile governor of Boulogne, but being ignominiously removed, he gave vent to his displeasure in words which were carried to the king; he was accused, like his father, of treason, condemned, and executed, Jan. 21, 1547. One of his sons was Thomas, duke of Norfolk, beheaded in 1572.

<sup>g</sup> The number is disputed; some writers mention two, others four.



Arms of Howard, duke of Norfolk.

den; he was present there, and distinguished himself on many other occasions in Scotland, France, and Ireland. He became duke of Norfolk in 1524, took a prominent part in public business, and was considered the head of the Romish party in Eng-

MARY ; by Anne Boleyn, ELIZABETH ; and by Jane Seymour, EDWARD, who all became sovereigns.

Henry had also a natural son, who was born about 1517, and was named Henry ; was created earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerset, and appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir William Skeffington being his deputy. He married Mary a daughter of the duke of Norfolk, but died without issue in his 20th

Thetford. He is spoken of as graceful and accomplished.

The royal arms continued the same as in the preceding reigns, but are generally within the garter and crowned. The supporters, however, vary ; the more ordinary are the golden lion and red dragon ; but the red dragon also occurs as the dexter supporter, while for the sinister ones, a white bull, a white greyhound, and a white cock are mentioned.

The only known badge of Henry is



Arms of Henry VIII.



Badges of Katherine of Aragon.

the white greyhound, courant ; but those of his wives are the pomegranate, the pomegranate and rose, and the sheaf of arrows of Katherine of Aragon ; the crowned falcon and sceptre of Anne Boleyn ; the castle

year, July 22, 1536, and was buried at



Badges of Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, and Katherine Parr.

and phoenix of Jane Seymour ; and the maiden's head and rose of Katherine Parr.

As the prominent actor in the breach between England and the Church of Rome, the character of Henry has ordinarily been estimated rather according to the feeling of writers concerning that great change, than by any other standard. His actions, however, shew that his temper was most impetuous, that he was vain of his learning, jealous of his power, and alternately avaricious and prodigal ; it is also evident that these defects

were fostered by interested advisers, who thus served their own ends, but exhibited their king as a capricious tyrant, who threw off the yoke of Rome only to be as absolute himself. His wealth caused his alliance to be so sedulously courted by foreign princes that he was led to believe himself the arbiter of Europe, yet he ought to have learnt his mistake, on seeing his various allies repeatedly desert him without ceremony whenever they had an opportunity of making peace without him ; and while they did adhere to him they usually man-

aged to make him pay far more than his due proportion of the costs of their joint enterprises.

In his private character, Henry must be regarded with abhorrence. A hideous boast is attributed to him that "he never spared a woman in his lust, or a man in his anger," and his conduct justifies the remark. Those who had served him but "too well" (as Wolsey and Cromwell<sup>b</sup>) were abandoned to destruction when no longer useful; the pious and faithful Katherine suffered a living martyrdom; his five other wives fared little better; and his daughters were made to feel that their lives and fortunes depended on his absolute will. Thus destitute alike of gratitude and natural feeling, it is not wonderful to find him also without the honesty to pay his debts, or the honour to adhere to his public engagements<sup>1</sup>. Yet, with all his vices and crimes, he was the instrument of good to posterity which is not always appreciated as it ought to be; for his hand overthrew the power which had long denied to England a Bible and Service-book in the common tongue, and had endeavoured to render the word of God of none effect by its traditions.

He was too, at least in the earlier part of his reign, a popular favourite; he occasionally mixed with the humble classes, and admitted them to a rude kind of familiarity; they admired his handsome person, and his skill in athletic and martial sports; and, unlike those above them, they had little to apprehend from his avarice or his cruelty.

A.D. 1509.

Henry succeeds to the throne, April 22<sup>k</sup>.

A proclamation issued promising redress to persons who had been injured in the former reign by the rigorous execution of obsolete statutes<sup>1</sup>, under the management of Empson and Dudley, who, with many of their subordinates, are committed to prison<sup>m</sup>.

Henry, by advice of his council<sup>n</sup>, marries Katherine of Aragon, June 11. They are crowned at Westminster, June 24.

Empson and Dudley are brought to trial, and pronounced guilty of high treason<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1510.

Thomas Wolsey is introduced to the

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Cromwell, the son of a blacksmith at Putney, was born about 1490. He was employed in the English factory at Antwerp, was afterwards engaged in the service of Henry VIII., but at length became a soldier, and was present at the sack of Rome in 1527. He soon after returned to England, entered the family of Cardinal Wolsey, was much esteemed by him, and, as the redeeming feature in a bad character, had the honesty and courage to adhere to him when fallen. He is said to have thus recommended himself to the favour of the king, who bestowed many lucrative offices on him, and received in return all the services that a bold, artful, and utterly unscrupulous agent could render, whether in divorcing or murdering his queens, plundering the Church, or erecting his own varying opinions as standards of doctrine. In 1536 he was created Lord Cromwell, and in 1539 earl of Essex, but he soon after lost the royal favour, was committed to prison, attainted without a hearing, after a fashion which he had often employed against his opponents, and beheaded July 28, 1540, in spite of supplications of the most pitiable nature. He concludes one letter thus:—

"Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highness' most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell.

"Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy."

<sup>1</sup> His parliaments relieved him from the first in 1520 and 1544, and he was alternately the ally and the enemy of both Charles V. and Francis I.

<sup>k</sup> His regnal years are dated from this day.

<sup>l</sup> The king declares that this had been done "without any cause reasonable or lawful, by the undue means of certain of the learned Council of our late father, contrary to the law, reason and good conscience, to the manifest charge and peril

of the soul of our late father;" and the young king adds that he is informed "that the sums contained in those recognizances cannot be levied without the evident peril of our late father's soul, which we would for no earthly riches see nor suffer."

<sup>m</sup> It was found upon enquiry that a much larger sum than the young king was inclined to part with would be necessary to afford compensation. He contented himself therefore with remitting any instalments that remained unpaid of fines imposed (many of them were in the form of yearly payments), and punishing the chief delinquents as traitors; their subordinates escaped with imprisonment and the pillory.

<sup>n</sup> Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor, strenuously opposed the marriage, but without effect.

<sup>o</sup> They were charged with a design to "hold, guide and govern the king and his council," to subjugate the nobility, and to destroy all who resisted. The indictments state that, when the late king lay on his death-bed, Empson retained in Northamptonshire John Stalworth, Robert Warwick and others, by a fee of one penny each, and they came to London, where Dudley by letters to Sir Edward Sutton and others, on the 22nd of April assembled "a great force of men and armed power," to carry their purposes into effect. Dudley was tried at London, July 18, and Empson at Northampton, Oct. 1. It seems to have been intended to spare their lives, but such vehement complaints were made against them during the royal progress next year, that they were abandoned to their fate, and were executed together on Tower-hill, Aug. 18, 1510. An act was passed to prevent such vexatious suits as they had prosecuted; it provided that all suits on penal statutes should be commenced within three years after the time of the alleged offence, [1 Hen. VIII. c. 4].

particular notice of the king by Richard Fox<sup>o</sup>, bishop of Winchester, and soon becomes a favourite with him.

The statutes against costly apparel modified, [1 Hen. VIII. c. 14].

Andrew Barton, the Scottish privateer<sup>s</sup>, is killed, and his ships (the *Lion* and *Jenny Perwin*) captured by Sir Edward Howard<sup>r</sup>, the admiral, and his brother, Sir Thomas.

A.D. 1511.

Henry forms a league with Ferdinand of Spain, for the purpose of attacking France, Nov. 10.

St. John's College, Cambridge, founded in pursuance of the will of Margaret, countess of Richmond<sup>s</sup>.

A.D. 1512.

The parliament meets, Feb. 4.

Physicians and surgeons forbidden to practise unless licensed by the bishop of the diocese, [3 Hen. VIII. c. 11].

Dudley's attainder reversed<sup>t</sup>, [c. 19].

Fortifications ordered to be erected on the coast between Plymouth and the Land's End, [4 Hen. VIII. c. 2<sup>u</sup>].

Benefit of clergy taken from murderers and felons, [4 Hen. VIII. sess. 2, c. 2].

James of Scotland forms a league with France, May 22.

An English force sent under the marquis of Dorset to Spain. It remains inactive on the borders of

France from June to December, waiting for the Spaniards, and then returns home greatly weakened by sickness.

Sir Edward Howard ravages the French coast, and defeats the French fleet near Brest<sup>s</sup>, Aug. 10.

The Trinity House established for the encouragement of navigation.

A.D. 1513.

A fresh league is formed against France between the emperor (Maximilian<sup>r</sup>), the pope (Leo X.) and the kings of England and Spain, April 5.

Sir Edward Howard is killed in an attempt to destroy the French fleet<sup>s</sup>, near Brest, April 25.

The earl of Suffolk is beheaded, after seven years' imprisonment<sup>a</sup>, April 30.

The French and the English coasts are ravaged by the rival fleets.

Henry passes over to France, June 30; he besieges and captures Terouenne, Aug. 22<sup>b</sup>.

The Scots invade England, but are defeated with great slaughter at Flodden, (near Wooller,) in Northumberland, Sept. 9, by the earl of Surrey<sup>c</sup>.

Tournay is invested and speedily captured (Sept. 24), when Henry holds his court there<sup>d</sup>.

Henry returns to England, Nov. 24.

A.D. 1514.

The French burn Brighton, and ravage the Sussex coast.

<sup>p</sup> Richard Fox was born at Grantham, and was educated at both Universities. He was early attached to the court, and was employed by Henry VII. on several important embassies, and particularly in the negotiations for the marriage of the princess Margaret with James IV. of Scotland. In 1487, being then the king's secretary, he was made bishop of Exeter, and afterwards held the sees of Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester. Beside founding Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Bishop Fox endowed several grammar schools, (particularly one in his native town,) and exhibited great liberality in adorning his cathedral of Winchester, which see he held for twenty-seven years. He died Sept. 14, 1528, and was buried in his church, where his elegant chantry still attracts attention equally with those of Wykeham, Beaufort, and Waynesflete.

<sup>q</sup> See p. 278.

<sup>r</sup> The sons of the earl of Surrey, and grandsons of the duke of Norfolk, who was killed at Bosworth.

<sup>s</sup> This, like Jesus College, was the conversion of an existing establishment to collegiate purposes.

<sup>t</sup> His son John became duke of Northumberland in the next reign.

<sup>u</sup> This statute directs the justices of peace to survey Cornwall, and compel the inhabitants to labour in the erection of "bulwarks" without pay, the land and materials being provided in like manner without remuneration.

<sup>v</sup> The largest ship of each fleet (the *Cordelier*

and the *Regent*) being grappled together, were blown up by a French gunner, and almost all on board (1600 men) perished.

<sup>w</sup> Maximilian served for a daily pay of 100 golden crowns with the English army before Terouenne, wearing the green and white livery of the Tudors.

<sup>x</sup> He was succeeded in his office of admiral by his brother, Sir Thomas, afterwards duke of Norfolk.

<sup>y</sup> This execution after so long a delay is usually regarded as in revenge for his brother Richard serving in the French army.

<sup>z</sup> A few days before, (Aug. 16,) a French army attempting to relieve the town was put to flight so precipitately, that the affair is commonly known as the Battle of the Spurs.

<sup>a</sup> The king was killed, as was his natural son, Alexander, archbishop of St. Andrew's, three other prelates, twenty-five nobles, and four hundred knights and gentlemen. James' body was embalmed at Berwick, and after a considerable time was wrapped in lead and deposited in the monastery at Richmond. It was apparently disinterred at the dissolution of the house, and was lying in a lumber-room in the time of the antiquary Stow.

<sup>b</sup> The see was at that time vacant, and as the bishop-elect refused to swear fealty to the conqueror, it was given to the king's almoner, Wolsey, who shortly after received also the bishopric of Lincoln, (Feb. 6, 1514,) and before the end of the year was translated to York.

An act passed for the due administration of justice in the conquered towns of Terouenne and Tournay, [5 Hen. VIII. c. 1].

Peace is concluded with France and Scotland, Aug. 7; Louis XII. agreeing to pay a large sum of money, and also to marry Mary, the king's youngest sister\*.

The queen-mother of Scotland marries the earl of Angus (Archibald Douglas), and endeavours to procure the regency for him. John, duke of Albany<sup>f</sup>, is invited from France by the parliament, and received as governor.

A.D. 1515.

Louis XII. of France dies, Jan. 1. He is succeeded by his son-in-law, the duke of Angoulême, as Francis I.

A dispute arises between the parliament and the convocation respecting the claim of the clergy to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the king's courts.

The queen-mother and her husband plot against the duke of Albany, but are obliged to flee to England.

Wolsey is, through the king's influence, declared a cardinal, Sept. 11. He is made chancellor, Dec. 22, and appears to govern the kingdom at his pleasure.

## IRELAND.

The miserable condition of Ireland, and the merely nominal nature of the English rule there in the time of Henry VIII., are well shewn in a document preserved in the Public Record Office, and ascribed to the year 1515<sup>g</sup>. The writer enumerates more than sixty "chief captains" of the king's "Irish enemies," and more than half as many "great captains of the English noble folk," some being distinguished as the "English great rebels," and others as "captains that obey not the king's law." He names the districts that have neither justice nor sheriff, "wherein all the English folk are of Irish habit, of Irish language, and of Irish condition, except in the cities and the walled towns;" and states that, even in the

English pale, (the eastern half of the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford<sup>h</sup>, the western half of each being a march land, more disorderly, if possible, than the more distant districts,) "the common people, for the more part, be of Irish birth, of Irish habit, and of Irish language."

The Irish chief captains, the writer states, called themselves, "some kings, some king's peers, some princes, some dukes, some archdukes." Each made peace and war for himself, and held his place by the sword, having imperial jurisdiction within his country, and obeyed no person, English or Irish; their districts were some as large as a shire, some less, but the same state of things prevailed in them

\* They were married at Abbeville, Oct. 9. The king died three months after, and his widow soon married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. He was the nephew of Richmond's standard-bearer at Bosworth, and had been brought up in the court as the companion of Prince Henry, where he became a great favourite, from his handsome person and his skill in martial exercises. He was created Lord Lisle by Henry VIII., went with him on his expedition to France, and was soon after raised to a dukedom. He aspired in vain to the hand of Margaret of Savoy, and his marriage with the French queen was readily forgiven; he had great grants of abbey lands, and he continued in favour with the king his whole life. He made several incursions in France, from Calais, on one occasion nearly reaching Paris; greatly exerted himself in putting down the insurrections in England, and was the first to enter Boulogne when captured by the king. Suffolk died shortly after, Aug. 24, 1545, and was buried at Henry's charge at Windsor. He was four times married, his royal bride being his third partner; by her he left two sons, who both died in youth, and two daughters. By one of them, Lady Jane Grey was his granddaughter.

<sup>f</sup> The son of Alexander, duke of Albany, brother of James III.; he had great estates in France, and

had gained much reputation as a military commander in the French wars in Italy. He arrived in Scotland May 18, 1515, but many conspiracies and rebellions were formed against him, and after several visits to France, he finally withdrew in 1524.

<sup>g</sup> It is printed in the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., Part III. p. 1. Many of its statements are borne out by acts of the English Parliament, particularly 13 Hen. VIII. c. 3, and 25 Hen. VIII. c. 15; and others are authenticated by the Ordinances for the Government of Ireland, issued in 1534, to be found in the same work, p. 207. Another document of somewhat later date (between 1517 and 1530) exists in the Public Record Office, entitled "Remembrances for Ireland," which among other things foreshadows a change that has only of late been effected, namely, the reducing the number of the prelates to two archbishops and nine or ten bishops. It also recommends that no absenteeism should be allowed, and that war on the natives unless with the license of the king's deputy should be punished as treason.

<sup>h</sup> The sea-coast of Wexford had been reconquered by Mac Morough, an Irish chief, who received "tribute" from the royal exchequer at least as late as 1537.

all, a multitude of minor chiefs ("tyshagh," or duke, in its original sense of a military leader,) existing in each, who gave no more obedience to the nominal head than he was able to enforce by the sword. On the death of each chief his successor was appointed, not by any law, "but he that hath the strongest arm and the hardiest sword among them, hath best right and title;" so that few of the regions were ever at peace within themselves. The most potent chiefs maintained a force of from 200 to 500 mounted spearmen, as many galloglasses (heavy-armed men), and 1000 or more kernes (light-armed troops)<sup>1</sup>; these lived the whole year round at free quarter on the husbandmen either of their own or the neighbouring districts, having their portion of plunder for their only wages.

The English great captains lived in much the same way. In spite of the Statutes of Kilkenny<sup>k</sup>,—passed for the very purpose of keeping the races distinct, they had universally adopted the Irish manners and language, many had taken Irish names<sup>l</sup>, and all had, by intermarriages and fostering, so linked themselves with the native chiefs, that the king's officers<sup>m</sup> could never depend on any service from them against the great O'Neal, or O'Connor, or MacMorrough, who perpetually harassed the pale,

and received payments of "tribute" from each county, and even from the king's exchequer<sup>n</sup>; whilst any attempt to extend the king's authority over either English or Irish dwelling beyond the pale, was commonly met, and defeated, by the confederacy of both. Indeed, from the manner in which the royal officers generally behaved in the district under their power, there was little to induce any one to submit to their rule. The same number of judges and officers was kept up as when the greater part of the island acknowledged the royal authority; and the expense of their maintenance was so great that the freeholders of the pale daily deserted their holdings to escape the intolerable imposition: for, "what with the extortion of coin and livery daily, and with the wrongful exaction of hosting money, and of carriage and cartage daily, and what with the king's great subsidy yearly, and with the said tribute and black rent to the king's Irish enemies, and other infinite extortions and daily exactions<sup>o</sup>, all the English folk of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel (Louth), be more oppressed than any other folk of this land, English or Irish, and of worse condition be they on this side than in the marches."

As might be expected, the Church was in a deplorable condition. "The noble folk of Ireland oppress and spoil

<sup>1</sup> The kernes were the common people, the horsemen and galloglasses the gentry. Neither kerne nor horseman had any defensive armour, but the galloglasses were clad in mail, and carried a "spar," or long-handled axe; they usually decided the fate of any pitched battle. "These sort of men," says the deputy St. Leger, "be those that do not lightly abandon the field, but bide the brunt to the death." Sometimes they appear to have been Scottish mercenaries, ready to transfer their services to the best paymaster. Each horseman had at least three horses, and as many attendants; the galloglasses also had boys with them, bearing darts, which they cast at the enemy before their masters came to the hand-stroke. The horsemen were divided into "banners," varying from twenty to eighty men; and the galloglasses into "battles," of sixty or eighty.

<sup>k</sup> See A.D. 1366.

<sup>l</sup> For example, the lords Barry and De Courcy bore the names of Mac Adam and Mac Patrick; the Berminghams and De Burghs styled themselves Mac Floris and Mac William; the Dexters (de Exonia) and Fitz-Stephens, Mac Jordan and Mac Slany. These and 30 more Anglo-Irish chiefs "follow the same Irish order and keep the same rule, and every one of them maketh war and peace for himself without any licence of the king, or any other temporal person, save him that may subdue them by the sword."

<sup>m</sup> These officers themselves had adopted an Irish custom most oppressive to the people. The writer, alluding doubtless to the earl of Kildare, who so long held the post of deputy, says, "Some time, in our days, the king's deputy used always to have about him, whenever that he did ride, a strong guard on horseback of spears and bows, well garnished, after the English manner, that paid truly for their meat and drink, wherever they did ride; now, guard of the king's deputy is none other than a multitude of Irish galloglasses, and a multitude of Irish kernes and spears, with infinite number of horselads; and with the said guard the king's deputy is ever moving and stirring from one place to another; and, with extortion of coin and livery, consumeth and devoureth all the substance of the poor folk, and of the common people of all the king's subjects." He, however, did not venture to practise these extortions on the port towns, or on the nobles of the pale.

<sup>n</sup> "The English counties that bear tribute to the wild Irish" are enumerated: the whole sum is £740 English money, of which eighty marks were paid from the exchequer to Mac Morough (or Kavanagh), of Idrome, county Carlow.

<sup>o</sup> Some particulars of these exactions will be found under A.D. 1537, from the inquests taken by St. Leger and other commissioners on the subject.

the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties; and therefore they have no fortune, no grace, no prosperity of body or soul." The prelates and clergy, however, were themselves greatly to blame, "for there is no archbishop, no bishop, abbot, no prior, parson, no vicar, nor any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, that useth to preach the word of God, saving the poor friars beggars; if their word of God do cease, there can be no grace, and without the special grace of God, this land may never be reformed."

The writer then notices the various causes assigned for the decay of the land, and having shewn that it is mainly to be attributed to the evil conduct of the "English noble folk," advises "the sword of the common folk" to be employed against them; in other words, that the tenants of Meath shall first be armed and trained in the English manner, being supported by 500 English horsemen; then the same course to be taken in each county of the pale; and when the whole (estimated at 100,000 men) are ready, the king to come over with a body of 2,000 men, and force the "great English rebels" to submit to his laws. Then to introduce at least one man from each parish in England; to compel the English to inclose their fields and gardens, and plant trees; and to conciliate the Irish (who are represented as well inclined to submit to the king's laws, if they could be sure of protection from the lawless English<sup>p</sup>), by offering a peerage to each great captain, and knighthood to each petty captain; to appoint the bishops and great landholders justices of the peace, and oblige all to adopt the English habit, and to bring up their children to the English language, and in habits of

industry, suffering no idle men or vagabonds, "upon pain of their lives."

These sensible suggestions are said to be taken from a work by the Pandar<sup>q</sup>, who, however, ventures also on prophecy, and fixes the happy change he anticipates from them for the year 1517; he says, "The prophecy is, that the king of England shall put this land in such order, that all the wars of the land, whereof groweth all the vices of the same, shall cease for ever; and after that, God shall give such grace and fortune to the said king, that he shall, with the army of England and of Ireland, subdue the realm of France to his obedience for ever, and shall rescue the Greeks, and recover the great city of Constantinople, and shall vanquish the Turks, and win the Holy Cross and the Holy Land, and shall die emperor of Rome, and eternal bliss shall be his end."

#### A.D. 1516.

A league is formed by the Emperor, the Pope, and several Italian states, against the king of France, Oct. 29.

#### A.D. 1517.

A riot against the foreign merchants and artisans settled in London occurs May 1, which is afterwards known as "evil May-day<sup>r</sup>."

Wolsey receives the office of papal legate; his coadjutor is Laurence Campegius, a Roman cardinal.

#### A.D. 1518.

Wolsey promotes a treaty between Henry and the king of France, in opposition to the existing league.

#### A.D. 1519.

The Emperor Maximilian dies, Jan. 12. After some time, his grandson Charles of Spain (Charles V.) is elected<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> This was probably true; they had applied for the king's protection 200 years before. See A.D. 1317.

<sup>q</sup> A manuscript exists in the British Museum, entitled "Pandari Salus Populi, de rebus Hiernicis, temp. Hen. VI.," which is probably the book referred to.

<sup>r</sup> One John Lincoln, a broker, induced Dr. Bell, a canon of the Spital, to preach against the foreigners, at the customary Easter sermon, (Tuesday, April 14); in consequence, the houses of many foreigners were sacked. Near 300 of the rioters

were made prisoners, and the city was occupied for some days by the duke of Norfolk with a large force. Lincoln and about a dozen others were executed, but the rest were pardoned after a short delay, at the intercession of Queen Katherine, and her sister queens of France and Scotland.

<sup>s</sup> Henry proposed himself as a candidate for the empire, but soon abandoned the idea; Francis I. strove eagerly to obtain it, and his disappointment vented itself in wars against his successful rival, which lasted (with some slight intermissions) for the remainder of his life.



Tournay surrendered to the French on the promise of payment of a large sum<sup>†</sup>, Feb. 10.

St. Mary Magdalene College, Cambridge, founded by Edward, duke of Buckingham<sup>‡</sup>.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1520.

Thomas, earl of Surrey, is appointed lord-lieutenant, April.

Gerald, earl of Kildare, died in 1512, and was succeeded by his son, also named Gerald, who, with all the ambition of his father, was less successful in contending with the hereditary rivals of his house, the Butlers. Sir Pierce Butler, afterwards earl of Ormond and Ossory, was a resident in England; and his representations to Cardinal Wolsey of the state of Ireland had such effect, that Kildare was deprived of his government, and the earl of Surrey substituted, with full powers, on paper, to redress the disorders of the land; but being ill-supplied with money and military force<sup>\*</sup>, he solicited and obtained his recall in less than two years after, and Butler was appointed deputy (March 6, 1522). Kildare was reappointed in 1524, after signing (Aug. 4) a formal indenture, in which he bound himself in a penalty of £1,000 to pursue a legal course of government. This, however, made no difference in his conduct, or in that of Butler; and at last, in 1527, both were summoned to England to give account of their proceedings, Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, being appointed vice-deputy. The Irish council com-

plained of his inefficiency, and petitioned for the return of both the earls, as the only defence of the land against the natives; and when, shortly after, (May 12, 1528,) Delvin was made prisoner by O'Connor, (a native chief and son-in-law of Kildare,) they at once elected a brother of the earl, Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, in his place. He was allowed to hold the post for a while; and though, in August, 1529, Sir William Skeffington was sent as deputy, his instructions rendered him, in reality, subordinate to Kildare, who in 1530 was again installed in his ancient post.

A.D. 1520.

The emperor (Charles V.) seeks the favour of Wolsey by grants of pensions, and also visits Henry in his journey from Spain to Germany.

Henry proceeds to France, and holds a series of formal interviews with Francis, between Guisnes and Arras, June 4—25. He also visits the emperor at Gravelines, and returns to England in July.

A.D. 1521.

Edward, duke of Buckingham, is charged with treason<sup>‡</sup>, convicted by his peers, May 13, and executed, May 17.

<sup>†</sup> Wolsey received a pension of 1000 marks a-year for resigning the administration of the bishopric.

<sup>‡</sup> He called it after his own name, Buckingham College; but being soon after attainted, he left it poorly endowed. Lord Audley, of Walden, about twenty years after, became a considerable benefactor, and gave the college its present appellation.

<sup>\*</sup> He took with him, beside other forces, 100 of the royal guard, but these being mostly "men of some substance in England," soon grew tired of the rough service. A few received small appointments, as customs' searchers, &c., and Surrey obtained permission to pension the rest off at 1*d.* a-day (their ordinary pay at home was 4*d.* and in Ireland 6*d.*), hiring instead spearmen from the Welsh and northern borders. These, however, frequently mutinied for want of their pay.

<sup>‡</sup> He was the son of Henry, duke of Buckingham, executed in 1483, by Katherine Woodville, sister to the queen of Edward IV.; was on his father's side descended from Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III., (see A.D. 1450), and quartered the royal arms. He built a stately mansion at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, and enclosed a vast park

there, to the extreme discontent of the people around; this was taken as evidence of disloyal views, and contributed to his downfall. On his trial he was charged with aspiring to the crown as long



Arms of Stafford, duke of Buckingham.

back as 1511, and with consulting with Nicholas Hopkins, a Carthusian, who pretended to divine revelations, and assured him that he should become king. He was further charged with intending to kill the king, and to behead Cardinal Wolsey, Sir

The king writes a book on the Seven Sacraments, in opposition to the views of Luther<sup>a</sup>, and receives in return from the pope (Leo X.) the title of Defender of the Faith, by bull dated Oct. 11, 1521.

War breaks out between Charles V. and Francis I.; the king mediates a peace. Wolsey is sent to Calais, and holds conferences for the purpose, in August, without effect, but also secretly forms another league with the emperor against Francis.

A.D. 1522.

The emperor again visits England, in May. The king declares war against France.

Francis negotiates treaties with the earl of Desmond (Maurice Fitzgerald) and other nobles, for the conquest and partition of Ireland<sup>a</sup>.

The earl of Surrey ravages the coast of Brittany.

Vast sums are raised by way of loan or "benevolence," and an army sent

into the north of France. Picardy is devastated, and a great amount of booty brought into Calais.

A.D. 1523.

The parliament meets, April 15; Sir Thomas More is the speaker. Wolsey visits the house in great state, and endeavours to procure a large grant of money; this is at length obtained. The convocation grant one half of their revenues, as a token of their gratitude for the king's book against Luther<sup>b</sup>.

The king empowered by his letters patent to reverse attainders for high treason, [14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 21].

The constable of Bourbon leagues with the emperor and the king against Francis<sup>c</sup>.

The duke of Suffolk (Charles Brandon) ravages France as far as the environs of Paris, but is obliged to return to Calais, without effecting any permanent conquest.

The Scots, incited by the French,

Thomas Lovel, and others. In 1523 he was attained by act of parliament [14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 20], but this act was in reality one of grace to protect the interests of numerous persons who had held property or office under him; and by subsequent statutes of the same parliament some provision was made for his wife (Eleanor Percy, daughter of Henry, fourth earl of Northumberland) and his son Henry. The latter was restored in blood, under the title of Lord Stafford, by Edward VI., and married Ursula, the sister of Cardinal Pole.

<sup>a</sup> Martin Luther, the son of a miner, was born at Eisleben, in Saxony, in 1483. He joined the Augustinian order, and being a man of talent, and a good preacher, he soon became popular. He received the appointment of divinity professor in the University of Eisenach, and also visited Rome on the business of his order. It had been customary to confine to the Augustinians the disposal of indulgences in Germany; but when Pope Leo X. wished to raise money by such means, he employed instead Tetzel and other Dominicans, a course that was fiercely denounced by Luther, who was supported by his own order, and, as a consequence of his popularity as a preacher, by the people also. He was eventually summoned to Rome, but declining to appear, a cardinal (Cajetan) was sent to Germany to conduct a process against him. Luther was protected by Frederic, elector of Saxony, and in his own justification he published a statement of his opinions, which were now seen to differ greatly from the established Church system, not only as to the indulgences, but in regard to the sacrament of the Eucharist, the number of the other sacraments, the obligation of monastic vows, of confession, the rights and duties of the clergy, the employment of an unknown tongue in public worship, and in many other particulars. He was excommunicated in 1520, but he openly defied the papal power, burnt the bull, (Dec. 10.) and though cited before the Diet of Worms in the following year, and put under the ban of the empire, (May 26.) refused to make any submission. His protector, the elector of Saxony, placed him for safety

in the castle of Wartburg, where he occupied his time in digesting the system of doctrine since so well known by his name, and which now prevails in a large part of Protestant Europe, and in a translation of the Bible into German.

Henry VIII. undertook to reply to Luther in regard to the Sacraments, and in his book (*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*) he treated the "arch-heretic," as he styled him, rather coarsely. The reformer replied with equal intemperance, for he was naturally fearless, and each year saw new princes join his party, some actuated by dislike of the papal system, others by fear or hatred of the proceedings of the emperor (Charles V.) At length, in 1532, the Diet at Nuremberg conceded a kind of protection to his adherents, and though this agreement was not adhered to, but war speedily followed instead, the Lutheran opinions were very generally received in the north and west of Germany, in Switzerland, in Sweden, and in Denmark. Divisions soon broke out, and views differing from those of Luther were advocated by Zuinglius and others, but he continued the acknowledged head of the opponents of the papacy until his death, which occurred at Eisleben, his birthplace, Feb. 18, 1546, leaving by his wife, Catherine Bora, who had been a nun, a family of three sons, of whom nothing remarkable is recorded.

<sup>a</sup> The king was to supply ships and troops, and was to have Kinsale and other western ports assigned to him; Desmond, already palatine of Kerry, was to have the south of Ireland in full sovereignty; Richard de la Pole was to be king of the remainder. The plan, however, came to nothing.

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1521.

<sup>c</sup> Charles de Bourbon, a kinsman of Francis, had received many injuries from the queen-mother-Louisa of Savoy. He, like the emperor Maximilian, was in the pay of Henry, and he signed a treaty for the partition of France. He served for a while with the emperor's troops in Italy, attempted in vain to cause an insurrection in his native country, and was at last killed (May 6, 1527) while heading his troops at the sack of Rome.

land in the north of Ireland, but are unsuccessful. The earl of Surrey invades Scotland, and captures Jedburgh, Sept. 24.

The pope (Adrian VI.) dies, Sept. 24. Wolsey aspires to succeed him; he is supported by the king, but is disappointed.

A.D. 1524.

The French are driven out of Italy early in the year. Francis, however, heads a new army, and penetrates as far as Milan.

Wolsey being dissatisfied with the emperor<sup>d</sup>, inclines the king towards peace with France.

A.D. 1525.

Francis is defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia, by the forces of the emperor, Feb. 24<sup>e</sup>.

The king, by the advice of Wolsey, endeavours to raise funds without the sanction of parliament for the invasion of France. The demand is unanimously resisted, and is at length abandoned.

Wolsey is licensed to found a college at Oxford<sup>f</sup>, July 13.

The emperor reproaches the king for his private negotiations with France; on which treaties are concluded with the queen-mother, Aug. 30, and all intercourse with the emperor broken off.

Wolsey being clamoured against for the recent attempt at illegal exactions, presents Hampton Court (his newly built and magnificent seat) to the king, and is restored to favour.

A.D. 1526.

The king of France is set at liberty

by the emperor, on very hard conditions<sup>g</sup>, March 17.

He secures the support of the king, and of several Italian princes, and refuses to abide by some of the most onerous stipulations.

A.D. 1527.

Rome sacked, and the pope (Clement VII.) made prisoner by the imperialists<sup>h</sup>.

Wolsey goes in state to France, and concludes a new treaty between the king and Francis.

The king applies to the pope to examine into the lawfulness of his marriage with Katherine of Aragon<sup>i</sup>. The pope grants a commission to two cardinals to inquire into the case.

A.D. 1528.

The kings of England and France declare war against the emperor, Jan. 22.

The pope grants a new commission to Cardinals Wolsey and Campegius, to try the question of the king's marriage, June 6.

A truce concluded with the emperor, June 8.

Campegius arrives in England, Oct. 7<sup>j</sup>.

The king makes a speech at the palace of Bridewell to the nobility and others, explaining his motives for seeking a divorce, Nov. 8.

The cardinals wait on the queen, and endeavour in vain to induce her to consent to a dissolution of her marriage.

A.D. 1529.

The cardinals hold a court at the

<sup>d</sup> It is usually said that he took, among other modes of shewing this, the step of inspiring doubts in the king's mind as to the legality of his marriage with Katherine, who was the emperor's aunt; but the truth of the charge is doubtful.

<sup>e</sup> The loss of the French was very great. Among the slain was the "White Rose of England," Richard de la Pole, whose death was the cause of much exultation to Henry.

<sup>f</sup> It was to occupy the site of the nunnery of St. Frideswide, which had been suppressed May 10, 1524.

<sup>g</sup> Among other things in this treaty, made at Madrid, he was obliged to agree to surrender Burgundy to the emperor; to reinstate Bourbon and his adherents; to pay large sums of money; and to give his two sons as hostages.

<sup>h</sup> He took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, but was obliged to surrender, June 7. His imprisonment excited much indignation, and the emperor

was obliged to set him at liberty before the end of the year. Rome suffered every imaginable calamity from the conquerors, among whom were mercenaries from all nations, but chiefly Germans, who fully indulged their national hatred to the Italians.

<sup>i</sup> It seems probable that scruples were instilled into his mind on this point as early as the year 1524, as he then ceased to live with the queen, though he continued to treat her with outward respect and attention, which were denied to her at a later period. She continued to reside in the court until July 14, 1531, when she was peremptorily ordered to leave Windsor, and she never saw Henry after.

<sup>j</sup> He was furnished with a bull dissolving the king's marriage, but he refused to publish it, and after a time destroyed it, in consequence of instructions from the pope, who had come to an understanding with the emperor.

Black Friars' monastery, in London, open their commission, and summon the king and queen to appear before them, May 31.

The legatine court commenced its regular session on June 18, when the queen appeared, protested against the legates as partial judges, and declared that her cause had been removed to Rome. On the 21st she again appeared, as also did the king, when the legates intimating their intention of proceeding with the cause, she withdrew, and was thereupon pronounced contumacious. The court met several times during the ensuing month, and received evidence touching the marriage of Prince Arthur, and on July 30, without coming to any decision, adjourned until October 1<sup>k</sup>. The king went on a progress early in August, accompanied by Anne Boleyn<sup>l</sup>, gave an audience at Grafton to the legates, whom he dismissed, and never more suffered Wolsey to enter his presence.

The peace of Cambray is concluded between the emperor and the king of France, Aug. 5<sup>m</sup>.

Thomas Cranmer advises that the king shall ask the opinion of the universities, "Do the laws of God allow a man to marry his brother's widow?"

The hint is taken, and commissioners are dispatched to each university at home and abroad.

Cardinal Wolsey opens the court of Chancery, Oct. 9. On the same day the king's attorney (Christopher Hales) prefers an indictment against him in the King's Bench for receiving bulls from Rome, in violation of the Statute of Provisors<sup>o</sup>. The great seal is taken from him, Oct. 17, and given to Sir Thomas More, Oct. 25.

The cardinal is ordered to leave his noble mansion of York Place (afterwards Whitehall), and retire to Esher, Oct. 17; judgment of forfeiture of goods and imprisonment is given against him in the King's Bench, Oct. 28.

The parliament meets Nov. 3, and agrees to an address to the king, charging the cardinal with many great offences; his steward, Thomas Cromwell, defends him, and the king refuses to receive it<sup>p</sup>.

Felons and murderers taking sanctuary ordered to be marked with a hot iron with the letter A on the thumb, and then abjure the realm, on pain of losing the benefit of sanctuary, [21 Hen. VIII. c. 2].

The king released from his debts by statute, [c. 24<sup>q</sup>].

<sup>k</sup> They were probably aware, although they kept the matter from the king, that the pope had, on the 18th July, resolved to admit of the cause being removed to Rome.

<sup>l</sup> She was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn (afterwards earl of Wiltshire), and niece of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, and had gone to France as an attendant on Henry's sister. After the queen's return to England Anne continued at the French court, and acquired there a light manner which was more agreeable to the king than the quiet piety of Katherine, into whose service she entered about the year 1522. Lord Henry Percy, the heir of the earl of Northumberland, wished to marry her, but the king, who had become enamoured of her, caused the engagement to be broken off by representations made to the earl by Wolsey.

<sup>m</sup> It was negotiated by the aunt of the emperor and the mother of the king, and by it several of the articles of the treaty of Madrid (see A.D. 1526) were mitigated. Henry assisted Francis with money on the occasion, and thus enabled him to ransom his two sons, who had been given as hostages when he had been himself released.

<sup>n</sup> He was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, in 1489, and was a member of Jesus College, Cambridge, but was then residing in the house of a gentleman near Waltham, where Gardiner, the king's secretary, rested for the night. Cranmer was at once brought to court, and employed to write in defence of the divorce, was sent on embassies concerning it, and at length, on Archbishop Warham's death, was raised to the see of Canterbury. His conduct in that station, and his melancholy death, will be considered hereafter.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 1351.

<sup>p</sup> He had just before sent Wolsey a ring as a token of his favour, which occasioned the cardinal to address him from Esher, Nov. 2, in the following strain; the original letter is preserved in the Public Record Office.

"Most gracious and merciful Sovereign Lord, these shall be to give your royal Majesty my most lowly and humble thanks for the comfort which it hath pleased your Highness to send unto me, your poor priest and prostrate subject, languishing in extreme sorrow and heaviness, by your Grace's trusty servant, Sir John Russell; by whom I do perceive, to my inward consolation, that your Highness is, and will be, my good and gracious sovereign lord, and have pity, mercy, and compassion upon me; in the assured trust and confidence whereof I shall, as high as my fragility can permit, endeavour myself to quiet my poor heart, and in some part attempt my sorrow; praying God most effectually, for this your high goodness, to pursue, augment, and increase your most noble and royal estate; and that as soon as it shall seem to your pitiful heart and to stand with your Grace's honour, it may openly be known to my poor friends and servants, that your Highness hath forgiven me mine offence and trespass, and delivered me from the danger of your laws; for the attaining whereof I shall incessantly pray, cry, and call. Written this morning, with the rude and trembling hand of your Grace's most humble and prostrate subject and priest, T. Car<sup>is</sup> Ebor."

<sup>q</sup> The reason given in the statute is, that the king had employed his own funds as well as the taxes on his subjects in the defence of the Church and kingdom, and in establishing a general and universal peace among all Christian princes.

A.D. 1530.

The cardinal, who was believed to be dying, is comforted by kind messages from the king. He receives a general pardon, Feb. 12, the grant of the temporalities of his see of York, Feb. 17, and presents in money and plate. He retires to his diocese, and resides there discharging his episcopal duties till the end of October.

The opinions of various universities in favour of the divorce are forwarded to the pope, July 13. Cranmer goes with them, and offers to dispute with any opponent, but his challenge is unheeded.

The cardinal is arrested for high treason by the earl of Northumberland, Nov. 4, and brought towards London, but falls sick, and dies at Leicester Abbey, Nov. 29.

Abjured persons ordered not to quit the realm, but instead to remain in some sanctuary for the remainder of their lives, [22 Hen. VIII. c. 14].

A.D. 1531.

The guilt of *præmunire* held to be incurred by the clergy in submitting to the legatine authority of Cardinal Wolsey, acknowledged by formal deed, March 22. The penalties remitted on the payment of £100,000 in five years by the convocation of Canterbury, [22 Hen. VIII. c. 15]. The province of York had to pay a sum of £18,840 os. 10d. for a like pardon, [23 Hen. VIII. c. 19].

The opinions of various universities in favour of the king's divorce are laid before the parliament, March 30.

Poisoners ordered to be boiled to death, [22 Hen. VIII. c. 9].

Egyptians (or gipsies) ordered to leave the realm within 15 days, under penalty of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods, [c. 10].

Beggars and vagabonds ordered to be whipped and set in the stocks, [c. 12].

Gardiner and Bonner<sup>2</sup> are sent, to-

<sup>1</sup> He was the lord Henry Percy, whose intended marriage with Anne Boleyn, Wolsey had broken off. See A.D. 1529.

<sup>2</sup> He was in the custody of Sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, to whom he made the declaration: "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs; but this is the just reward that I must receive for the diligent pains and study that I have had to do him service, not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfy his pleasure."

<sup>3</sup> The statute states that many of these persons are men "fit and able for war," and that they have carried abroad the knowledge of archery, "to the no little damage and prejudice of the realm."

<sup>4</sup> The grant of these sums was, by the king's especial command, accompanied by an acknowledgment that he was "the chief protector, the only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ will allow, the Supreme Head" of the Church.

<sup>5</sup> This act was occasioned by the crime of one Richard Rosse, cook to Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who mixed poison in a vessel containing yeast standing in the bishop's kitchen, and thereby occasioned the death of Bennet Curwen, one of the household, and Alice Trippett, a poor widow who came there for charity.

<sup>6</sup> The justices of the peace were allowed to give licenses to "aged, poor and impotent persons" to solicit alms within certain determined districts; poor scholars unlicensed from their University, sailors pretending shipwreck, and fortune-tellers, were to be twice whipped, and to be set in the pillory for three hours and lose their ears for any further offence.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen Gardiner was born at Bury St. Edmund's, in 1483, and was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, of which he afterwards became master. He acquired great reputation as a canonist, was made secretary of state, and became bishop of Winchester in 1537. Apparently to push his fortune at court, he laboured zealously to promote Henry's views, and even wrote a book "On True Obedience," in which he defended the separation from Rome. He, however, refused to associate

himself with the proceedings of the advisers of Edward VI., and was in consequence deprived of his see and imprisoned in the Tower. Queen Mary released him, and for the short remainder of his life he was her chief adviser, dying Nov. 12, 1555.

Edmund Bonner was born of poor parents in Worcestershire, about 1496, and through the charity of a neighbouring gentleman was sent to Broadgates Hall, Oxford, whence he removed to Cardinal Wolsey's household. His forwardness and activity recommended him to the king, and he was employed in various embassies relating to the divorce, which he discharged with more firmness than courtesy. By the favour of Cromwell he was in 1535 made archdeacon of Leicester. In 1538 he was appointed bishop of Hereford, but early in the next year, before consecration, he was removed to London, which see he held until 1551, when, like Gardiner, he was deprived and imprisoned. Like him he was reinstated by Mary, and became a very active instrument in the persecution which so unhappily marked her reign. Upon the accession of Elizabeth he was received by her with such marked aversion that his life was endangered from the resentment of some among the populace, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to him first of all the bishops (May 30, 1559). His refusal to take it was followed by his deprivation (June 20), and in April, 1560, apparently without any specific charge, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he died Sept. 5, 1569, and was buried in a portion of the neighbouring churchyard of St. George, Southwark, appropriated to criminals.

The characters by which both these men are usually known are very odious, but it must not be forgotten that they are drawn by their avowed enemies. Gardiner is known to have been a learned man, and an acute statesman; Bonner is not so distinguished. Both were busy, secular men, chiefly intent on their own advancement, and therefore but too ready to carry out any mode of government, however harsh, which prevailed in their time. Their cruelty towards the reformers, however, is obviously greatly exaggerated, and it must be remembered that they had been treated hardly by Edward's ministers; and when they again came into power they were

gether with Sir Edward Brian, as ambassadors to the pope, but fail to bring about an accommodation.

#### A.D. 1532.

Sir Thomas More resigns the chancellorship, May 16. He is succeeded, as lord keeper, by Sir Thomas Audley, June 5.

Undue citations by spiritual courts restrained by statute, [23 Henry VIII. c. 9].

Appeals to Rome forbidden under heavy penalties<sup>r</sup>, [24 Hen. VIII. c. 12].

Henry advances Anne Boleyn to the dignity of marchioness of Pembroke, Sept. 1<sup>r</sup>.

The king passes over to France,

and has interviews with Francis, Anne Boleyn accompanying him, October.

#### A.D. 1533.

Cranmer is appointed archbishop of Canterbury<sup>a</sup>.

The convocation having decided in favour of the divorce, Cranmer holds a court at Dunstable, and pronounces the marriage between the king and Katherine of Aragon null and void from the beginning, May 23; he also pronounces the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn good and lawful, May 28<sup>b</sup>. Anne is crowned on Whitsunday, June 1<sup>c</sup>.

The pope reverses the decision of Cranmer.

The king appeals from the judgment of the pope to a general council.

### THE REFORMATION.

#### A.D. 1534.

An act passed for the punishment of heresy<sup>d</sup>, [25 Hen. VIII. c. 14].

The free importation of foreign printed books allowed by the statute of Richard III. restrained<sup>e</sup>, [c. 15].

Cardinal Campegius and Jerome de Ghinucci deprived of their sees of Salisbury and Worcester, as aliens and non-residents [c. 27], March 25.

The clergy forbidden to make constitutions, except in convocation with the king's assent<sup>f</sup>, [c. 19].

The payment of first-fruits to Rome forbidden<sup>g</sup>, [c. 20].

The papal power in England set aside by act of parliament, [c. 21].

This important act declares all payments to the Apostolic Chamber illegal; enacts that all "dispensations or licences for things not contrary to the law of God, but only to the law of the land," shall in future be granted within the kingdom by the two archbishops; and confirms the exemption of monasteries from episcopal visita-

assailed by coarse and probably unfounded attacks on their parentage, and by caustic reflections on their former subserviency to the imperious Henry.

<sup>r</sup> This statute was intended to prevent any appeal against the judgment which the convocation was expected to pronounce in favour of the king's divorce.

<sup>a</sup> He afterwards married her privately, but the date is uncertain; he received statement is, November 14, 1532; but a letter exists ascribed to Cranmer, which places it in Jan. 1533. The priest who performed the ceremony (Rowland Lee) was made bishop of Lichfield in 1534.

<sup>b</sup> Archbishop Warham, who had held the see nearly thirty years, died Aug. 23, 1532. Cranmer's appointment was by papal bull dated Feb. 21, 1533, and he was consecrated March 30. He took, as was then usual, an oath of obedience to the pope, but before he did so, he made a public protest, that he would not be bound by it to omit doing anything which in duty to God, the king and the realm, he was bound to do.

<sup>c</sup> These proceedings were a few days after communicated to Katherine. She solemnly protested against them, and refused the title of Princess Dowager and the offer of being treated as "the king's sister;" soon after she was removed, almost

by force, from Amptill, and at length was settled at Kimbolton, where she died.

<sup>d</sup> The expenses of the ceremony were paid from fines levied on persons who declined to receive knighthood.

<sup>e</sup> The statute of Henry IV. (see A.D. 1401) was repealed as insufficient, and the statutes of Richard II. (see A.D. 1381) and Henry V. revived, as more efficacious; but speaking against the pope or his decrees was expressly declared not to be heresy.

<sup>f</sup> See A.D. 1484. This was professedly for the benefit of English printers, but the real object was to prevent the circulation of books advocating Lutheran tenets.

<sup>g</sup> No canons were to be enforced which were contrary to the king's prerogative, nor was any appeal to Rome to be suffered; all appeals from the archiepiscopal courts were to be determined by the king's commissioners.

<sup>h</sup> Power had been granted to the king to suspend these payments early in the preceding year, [23 Hen. VIII. c. 20,] while the negotiations with Rome were pending; these being broken off, the payment was declared illegal, and the customary reference to Rome for the confirmation of bishops was done away with; persons paying any regard to papal directions in the matter incurred the penalties of the statutes of *præmunire*.

tion, but renders them liable to visitation by commissioners acting under the great seal for the king. Offenders were to incur the penalties of the statutes of provisors and *præmunire*<sup>b</sup>.

Though the separation of the Church of England from that of Rome was formally accomplished in Henry's reign, it was in reality the effect of causes that had been in operation for centuries. The exactions of the papal court had been frequently withstood, and its assumption of supreme power resisted, long before the time of Wickliffe<sup>c</sup>, but from his days a succession of opponents of Rome, and of sufferers for religious opinions, is readily to be traced. Wills occasionally occur without any provision for masses, an omission which betokens a disbelief of purgatory; a bishop was in the days of Henry VI. removed from office, whose opinions in many points resembled those of Wickliffe<sup>k</sup>; a partial visitation of monasteries under Henry VII. exposed many scandals<sup>l</sup>, and Wolsey set the example of their dissolution by the means which he employed to endow his Cardinal's College.

It is certain that in the time of the Tudors the clergy were, for very insufficient causes, unpopular with the other influential classes, though deservedly esteemed the friends of the humble. The nobility, who had been impoverished by the civil wars, envied the wealth of the Church, the property of which had been respected, and even augmented, during its confusions: whilst the middle class, now rising in importance, with the extension of commerce, was desirous to humble a power such as that of the ecclesi-

astical courts, which was no doubt in some cases unwisely exercised, and thus clashed with the ordinary administration of the laws. One instance of this (the case of Richard Hunne<sup>m</sup>) revived the old disputes as to ecclesiastical immunities, and induced Henry VIII. to meditate on braving the power of Rome, which at the same time was threatened from another quarter, (Germany<sup>n</sup>). He, however, had no sympathy with the Lutherans, but, on the contrary, received the title of "Defender of the Faith" for his writings against them; and when his breach with the pope actually occurred, he still retained all those opinions which the Reformed Churches reject as distinctively Romish.

The Reformation was, indeed, a political, rather than a religious movement with too many of its forwarders. It was a great work carried on by men actuated, in the main, by unworthy motives, such as love of power and greediness of riches, but by God's providence overruled to good, and thus its success is more a subject for reverent thankfulness than if the means had appeared, humanly speaking, less unsuitable to the end.

The very first steps of the change shew unmistakeably that it was the work, not of theologians, but of statesmen. The act which caused an irreconcilable breach with Rome [25 Hen. VIII. c. 21] was one which, avowedly leaving doctrinal matters untouched, assailed its pecuniary interests; and the visitations, the surrenders, and finally the suppression of the monasteries, were partly the result of re-

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1350, 1393.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1365.

<sup>k</sup> This was Reginald Peacock, successively bishop of St. Asaph and of Chichester. He recommended the study of the Bible to the laity, approved of the marriage of the clergy, and censured ascetic observances. These opinions were condemned in a synod held at Lambeth in 1457, when he was deprived of his see, obliged to recant, and then was sent to Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire, where he died.

<sup>l</sup> It was conducted by Archbishop Morton, by order of Pope Innocent VIII., and the abuses then discovered and reported to the pope afford strong presumption that Henry's commissioners 40 years later did not invent all the enormities that they charged on the monastics, which they have been accused of doing; though it may well be believed that they sought more anxiously to find them guilty than to prove them innocent.

<sup>m</sup> Hunne was a citizen of London, who died in

the bishop's prison, where he was confined on a charge of heretical opinions, for which he was condemned after death and his body burnt. He had rendered himself obnoxious to the clergy by a dispute about fees, and Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, was openly accused of his murder. After a vehement resistance on the part of the Convocation, Horsey was put on his trial, but by an arrangement that had been made, no evidence was offered against him, and he was acquitted. Dr. Standish, who had maintained that the clergy were amenable to the civil courts, was censured in Convocation, but supported, and his views adopted, by the king.

<sup>n</sup> The attack on the papacy abroad was led by Martin Luther, and some Englishmen (as Tindal and Coverdale, the translators of the Bible, Barnes and Cranmer) imbibed many of his views; but the foreign reformers had no influence with the government until the reign of Edward VI.

sentment at the opposition of the monastics to the steps taken to obtain the divorce of Katherine of Aragon<sup>o</sup>, but much more of a resolve to deprive the firmest supporters of the papal power of their wealth and consequent influence. The Pilgrimage of Grace and other risings shewed that the monks had numerous friends, but were insufficient to stay the course of politic destruction, which also swept away by the thousand, chantries, and free chapels, and hospitals<sup>p</sup>, and was even believed to threaten the universities and the parish churches<sup>q</sup>. A comparatively small portion of the spoils was devoted to the incongruous uses of the endowment of six new bishoprics<sup>r</sup>, and a college in each University, and the erection of castles for the defence of the coast<sup>s</sup>; but the great bulk was, with worldly wisdom<sup>t</sup>,

distributed among a host of needy and rapacious adventurers, who, as Latimer<sup>u</sup> remarks, "had become gossellers for the abbey lands." These men ruthlessly destroyed many of the noblest edifices of the country merely to sell their materials, desecrated churches, or bartered them like merchandize, wantonly or ignorantly ruined valuable libraries, threw down tombs and obliterated monumental inscriptions, and cast out the bones of the great and good that they might gain a little further profit from their leaden coffins and their sepulchral brasses<sup>x</sup>.

The merely political views of Henry and his confederates equally appear from the course of their dealing with the discipline and doctrine of the Church. A layman (Thomas Cromwell) was appointed "lord vicegerent in matters ecclesiastical," and under

<sup>o</sup> The Franciscans especially opposed the divorce, and one of their number (William or Peter Peto) in a sermon before the king at Greenwich, May 1, 1533, likened him to Ahab, and prophesied a similar fate to him. Henry bore this apparently unmoved, and merely employed Hugh Curwen to preach against him on the following Sunday. Peto, however, thought it prudent to go abroad, and he was soon after attainted. He returned in the time of Mary, became her confessor, aided in restoring his convent, and died a cardinal and bishop-elect of Salisbury in 1558.

<sup>p</sup> According to a calculation, which is believed at all events not to be in excess, 376 small houses (those estimated at less than £200 per annum,) were suppressed in 1536; 645 greater houses (twenty-nine of which, called mitred abbeys or priories, entitled their heads to seats in parliament,) were surrendered or seized in 1539; 2,374 free chantries and chapels, and 110 hospitals, in 1545. The rents of their lands, their plate and jewels, amounted to a vast sum; and it was alleged, to make the confiscation palatable to the people, that the king would never more have to call on them for subsidies. So little was this the case, that subsidies and benevolences continued as heavy as ever; the king's debts were dishonestly remitted by the parliament, and both he and his two immediate successors died with an empty treasury.

<sup>q</sup> "God's law is turned 'upso downe,' abbeys and churches overthrowen . . . and I think they will cast down parish churches and all, at the last." Many churches were in fact desecrated or pulled down; the monastic churches suffered the most, but parish churches were destroyed also. As one instance, it may be mentioned, that a document exists in the Public Record Office, dated July 6, 1544, in which one Henry Norres makes an offer to the Court of Augmentations to buy "the scite of the parish church of Conpton, in Berkshire." At this very time, three of the finest churches in London were in use as storehouses, the Grey Friars holding a stock of wine, and the Austin and Blackfriars being filled with herrings. "The king will hang in hell one day for the plucking down of abbeys." "I fear that within a while the king will pull down parish churches." Such speeches as these, which doubtless represent the popular impression, are among the "most wicked and execrable words" imputed to Geoffrey Pole and other adherents of the car-

dinal, and punished as treason. See A.D. 1538.

<sup>r</sup> Westminster, suppressed in 1550; and Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough, which still exist. Canterbury and several other cathedral chapters were remodelled, but with no increase of revenue. On the contrary, in most cases the chapters were forced into disadvantageous exchanges; and even down to the end of the reign of Elizabeth, each new bishop usually had to surrender a part of the property of his see to some powerful courtier.

<sup>s</sup> Sandown, Deal, and Walmer, in Kent, Southsea, by Portsmouth, Hurst Castle, and Sandown, in the Isle of Wight, were among them; a few harbours were also improved; but these amounted to but a mere fraction of the spoil.

<sup>t</sup> To interest as many persons as possible in maintaining the new order of things, some were even compelled to exchange their hereditary estates for Church lands. Lord Windsor was thus obliged to part with his stately mansion of Stanwell, and is said to have died of vexation shortly after.

<sup>u</sup> Hugh Latimer, the son of a yeoman in Leicestershire, was born in 1470, and was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was at first a vehement opponent of the reformers, but being converted by the preaching of Thomas Bilney (afterwards a martyr), he maintained their doctrines from the pulpit of the University, and was thus exposed to persecution, but was secured from serious consequences by Cromwell, by whose favour he obtained the living of West Kingston, in Wiltshire. In 1535 he was appointed to the see of Worcester, but resigned it in 1539 on the passing of the Act of Six Articles, and was imprisoned for the remainder of Henry's reign. He was released on the accession of Edward VI., but declined to undertake again an episcopal charge, preferring instead to act as an itinerant preacher; and he thus powerfully contributed to fix the doctrines of the Reformation in the minds of the people. On the accession of Mary he was committed to prison, but after a time was carried (with Crammer and Ridley) to Oxford to hold a public disputation, which was managed with manifest unfairness, was condemned as a heretic, and at length burnt, Oct. 16, 1555, being then 85 years of age.

<sup>x</sup> The bones of King Stephen were torn from their resting-place and thrown into the sea from this cause. See A.D. 1154.



that title superseded many of the functions of the bishops, and controlled all the rest. Though Cranmer and some few others from the first doubtless had the desire to see the peculiar tenets of Rome repudiated, as eventually came to pass, such was by no means the intention of the king. Cranmer gained from him permission to prepare a translation of the Bible, but it was hardly completed, when its use was limited by act of parliament, (34 Hen. VIII. c. 1). And attempts were made to supersede it by books drawn up in the king's name, which were as-

serted to contain "all necessary doctrine," yet, except in matters avowedly levelled at the "usurped power of the Bishop of Rome," differed little from what had been formerly taught<sup>a</sup>. It was not until near the close of Henry's life that Cranmer was allowed to prepare a few prayers and a litany in English, and to commence an examination of the mass, but these were necessary steps to the great work of Edward's reign, the compilation of our Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1534.

The earl of Kildare is summoned to England in February, and is soon after thrown into the Tower.

Although this imprisonment was owing to the complaints of his council, Kildare had yet sufficient influence to cause his son Thomas to be received as his deputy, and he had also stored his castles with arms and ammunition. The young lord, who was known as Silken Thomas (from his customary rich attire and his courtly manners), no sooner heard of the imprisonment of his father than he formally resigned his office (June 11, 1534), and attempted to capture the castle of Dublin; but, failing in that, seized the archbishop of Dublin (John Allen<sup>2</sup>) near Waterford, when fleeing to England for succour, and put him to death (July 28). Skeffington was

now appointed deputy, having Lord Leonard Grey<sup>a</sup> as his marshal; Thomas was defeated and surrendered<sup>b</sup> (Aug. 1535); five of his uncles also were captured early in 1536, and being sent to England the whole six were hanged at Tyburn (Feb. 3, 1537), the old earl having long before died in the Tower (Dec. 12, 1534). The next heir, Gerald, a lad of twelve years of age at his father's death, after lurking about in the care of his tutor, Thomas Leverous<sup>c</sup>, for a time, escaped into France (March, 1540), was protected by his kinsman, Cardinal Pole, and eventually restored to his ancestral honours by Mary (May 14, 1554), although his attainer was not reversed until the year 1569.

Skeffington died in office in 1537, and was succeeded by Lord Leonard Grey, who proclaimed the king's supre-

<sup>a</sup> The chief of these books were, a Primer, published in 1535, which was mainly an explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed; a series of Articles, "devised by the king's highness to establish Christian quietness and unity among us" (1536); the Institution of a Christian Man, or the Bishops' Book (1537); and the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, or the King's Book (1543). The Articles and the Institution agree in all essential points, but the Erudition inculcates many Romish dogmas which they had condemned.

<sup>b</sup> Allen had been Archbishop Warham's agent at Rome, and was afterwards employed by Wolsey in visiting the smaller monasteries, with a view to their suppression. His arrogant conduct in the discharge of this office was much complained of. In 1528 he was appointed archbishop of Dublin, and also chancellor of Ireland. He had a great contention for the primacy with Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, and he was also at variance with the earl of Kildare, in fact heading the opposition to him, and being generally supposed the adviser of his imprisonment. Hence his unpopularity, and death.

<sup>a</sup> Son of Thomas, marquis of Dorset, and uncle of Lady Jane Grey.

<sup>b</sup> His name is to be seen rudely cut on the wall of the Beauchamp Tower, in the Tower of London (see Note, p. 311); and a letter of his remains in the Public Record Office, in which he requests his "trusty and well-beloved servant, John Rothe," to procure him the sum of £20 from O'Brien, with whom he had left his plate. "I never had any money since I came into prison," he says, "but one noble, nor hose, doublet, shoes, or shirt, but one . . . and I have gone bare-foot and bare-legged divers times, when it hath not been very warm; and so I should have done still, and now, but that poor prisoners, of their gentleness, have sometimes given me old hose, and shoes, and old shirts."

<sup>c</sup> Afterwards dean of St. Patrick and bishop of Kildare, but expelled in the time of Elizabeth. He retired to Adair, near Limerick, and for many years supported himself by keeping a school, having Richard Creagh, the deprived archbishop of Armagh, for his usher.

macy, suppressed monasteries, burnt the most venerated relics, and carried on the spoliation of the Church with a high hand; but, though in this he only acted up to his instructions, and also shewed vigour and address in contending with the rebels<sup>d</sup>, he was at last accused by his council of being in league with them<sup>e</sup>, was recalled, imprisoned in the Tower, and at last beheaded, June 28, 1541.

#### A.D. 1534.

The succession to the throne regulated by parliament, [25 Hen. VIII. c. 22]. The king's marriage with Katherine of Aragon was declared invalid<sup>f</sup>, and that with Anne Boleyn good; the penalties of treason (or of misprision of treason if the opposition was confined to words) being incurred by all who maintained the contrary<sup>g</sup>.

Elizabeth Barton, styled the Holy Maid of Kent, (who had uttered pretended revelations condemning the king's conduct,) is executed with several of her associates<sup>h</sup>, May 5. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, accused of having countenanced her, is committed to the Tower, and very harshly treated.

William, lord Dacre, warden of the west marches, is tried on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Scots, but acquitted, July 9.

The first fruits and tenths of all

benefices, formerly paid to the pope, are granted to the crown<sup>i</sup>, [26 Hen. VIII. c. 3].

Many new treasons declared by statute, [c. 13].

Among these were attempting, or wishing, any bodily harm to the king or queen; denying any of their titles; or slandering them as heretics; and the more palpable offence of attempting to keep possession of forts, ships, arms, &c. belonging to the king, when legally summoned to surrender them.

The king is empowered to appoint suffragan bishops<sup>j</sup>, [c. 14].

Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, Thomas earl of Kildare, and others, attainted, [cc. 22, 23, 25].

#### A.D. 1535.

The king formally assumes the title of "on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England<sup>k</sup>," Jan. 15.

Houghton, Webster, and Lawrens, priors of Carthusian houses, two priests and a monk, (Feron, Hale, and Reynolds,) are convicted of treason for speaking against the king's marriage and his supremacy, April 29.

Bishop Fisher (styled in the indictment late bishop of Rochester) and three Carthusians (Middlemore, Exmew, and Newdygate) are convicted of denying the king's supremacy, June 11 and 17. Sir Thomas More is condemned on a similar charge, July 1<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> In the Public Record Office is a document containing a list of treaties, twenty-seven in number, concluded by him with the native and Anglo-Irish chiefs, who all confess their allegiance to the king, and promise, some of them money, but more only military service.

<sup>e</sup> His sister was Kildare's second wife, and he was thought to have favoured the escape of the young Gerald.

<sup>f</sup> By another act of the same session [c. 28] she was forbidden to be any more styled queen, but was to be called "the princess dowager."

<sup>g</sup> An oath in the sense of this statute was ordered to be taken by all persons, but as it contained also an acknowledgment of the king as supreme head of the Church, it was refused by Sir Thomas More, who was in consequence sent to the Tower.

<sup>h</sup> She and six of her abettors had been attainted, and Bishop Fisher and five others condemned to imprisonment for life by statute, [25 Hen. VIII. c. 12].

<sup>i</sup> In consequence of this statute a valuation of all livings was made, which is still in use for some purposes, and is known as "Liber Regis." By a subsequent statute [27 Hen. VIII. c. 42], the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were excused from these payments on condition of providing certain lecturers in Greek, Hebrew, &c.; and the colleges of Winchester and Eton, for the

same exemption, were to celebrate obits for the king.

<sup>j</sup> The places for which they may be appointed are enumerated in the act; they amount to 25; viz., Bedford, Berwick, Bridgwater, Bristol, Cambridge, Colchester, Dover, St. German's, Gloucester, Grantham, Guildford, Hull, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Leicester, Marlborough, Nottingham, "Pereth" [Penrith?], Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Southmolton, Taunton, Thetford, and the Isle of Wight. The statute was very little acted on, but has of late years been put in operation as to two of the towns named, viz. Dover and Nottingham.

<sup>k</sup> This was in virtue of stat. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, which declares the king "shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia."

<sup>l</sup> The offence of the bishop, Sir Thomas More, the priors and Reynolds, according to their indictments, consisted in openly saying, when in custody in the Tower, "The king, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England." The priests, it is alleged, uttered "execrable words" against the king, describing him as "the most cruellest, capital heretic, defacer and treader under foot of Christ and of His Church," wished for his speedy death, and spoke of his marriage with "his

Thomas Cromwell is appointed vicar-general with extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs. One of his first steps is a visitation of the monasteries.

James V. sails from Leith to Galway with a powerful fleet, and reduces the turbulent insular clans to his obedience.

A.D. 1536.

Queen Katherine dies at Kimbolton, Jan. 7.

Piracy ordered to be tried by the king's commissioners<sup>m</sup>, [27 Hen. VIII. c. 4].

Sanctuary men ordered to wear badges, and forbidden to carry weapons or to be out at nights, on pain of forfeiture of their privileges, [c. 19].

Vagabonds and sturdy beggars subjected to severe punishment; whipping for the first offence, loss of an ear for the second, and hanging for the third, [c. 25].

Wales incorporated into and united with England, [c. 26].

The statute provided that all persons born in Wales were to enjoy like liberties as those born in England; the English laws were to be extended to Wales, and all suits to be carried on in the English language; a chancery and an exchequer were to be es-

tablished at Brecknock and Denbigh; lands were to descend according to English law, and Welsh laws and customs to be inquired into by a commission<sup>n</sup>.

The Court of Augmentations established for management of the revenues expected to be derived from the suppression of the monasteries, [c. 27]<sup>o</sup>.

All the smaller monasteries and nunneries (such, namely, as had less than £200 of yearly revenue) dissolved, and their effects granted to the crown, [c. 28].

A code of ordinances for the government of Calais enacted, [c. 63].

The Protestant princes of Germany endeavour to induce the king to put himself at the head of their league.

The queen (Anne) is suddenly sent to the Tower, May 2. Four of her alleged paramours (Sir Francis Weston, Brereton, Norris, and Smeaton<sup>p</sup>) are tried, May 12, and executed, May 17.

The queen and her brother, George Lord Rochford, are tried, and pronounced guilty of adultery and incest, May 15; and the queen's marriage with the king is set aside on the allegation of a pre-contract with Lord Henry Percy, May 17. She is executed within the Tower, May 19; Rochford had been executed May 17.

The king marries Jane Seymour<sup>q</sup>,

wife of fornication, this matron Anne," as a matter of the highest shame and undoing to himself and all the realm. According to the act under which they were tried, mere words only incurred the penalties of misprison of treason, but Feron was charged with writing down the words spoken by Hale, and both were pronounced traitors. This straining of provisions already unduly severe, is a marked feature of the Tudor times. The ecclesiastics were executed at Tyburn, soon after; Bishop Fisher, June 22, and Sir Thomas More, July 6, on Tower hill. The manor of Ducklington, Oxfordshire, which belonged to Sir Thomas, was granted to Henry Norris, who was himself attainted and executed in less than a twelvemonth after.

<sup>m</sup> The reason given is, that the process in the Admiral's court, being according to the civil law, is intolerably expensive and tedious, and thereby favours the escape of malefactors. There is another statute on the same subject, [28 Hen. VIII. c. 15].

<sup>n</sup> The laws and customs of North Wales were excepted from this inquiry.

<sup>o</sup> The lands were soon parted with, either by sale or grant, so that this court became a nullity, and was abolished.

<sup>p</sup> Smeaton pleaded guilty to the charge of adultery, but denied the treason alleged against him; the others denied both charges.

<sup>q</sup> She was the daughter of Sir John Seymour, a Wiltshire knight. Her brother Edward, who was knighted for service in France in 1524, was created viscount Beauchamp on the occasion of her marriage, and earl of Hertford soon after, and an augmentation was granted to his family arms. He

next received the appointment of lord chamberlain, but he was also made captain of Jersey, and was actively employed on several occasions both in Scotland and France, being often associated with Dudley,



Arms of Seymour.

who finally brought him to the scaffold. Hertford succeeded the earl of Surrey as governor of Boulogne, was named by Henry VIII. one of his executors, and under his nephew Edward VI. he became duke of Somerset. He professed himself a Reformer, drove away the Romish members of the council, and became Protector, lord treasurer, and earl marshal. He did not, however, long hold his high offices. In 1549 he was driven from the council and imprisoned, and though soon released, and apparently reconciled to Warwick (their children intermarried), the latter was resolved to destroy him, and the duke was beheaded on what appears

at Wolf-hall, near Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire, May 20.

The Princess Mary is received into the king's favour, on acknowledging him as "supreme head in earth under Christ of the Church of England," and also confessing that her mother's marriage was justly set aside<sup>†</sup>.

The succession to the throne is a second time regulated by act of parliament, [28 Hen. VIII. c. 7<sup>s</sup>].

A further act passed to extinguish the authority of the bishop of Rome, [c. 10], by which, refusing to make oath of the king's supremacy is again declared treason.

The king's successor empowered to set aside any laws that may be passed before he attains his 24th year, [c. 17].

Lord Thomas Howard (son of the duke of Norfolk) and the lady Margaret Douglas (the king's niece) are sent to the Tower, in consequence of making a contract of marriage<sup>‡</sup> without the royal permission, July.

Reginald Pole<sup>§</sup> publishes a book "De Unitate Ecclesiastica," in which he severely condemns the king's separation from Rome.

An insurrection breaks out in Lincolnshire, occasioned by the suppression of the smaller monasteries, October. The insurgents disperse, on promise of pardon.

The people of Yorkshire took up arms on the same account, shortly after. They styled their expedition the Pilgrimage of Grace, carried banners on which were depicted the five wounds of Christ, demanded the driving away of "base-born councillors," the suppression of heresy, and the restitution of the goods of the Church. They were headed by Robert Aske, a gentleman of Doncaster, but were soon joined by the archbishop of York (Edward Lee<sup>¶</sup>), Lords Darcy, Latimer, Lumley, Scroop, Sir Thomas Percy and others, and seized York and Hull. The duke of Norfolk was dispatched against them, but finding them too strong, he negotiated, and at length induced them to disperse before Christmas, by the offer of a general pardon<sup>‡</sup> and the promise that a parliament should be held next year in the north, by which their grievances were to be redressed.

to have been a false charge of conspiring against the life of his rival, Jan. 22, 1552. He had long been unpopular, from consenting to the execution of his brother (Lord Thomas Seymour), and for the rapacity he had shewn in gaining estates from the crown, as well as for building a stately palace in the Strand (Somerset-house) with the materials of churches pulled down for the purpose, and his fall was little lamented. His duchess (to whose proud spirit was attributed his fatal quarrel with his brother) was imprisoned in the Tower, but was released by Mary on her accession, and lived until 1587.

<sup>†</sup> She wrote, by the direction of Cromwell and under fear, letters to him expressing her deep penitence for having withstood his "most just and virtuous laws;" she was also obliged to confess that her mother's marriage was "incestuous and unlawful." These letters have been commented on as proofs of her insincerity, but they are merely proofs of her weakness; and the greatest blame must assuredly rest on the heartless parent who could extort such submissions from a daughter.

<sup>‡</sup> By this act Anne Boleyn was attainted, her daughter bastardized, and the succession ascribed to the issue of Jane Seymour; the penalties of treason being incurred by all opposers.

<sup>§</sup> Lord Thomas died about a year after, and the lady was then released. She was born Oct. 7, 1515, eventually married the earl of Lennox, and became the mother of Darnley.

<sup>¶</sup> He was the younger brother of Lord Montacute, and grandson of George, duke of Clarence. He was born in the year 1500, and was educated at Oxford (at the expense of the convent of St. Frideswide by the king's command) and at Paris, very early received Church preferment, and was intended for the see of York, when it became vacant by the death of Wolsey. Pole, however, conscientiously expressed his dislike of the king's proceedings in the matter of the divorce, continued to reside abroad, and remained unconvinced by the

arguments of Sampson and others who wrote books in support of Henry's views. He replied to Sampson with considerable asperity, and by some personal reflections gave mortal offence to Henry, who had him attainted, and, as he could not seize his person, put his mother and several members of his family to death for corresponding with him. Pole was now made a cardinal, and sent as papal nuncio into Flanders; he afterwards attended the Council of Trent, and on the death of Pope Paul IV. had the offer of succeeding him, but declined the dignity. On the accession of Mary his attainer was reversed, he came to England, where he effected a formal reconciliation of the kingdom with the Holy See, and was made archbishop of Canterbury. The cruelties of Mary's reign do not seem in any way imputable to Pole, although as papal legate the proceedings were often taken in his name; in fact, from his mildness, his conduct was displeasing at Rome, and he would have been removed from his office but for the personal favour of the queen, who refused to admit any other legate, although the person named was Friar Peto, her own confessor, and a man who had suffered many years' exile for advocating the cause of her mother, even to Henry's face. (See p. 298). Pole died Nov. 18, 1558, and was buried in his cathedral, leaving behind him the character of a strictly conscientious man, of a mild, generous and tolerant spirit, and if not inclined (as some of his contemporaries supposed) to Protestantism, yet anxious for the removal of known abuses from his Church.

<sup>‡</sup> Cromwell was especially meant.

<sup>¶</sup> He was believed to have yielded to compulsion, and so was pardoned, whilst several of the others were executed, in the next year.

<sup>§</sup> This was a mere pretence, as they afterwards experienced; and so jealous was the government, that a Windsor butcher was hanged as a rebel for saying he had rather "the good fellows in the North" had his meat than sell it at a price that was offered.

A.D. 1537.

A fresh insurrection breaks out early in the year, in the north; also another in Somersetshire. Both are promptly suppressed, many summary executions follow<sup>a</sup>, and several of those formerly pardoned are now put on their trial. Lords Darcy and Hussey, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Francis Bigot, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Robert Aske, and others, are seized, tried, and executed; as are the ab-

bots of Barlings, Fountains, and Jervaux (Matthew Mackerell, William Thriske, and Adam Sedbar<sup>a</sup>), Whalley, Woburn, and Sawley (John Paslew, John Hops<sup>b</sup>, and William Trafford), and the prior of Bridlington (William Wood).

The queen (Jane) dies, Oct. 24.

The duke of Norfolk is recalled, and his place supplied by a board of commissioners styled the Council of the North<sup>c</sup>.

## IRELAND.

In 1537 Anthony St. Leger and three other English gentlemen were sent as a commission of inquiry to Ireland.

Beside endeavouring to obtain a subsidy to reimburse the king's charges in repressing the rebellion of the Fitzgeralds, the commissioners were directed to examine the conduct of the deputy (Lord Leonard Grey) and his council<sup>d</sup>, and, preparatory to introducing the king's laws in every part, to report on the exactions and oppressions of the great landholders. Accordingly they held inquests in various places, both in the pale and the so-called English districts, and their reports, preserved in the Public Record Office<sup>e</sup>, fully justify the complaints of the writer of the paper of 1515 already referred to<sup>f</sup>.

From these we learn that the cus-

tomary feudal burdens, which pressed heavily on their brethren in England, were almost entirely evaded by the Anglo-Irish nobles. One (the earl of Desmond) maintained that he was legally exempt from attendance in parliament, and the others only obeyed the king's deputy's summons, either in war or peace, when it pleased themselves; they, however, when summoned, regularly assessed their presumed expenses on their tenantry, whether they moved from their castles or not.

The lords usually would not suffer the king's courts to be held within their districts, and they heavily fined their tenants if they repaired for justice to the walled towns, where the burgesses kept themselves in some measure, though not entirely, free from

<sup>a</sup> The king wrote thus to the duke of Norfolk, Feb. 22, 1537: "We do right well approve and allow your proceedings in the displaying of our banner. And forasmuch as the same is now spread and displayed, by reason whereof, till the same shall be closed again, the course of our laws must give place to the ordinances and statutes martial, our pleasure is, that before you close up our said banner again, you shall, in any wise, cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging of them up in trees, as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all other hereafter that would practise any like matter: which we require you to do, without pity or respect, according to our former letters." The rebellion is imputed to the "solicitation and traitorous conspiracy of the monks and canons," and the duke is directed to visit Hexham, Sallay, Newminster, Lanercost, and other abbeys and priories, and to "cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty, to be tied up, without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others; wherein we think you shall do unto us high service."

<sup>b</sup> His name is "Sedlar" in the indictment against him (May 17, 1537), but it is given as Sedbarr in

the escheat, and there remains an inscription in the Beauchamp Tower which reads "ADAM : SEDBAR AEBAS : JOREVALL 1537."

<sup>c</sup> He is so styled in his indictment, but the escheat on his conviction calls him Robert Hobbes.

<sup>d</sup> This council had existed in the time of Edward IV., but had fallen into disuse. Henceforth it had a Lord President, whose residence was usually at York, and it continued until the time of Charles I.

<sup>e</sup> In a letter, dated Feb. 25, 1537, announcing the appointment of this commission, the king charges them with wasting his revenue, or applying it to their own purposes. The council, in answer, deny the charges, and say to Cromwell, "Would to God his majesty and your lordship did know our gains and riches, which is so great, that we, of the mean sort of this council, being his grace's officers, amongst us all be not worth in money and plate £1000 Irish, which is a small substance for us all, being in the rooms that we be under his grace. We be no purchasers of possessions, builders, dicers, no carders, neither yet pompous householders, whereby we should consume our profits and gains, if we had them. Wherefore we most humbly beseech your good lordship to be mean to his grace to accept us, being poor men, as his true and faithful subjects."

<sup>f</sup> A summary of them will be found in the State Papers of Henry VIII. Part II. p. 510-512, note.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 288.

their exactions. They instead upheld the Brehon law, which was more profitable to themselves, as, according to that system, murders, manslaughters, and other violences were atoned for by a fine, called *herick*, and theft by another, termed *canne*; but these sums, which varied with the supposed wealth of the offender, were never given to the injured parties<sup>g</sup>; they were either taken by the lord, or shared between him and his brehon, or judge. In all suits of a civil nature, a large sum (*oylegeag*) was payable by each party to the brehon; and another, at least as large (*bieng*), was necessary as a bribe for the lord's favour<sup>h</sup>.

The recognised rent of each ploughland was one bushel of *summer oats*, but this was usually increased tenfold, and sums of money in addition (*byerahe*) were exacted quarterly. The husbandman's produce was taken from him at the lord's own price<sup>i</sup>, unless he redeemed it by a fine; a tribute of milk was exacted for each of his cows; he had to furnish annually for each ploughland a week's labour in strengthening the ditches and fences, and two days' work of an axeman to fell timber; he had to supply carts and cattle for conveying the goods and chattels and building materials of the lord, and the plunder of his armed followers. Yet, after all, these afforded him so little protection<sup>k</sup> that he was also obliged to pay *black rent* to the neighbouring Irish chiefs; and if his corn or cattle were carried off and recovered, the lord appropriated it to himself<sup>l</sup>.

But the greatest grievance of all was the exaction called *coin and livery*, which in numberless documents is emphatically stated to be "the cause why the land be so Irish and so poor." This consisted in the exaction of meat, drink, and lodging, for three or four nights at a time, and a sum of money beside, for the support of the soldiery of each chief; and it was as frequently practised by the king's deputies as

any of the rest<sup>m</sup>. It was very common also to demand quarters for a larger number than were actually present (*black men*), any demur as to which was punished by a fine of a cow (*kyn-troisk*); and if any tenant escaped such quartering for a while, he was made to pay heavily for the exemption. Every birth, marriage, or death in the lord's family occasioned the demand of a sheep from each husbandman, and a cow from each village; money was levied (*srahe*) for the expenses of journeys, never undertaken, to Dublin or to England. Forced contributions of food and money (*foy and pay*, and *mertyeght*), relieved the lord from all expenditure of his own when he had guests; when he hunted, his dogs were regaled with bread and milk, or butter; and whole quarters of oats were demanded when most scarce, for his "great horse," and a composition in money exacted. The Anglo-Saxon king claimed the labour of his freemen to build his residence<sup>n</sup>; but the Irish noble exacted *mustrons* for the keep of all his various craftsmen, from masons to tailors; he, however, seldom lived at home, but passed his time in periodical visits, with an unlimited retinue, to his tenants, when meat, drink, lodging, candle, and a present at parting had to be provided. Four such visits to pass the night (called *cody*, or *cosher*), were usually bestowed on each husbandman, while more occasional visits were often paid for the express purpose of ruining ("eating up") an obnoxious inferior.

Burdensome as these exactions were, matters were rendered still worse by the insolence and rapacity of the assessors, or harbingers, as they were termed, who seized far more than they accounted for to their lords, unless conciliated by a payment of *black money* to themselves.

Neglect of duty and disorderly life is in many instances alleged against the clergy, as well as the taking of exorbitant fees on causes in the spiritual

<sup>g</sup> It was otherwise among our Saxon forefathers (see p. 75); but these lordly plunderers knew no other law than their own pleasure and profit.

<sup>h</sup> These two payments amounted in general to one-fifth of the value of the claim from each party.

<sup>i</sup> And also at the lord's own measure: one noble (William Bermingham) is mentioned as taking things at the rate of 16 quarts to the gallon.

<sup>k</sup> The king's castles are stated to have all fallen to ruin, and those of the marchers were mere receptacles of plunder. In fact, the marchmen were

looked on as worse enemies than the "mere Irish" to those who had anything to lose.

<sup>l</sup> Lady Katherine Poer even improved on this; she not only kept the property recovered by her soldiers, but levied a fine on the husbandman for his negligence in losing it.

<sup>m</sup> The deputies are charged beside with frequently levying money for roads, journeys, and hostings (expeditions of various magnitude against the "wild Irish"), and applying it to their own use.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 76.

courts. One exaction much complained of was *portion canon*, a sum of variable, but heavy amount levied on the death of a man or his wife, in addition to the ordinary mortuary fees.

St. Leger, the chief commissioner, became deputy, in 1540, but he does not seem to have remedied any of the abuses that he has recorded; and the country continued in much the same state during the remainder of this and the two succeeding reigns.

A.D. 1538.

The king enters into a negotiation with the Protestant princes, for a league against the emperor, but it is broken off, through the dissimilarity of their religious views<sup>o</sup>.

Forest, a friar, is burnt for denying the royal supremacy<sup>p</sup>, May 22.

The emperor and the king of France agree to a ten years' truce, June 28. The pope (Paul III.) publishes a bull (Dec. 17) excommunicating and deposing Henry, and endeavours, but in vain, to induce them to endeavour to put it in execution<sup>q</sup>.

Cromwell issues Injunctions to the clergy, one article of which directs the setting up of the Bible in English<sup>r</sup> in each church, and another orders the keeping of a register of births, deaths, and marriages<sup>s</sup>, September.

Becket's shrine, and many similar objects of pilgrimage, plundered and destroyed.

The king assists at a public disputation on the Corporal presence in the Eucharist, which dogma he maintains against John Nicholson (or Lambert), a schoolmaster<sup>t</sup>, November.

Many of the relatives and friends of Cardinal Pole<sup>u</sup> are accused of treason, and executed. His mother, Margaret, countess of Salisbury, is imprisoned in the Tower.

Two German anabaptists burnt in Smithfield<sup>v</sup>, Nov. 29.

A.D. 1539.

The parliament meets, April 28, when the countess of Salisbury and several other persons in custody are attainted without trial.

The king's proclamations declared as valid as acts of parliament, [31 Hen. VIII. c. 8<sup>x</sup>].

The king empowered to erect bishops' sees and appoint bishops by his letters patent, [c. 9].

The place of peers in parliament determined by statute, [c. 10].

All monasteries dissolved and granted to the king<sup>y</sup>, [c. 13].

An act passed "for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion," [c. 14].

Such was the title given to a merci-

<sup>o</sup> A deputation of their divines came to England, but they could not arrive at any agreement with the king, who quarrelled with nothing papal except the supremacy.

<sup>p</sup> Hugh Latimer, afterwards himself burnt, preached a sermon at his execution.

<sup>q</sup> The document is dated Aug. 31, 1535, but its publication had hitherto been withheld in the hope of an accommodation.

<sup>r</sup> This was most probably Coverdale's translation, which had just appeared with a dedication to the king. It was speedily followed by another translation, known as Matthew's, permission to circulate which was sought by Cramer, in a letter to Cromwell, Aug. 4, 1537, "until such time that we the bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think," he says, "will not be until a day after doomsday."

<sup>s</sup> This direction occasioned great discontent among the people, as they conceived the register was intended as the instrument of some new taxation.

<sup>t</sup> Lambert had been the chaplain of the English factory at Antwerp, but when he adopted the views of the Reformers, he quitted his post and became a schoolmaster. He was silenced in the disputation, and refusing to retract his opinions, was burnt shortly after.

<sup>u</sup> His brothers, Henry lord Montacute, and Sir Geoffrey Pole, Henry marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Neville, Crofts and Collins, priests, and Holland, a mariner, were convicted on charges of corresponding with him, denying the king's supremacy, and further expressing the opinion that "knaves

ruled about the king," and that Henry himself was "a beast, and worse than a beast." Sir Nicholas Carew was soon after convicted for holding discourses about "a change in the world" with the marquis of Exeter. Geoffrey Pole's life was spared, but the others were all executed, (Jan. 9, March 3, 1539). It is usually said that he bore witness against his brother, who was convicted the day before he himself was tried. He passed the remainder of his days in prison, and, as appears from an inscription in the Beauchamp Tower, was alive as late as 1562.

<sup>v</sup> Four others had been condemned with them, but they saved their lives by recantation at Paul's cross, Nov. 24.

<sup>w</sup> Persons offending against this act were to be judged by a larger number of the council than could be conveniently assembled, and therefore in 1544 another act was passed [34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 23], giving authority to a much smaller number to decide. One of the most remarkable of the proclamations thus legalized after its issue is that dated Nov. 16, 1538, which stigmatizes Thomas Becket as a traitor, and forbids his being any longer received as a saint; the plunder and destruction of his rich shrine at Canterbury had been effected not long before.

<sup>x</sup> Many had already been surrendered, but the abbots and monks, having only life interests therein, had exceeded their power in so doing. This act was therefore necessary to the legal security of the grantees or purchasers of the spoil.

less statute, better known as the Statute of the Six Articles, the passing of which proved a great discouragement to Cranmer and other sincere friends of the Reformation. Transubstantiation, communion in one kind, vows of chastity, private masses, celibacy of the clergy, and auricular confession, were asserted to be agreeable to the law of God; the denial of the first was to be punished as heresy, the rest as felony. Commissioners were appointed to carry the act into execution, but the number of offenders was found so great (500 were apprehended in London alone, in a short time, principally for denying the corporal presence) that the Romish party became alarmed, and ventured to enforce its penalties but in few instances.

Shaxton<sup>a</sup> and Latimer<sup>a</sup>, bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, resign their sees into the king's hands, July 1. They are both committed to prison as "sacramentarian heretics".

Several castles built on the sea-coast with the spoils of the monasteries<sup>b</sup>, an apprehension being entertained of an invasion to put in execution the papal bull.

The abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester, (Richard Whiting, Hugh Feringdon, and John Beche,) executed as traitors<sup>c</sup>, Nov. 14, Dec. 1.

A.D. 1540.

The king, at the instigation of

Cromwell, marries Anne of Cleves<sup>d</sup>, Jan. 6.

Wills regulated by statute, [32 Hen. VIII. c. 1].

Sanctuaries regulated, their number, and the number of inmates, limited, [c. 12].

A navigation act passed, by which freight is regulated, [c. 14].

The order of St. John of Jerusalem suppressed in England and Ireland<sup>e</sup>, [c. 24].

Two priests executed at Calais for denying the royal supremacy, April 10.

Three anabaptists burnt in Southwark, May 3.

Cromwell is accused of treason at the council-board, by the duke of Norfolk, and committed to the Tower, June 10. He is attainted by act of parliament, June 29, and beheaded, July 28.

The Convocation is empowered by commission to try the validity of the king's last marriage, July 6; it is pronounced invalid, July 10, and abrogated by parliament, July 24<sup>f</sup>, [c. 25].

The king marries Katherine Howard, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, at Outlands, July 28.

Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, burnt as heretics, and Abel, Fetherstone, and Powell, executed at the same time, in Smithfield, as traitors<sup>g</sup>, July 30.

Laurence Cook<sup>h</sup>, prior of Doncaster, Horne, a lay brother of the Charter House, Bronholme, a priest, and four

<sup>a</sup> Shaxton afterwards conformed, and preached at the burning of Anne Askew and others, exhorting them, in vain, to follow his example. It appears from Cardinal Pole's Pension Book that Shaxton was alive in 1556, and in the receipt of a pension from the crown of £66 13s. 4d.

<sup>b</sup> Latimer, as already mentioned, suffered for his opinions in 1555.

<sup>c</sup> The materials of demolished churches were employed for this purpose, both in England and at Calais. In pulling down Hurst Castle in 1866 many carved stones from Beaulieu Abbey were found.

<sup>d</sup> They were charged with denying the king's supremacy, and also with sending assistance to the insurgents in 1537, but their real offence seems to have been their steady refusal to surrender their houses.

<sup>e</sup> She was the sister of William, duke of Cleves, who was a prominent member of the Protestant party in Germany. Henry wished to secure their help against the emperor, and they desired his money.

<sup>f</sup> The statute states that certain members of the order upheld the pope's usurped power, and slandered the king and his councillors. Its possessions were seized, but considerable pensions were allowed to Sir William Weston and Sir John Rawson, its heads, on condition of dropping their titles of lord prior and prior of Kilmainham; members who were abroad were offered pensions if they returned, but

were to have nothing if they remained out of the king's obedience. Rawson was made Viscount Clontarf, and lived into the reign of Edward VI., but Weston died on the very day that he was obliged to leave his priory.

<sup>g</sup> Anne of Cleves formally consented to the terms of separation, July 11. Blechingley park, in Surrey, forfeited by Sir Nicholas Carew (see p. 305) was granted to her, as well as a large sum in tithes that had been given to Cromwell. She continued to reside in England until her death, which occurred at Chelsea, July 17, 1557; she was buried at Westminster with much pomp, Aug. 4. Her will shows great consideration for her servants, and gives a very favourable impression of her character.

<sup>h</sup> The whole of these sufferers by this hideous exhibition of Henry's impartial barbarity were clergymen of the universities, estimable for their learning and the purity of their lives. Barnes had early imbibed the Reformed opinions, but recanted at Paul's cross, March 5, 1527; he had now returned to them. Abel had been chaplain to Katherine of Aragon, and he and his two companions were condemned for affirming the legality of her marriage. Abel was confined in the Beauchamp Tower, where his inscription (THOMAS and "A" on a bell) still remains.

<sup>i</sup> He also was imprisoned in the Beauchamp Tower, as is evidenced by his inscription "DOCTOR COOK: 1540."



gentlemen, executed together at Tyburn, for denying the royal supremacy, Aug. 4.

The Privy Council Register commences, Aug. 18. A second secretary of state is appointed about the same time.

A.D. 1541.

The countess of Salisbury is beheaded<sup>1</sup>, May 27.

Lord Dacre of the South (Thomas Fiennes) tried and convicted of murder<sup>k</sup>, June 27.

Lord Leonard Grey, late deputy of Ireland, is executed, June 28.

Sir David Genson, a knight of St. John, is hanged for denying the king's supremacy, July 1. A Welsh minstrel is executed on the same day, for singing a "prophecy" against the king.

The king makes a progress in the north, and receives large sums of money from the parties supposed to have favoured the recent insurrections.

The Scots make an inroad, and ravage Northumberland.

The queen (Katherine Howard) is charged with impure living, and sent to the Tower, in November. Two of her alleged paramours, Culpeper and Dereham, are tried Dec. 1, and executed Dec. 10. Lord William Howard and several other persons are tried

and convicted of concealing her unchaste life, Dec. 22.

A.D. 1542.

A bill of attainder against the queen and her confederates is brought into parliament Jan. 21, and receives the royal assent, at the request of the Houses, very shortly after, [33 Hen. VIII. c. 21].

Offences committed in the king's palace ordered to be tried by a jury of the royal household, [c. 12].

The diocese of Chester and the Isle of Man incorporated in the province of York, [c. 31].

The king takes the title of King of Ireland, instead of Lord<sup>l</sup>, Jan. 23.



Arms of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Several of the Irish and Anglo-Irish chieftains are made peers of parliament<sup>m</sup>.

The queen is examined by the archbishop of Canterbury, and confesses the looseness of her life. She is executed, with Lady Rochford, Feb. 12.

## SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1542.

The Scots and the English make several devastating inroads. In one from England, Sir Robert Bowes, the warden of the east marches, is taken prisoner, at Halydon-rigg, Aug. 24.

The duke of Norfolk burns Kelso, but shortly after retires to Berwick.

James sends an army to invade Cumberland. From hatred of the general (Oliver Sinclair, a court favourite), they disband, on the banks of the Esk, the nobles and gentry giving themselves up prisoners, Nov. 25.

James dies at Falkland, Dec. 14. He is succeeded by his infant daughter.

<sup>1</sup> The charge against her was that she had favoured the rising called the Pilgrimage of Grace five years before, and had since corresponded with her son, Cardinal Pole.

<sup>k</sup> He had, in company with some wild companions, forcibly entered the park of Nicholas Pelham, at Loughton, in Sussex, with dogs and nets for the purpose of hunting; they were opposed in their "traitorous intention" by three keepers, one of whom (John Bushbridge) was mortally wounded in the scuffle, April 30, 1541. Lord Dacre, after a part of the evidence had been heard, pleaded guilty, and threw himself on the king's mercy; he was nevertheless executed, June 29.

<sup>l</sup> This had been advised by the deputy and council of Ireland some years before, at the beginning of his differences with the pope, who was still generally regarded as the feudal superior of the land, as he had been ages before, (see an instance of this, A.D. 1318). The change was confirmed in 1544, by act of parliament, [35 Hen. VIII. c. 3].

<sup>m</sup> The title of Lord Carbery was conferred on William Bermingham, June 17, 1541; Con O'Neal and his son Matthew were created earl of Tyrone and Lord Dungannon, Oct. 1, 1542; Morogh O'Brien was made earl of Thomond, Ulick Burke, earl of Clanrickard, and Donough O'Brien, Lord Ibracken, July 1, 1543.

ter, Mary<sup>n</sup>, under the guardianship of her mother, Mary of Guise.

The chief adviser of James had long been Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the first place in the council of regency was assigned to him by the will of the king. This was set aside by the parliament, and the earl of Arran<sup>o</sup>, the presumptive heir to the throne, placed at the head of affairs (Jan. 10, 1543). Beaton was imprisoned for a while (Jan. 26 to April 10), but Arran, being a weak man, soon became the mere tool of the cardinal, who, in concert with the queen-mother, cultivated a close alliance with France, and procured the rejection of an offer to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland by the marriage of the infant queen to Edward, the son of Henry. He also laboured strenuously to repress the spirit of hostility to Rome which had long existed in Scotland<sup>p</sup>, but had begun to exert itself more boldly of late years in consequence of the destruction of the papal power in England. Among other victims, he seized and put to death George Wishart, the most prominent of the reformed preachers, but he was himself assassinated, by the paid agents of Henry, in his castle of St. Andrew's, very shortly after, (May 28, 1546,) and the power of the Church in Scotland fell with him.

The queen-mother, though of the family of Guise, from political reasons for a while favoured the holders of the reformed doctrines; but when, having accomplished her projects of securing

the regency to herself and the marriage of her daughter to the heir of the French crown, she wished to retrace her steps and rule by the aid of French mercenaries, she found it impossible to do so. The reformers, styling themselves "the Congregation of the Lord," flew to arms; they sought succour from England, then under the rule of Elizabeth, and a fierce war ensued. At length the queen's party was crushed, she herself died of grief in the castle of Edinburgh, where she was more of a prisoner than a ruler, and Leith, the last stronghold of the Romanists, was surrendered.

At the very outbreak of the war, the reformers, incited by the fierce invectives of Knox<sup>q</sup>, Erskine and others, against the clergy, had thrown down churches and monasteries far more recklessly than had been done in England. Being now triumphant, a parliament in 1561 not only set up a new form of Church polity, on the Genevan model, in which bishops were replaced by "superintendents," but confirmed the almost total confiscation of the Church property which private rapacity had already accomplished<sup>r</sup>, and committed the entire destruction of abbey churches, hospitals and other religious and charitable foundations to the heads of the party, as a "most holy, just, and necessary work<sup>s</sup>."

A.D. 1543.

The parliament meets Jan. 22, and sits till May 12.

<sup>n</sup> She was born only six days before, Dec. 8, 1542.

<sup>o</sup> James Hamilton, great grandson of James II.

<sup>p</sup> A Lollard preacher (John Risby) was burnt in Scotland, in 1407; and a statute for the punishment of "heretics and Lollards" was passed in 1425.

<sup>q</sup> John Knox was born near Haddington in 1505. He studied at St. Andrew's, and very early attained to great proficiency in scholastic theology. He discharged for a while the duties of a Romish priest, but his opinions were shaken by the preaching of Williams, a Dominican, who as early as 1540 ventured to inveigh against the papal authority. Knox afterwards became the friend of Wishart, and only escaped his fate by concealing himself. On Cardinal Beaton's death, Knox joined the party which held the castle of St. Andrew's, preached the doctrines of the Reformation under their protection, was captured with them, and carried to France, where he was condemned to the galleys. He was released after a time, and came to England, where he became a licensed preacher, and it was intended to bestow a bishopric on him; but Northumberland, who then ruled in the name of the king, found him, as he tells Cecil, the secretary, "neither grate-

ful nor pleasurable" (Dec. 7, 1552), and the design was abandoned. On the accession of Mary, Knox went abroad, and associated himself with Calvin. He returned to Scotland in 1555, embroiled himself with the bishops, and was burnt in effigy; he again went to Geneva, where he wrote a vehement attack on "the monstrous regiment [government] of women," directed against Mary, but remembered to his disadvantage by Elizabeth. Knox had a great share in preparing the Geneva Bible, and returning to Scotland in 1561, he took a leading part in the events of the next few years, which witnessed the ruin of his queen, the expulsion of the bishops, and the destruction of the churches. He died Nov. 24, 1572.

<sup>r</sup> The reformed preachers thus found themselves without a maintenance. Their urgent demands procured a grant of one-third of the Church revenues, but this pittance was irregularly paid.

<sup>s</sup> "Throw down their nests, and the crows will take flight," was the exhortation of Knox; and it was responded to by the destruction of the state-liest edifices of the land. Neither tombs nor libraries were spared. "In a word," says Spotiswode, "all was ruined."

An act "for the advancement of true religion" passed<sup>1</sup>, [34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1].

Wales divided into twelve counties, [c. 2]. By this act a president and council are appointed for Wales; also justices of the peace, with power to hold sessions as in England. By another statute, a code of ordinances was drawn up for Wales, [c. 26].

The king makes a treaty with the emperor, Feb. 11, and prepares for a war against France.

The king releases the chief Scottish prisoners, on condition of their endeavouring to procure a marriage between his son and their infant queen. The proposal is favourably received in Scotland, and a treaty on the subject is concluded, July 1.

The king marries his sixth queen (Katherine Parr<sup>a</sup>), in July.

The queen-mother of Scotland and Cardinal Beaton gain over the earl of Arran to their party, and endeavour to set aside the marriage treaty. The king in return ravages their borders, and seizes Scottish ships.

The Scots form a new alliance with France, and declare the treaty with England null and void, Dec. 11.

#### A.D. 1544.

The succession to the throne a third time regulated, under the penalties of treason, [35 Hen. VIII. c. 1].

The king's style set forth both in Latin and English<sup>2</sup>, it being declared treason to object to it, [c. 3].

An English army and fleet, under the earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle<sup>3</sup>,

capture and burn Edinburgh and Leith, and devastate the surrounding country, in May.

The wages of members of parliament settled at 4s. a-day for knights of the shire, and 2s. a-day for burgesses, [c. 11].

The king's debts remitted, and any sums that he had paid ordered to be returned to him, [c. 12].

The earl of Lenox<sup>4</sup> makes a treaty with the king, engaging to forward his views on Scotland, May 17. In return he receives the hand of Lady Margaret Douglas, the king's niece<sup>5</sup>.

The king invades France, in July. He besieges Boulogne, which surrenders Sept. 14.

The emperor and the king of France suddenly conclude a peace, Sept. 19, when the English army is obliged to withdraw. The king returns to England, Sept. 30.

#### A.D. 1545.

The French make several unsuccessful attempts to retake Boulogne; they are foiled by the earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle.

The king raises a large sum by "benevolence," which is very unwillingly paid<sup>b</sup>.

The French fleet attempts to invade England. They have an indecisive action off Portsmouth with the English ships<sup>c</sup>, July 18.

The French ravage the marches of Calais, and also send assistance to the Scots.

The earl of Hertford overruns and plunders the south of Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> The liberty formerly granted of reading the Bible was abridged by this act; and the King's Book was shortly after published, as containing all that the laity needed of Christian doctrine; the clergy, it was allowed, were bound to "search the Scriptures."

<sup>a</sup> So she is usually called, but it is her maiden name; she had been married twice before, and was then the widow of Lord Latimer. Her brother, William Parr, was created marquis of Northampton; he was a man of bad character, who complied with every change of religion and government, and held office in all circumstances. He died in 1571.

<sup>2</sup> It is worded thus in the original act:—"Henricus Octavus Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Rex, fidei defensor et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernie supremum caput;" and "Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God Kyng of Englonde France and Irelande Defender of the faith, and of the Church of Englonde, and also of Irelande in earth the supreme Hedde."

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards the Protector Somerset, and his rival Dudley, duke of Northumberland.

<sup>4</sup> Matthew Stuart; he was, like the regent Arran, descended from James II.

<sup>5</sup> She had, some years before, been contracted to Lord Thomas Howard (see A.D. 1536). Her portion from the king was Temple Newsum, forfeited in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and some abbey lands. She was the mother of Darnley, the husband of Mary queen of Scots.

<sup>b</sup> Hence the name was changed, and the next involuntary gift in the following year was styled, "a loving contribution made by the subjects' free will." Richard Read, a London alderman, who declined to contribute in 1545, was sent as a common soldier to the army in Scotland, where he was taken prisoner at Jedworth, being, by the king's order, exposed to special danger.

<sup>c</sup> Two days after the action one of the largest of the English ships, the Mary Rose, was upset in a squall in Portsmouth harbour, and of her crew of 700 men, only 35 were saved. The wreck was not removed until 1836, when several brass guns were recovered in good condition; one of them may be seen mounted on the Platform at Southampton,

All colleges, chantries and hospitals dissolved and granted to the crown<sup>d</sup>, [37 Hen. VIII. c. 4].

A law made against usury, which limited interest to 10 per cent., [c. 9].

Persons dispersing slanderous libels declared guilty of felony, [c. 10].

Tithes in London fixed at the rate of 2s. 9d. in the £1 on rent, [c. 12].

Laymen empowered to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction<sup>e</sup>, [c. 17].

The council of Trent, called professedly for the reformation of manners and discipline, but really directed against the Reformation, holds its first session, December 13.

A.D. 1546.

The French continue their efforts to

retake Boulogne. The earl of Surrey, the governor, being defeated by them, is recalled to England. He gives vent to his resentment in violent speeches, which are reported to the king.

Cardinal Beaton is killed, in his castle of St. Andrew's<sup>f</sup>, May 28.

A peace is concluded with France, June 7. It provides for the restoration of Boulogne in eight years, and also for a peace with the Scots.

Anne Askew<sup>g</sup> and three other persons are burnt as Sacramentarians, July 16.

Christ Church, Oxford<sup>h</sup>, and Trinity College, Cambridge<sup>i</sup>, founded by the king.

The duke of Norfolk<sup>k</sup> and the earl of Surrey are committed to the Tower, Dec. 7.

and others are in the Artillery Museum at Woolwich.

<sup>d</sup> From the terms employed, the universities considered themselves in danger, but Henry condescended to assure them of safety.

<sup>e</sup> The occasion of this act was that papal decrees denounced excommunication against laymen who ventured to judge in ecclesiastical causes, as marriages and wills. In its preamble, "all ecclesiastical power" is said to be derived from the king as the "undoubted Supreme Head of the Church."

<sup>f</sup> The murder had been proposed by Lord Castille a year before, and was sanctioned by Henry, though he declined to appear openly in it: a fact established by a letter of the English council to Lord Hertford, dated May 30, 1545, to be found in the State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 449. In the same collection (p. 560) is a letter giving the particulars of the murder. The party consisted of Norman Leslie, James Melvin, and 15 others: they first killed the porter and threw his body into the ditch, then drove out the workmen and servants; the cardinal, hearing the tumult, came from his chamber to the blockhouse, and was there killed. "The common bell of the town rang, the provost and town gathered, to the number of 300 or 400 men, and came to the castle, when Norman Leslie and his company came to the wall-head, and asked what they desired to see—a dead man? Incontinent they brought the cardinal dead to the wall-head, in a pair of sheets, and hung him over the wall by the one arm and the one foot, and bade the people see there their God. This John of Douglas of Edinburgh . . . shewed me . . . who was in St. Andrew's, and saw the same with his own eyes."

The castle was held for some time by Norman Leslie and his party, who were in the pay of Henry; but at length it was captured by a body of French troops, and destroyed, as having been polluted by the blood of a cardinal.

<sup>g</sup> Anne Askew was an intimate of some of the ladies of the court, and she had been racked in the Tower, for the purpose of finding matter of accusation against the Queen, who was believed to hold similar opinions. Katherine, however, had the tact to avert Henry's suspicions by alleging that she only raised doubts to have them solved by his learning, particularly as she saw that the occupation diverted his mind from the pains of disease under which he suffered.

<sup>h</sup> In 1524 Cardinal Wolsey had obtained permission to convert the priory of St. Frideswide into

a seminary, which he styled Cardinal College, endowing it, and another foundation at Ipswich, with the spoils of several suppressed monasteries. The whole came into the king's hands on the fall of the founder. The Ipswich foundation lapsed, but that



Arms of Christ Church, Oxford.

at Oxford was re-established as King Henry's College, Sept. 27, 1532; fourteen years after it was more fully endowed, and the name again changed to its present one.

<sup>i</sup> To form this college several smaller halls were added to King's Hall, founded by Edward III. in 1346; Queen Mary was also a benefactor.

<sup>k</sup> "If a man coming of the collateral line to the heir of the crown, who ought not to bear the arms of England but on the second quarter, with the difference of their ancestor, do presume to change his right place, and bear them in the first quarter, leaving out the true difference of the ancestry, and, in the lieu thereof, use the very place only of the heir male apparent, how this man's intent is to be judged; and whether this import any danger, peril, or slander to the title of the prince, or very heir apparent; and how it weigheth in our laws." Such is the first sentence of a remarkable paper of charges against the duke, drawn up apparently for the opinion of the judges, and corrected in many places by the king himself, preserved in the Public Record Office. Others relate to "presuming to take an old coat of the crown" (the arms of Edward the Confessor; see p. 64), "which his ancestor never bare, nor he of right ought to bear;" giving arms to strangers; holding pleas, and exercising free warren in his grounds, without licence; "depraving of the king's council;" "compassing to govern the realm;" and, which seems to shew that the jealousy of the Seymours had inspired these proceedings, there is a charge

A.D. 1547.

The earl of Surrey is tried and convicted of high treason<sup>1</sup>, Jan. 13; he is beheaded, Jan. 19.

The duke of Norfolk is attainted by act of parliament, to which the

royal assent is given by commission; Jan. 27<sup>m</sup>.

The king dies at Westminster, in the morning of Jan. 28. He is buried at Windsor, Feb. 16.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

A.D.		A.D.	
	The Pacific Ocean reached by Vasco Nunez de Balboa . . . . .	1513	Rome stormed by the Imperial troops . . . . .
	Egypt conquered by the Turks . . . . .	1517	Hungary conquered by the Turks . . . . .
	The pirate states of Barbary founded . . . . .	1518	The Knights Hospitallers established at Malta . . . . .
	Rhodes taken by the Turks; the Knights retire to Sicily . . . . .	1522	Insurrection of the Anabaptists in Munster crushed . . . . .
	Gustavus Vasa becomes king of Sweden . . . . .	1523	Charles V. fails in an attempt to take Algiers . . . . .
	Francis I. taken prisoner at Pavia . . . . .	1525	The Council of Trent opened . . . . .
			1527
			1529
			1530
			1536
			1541
			1545

## NOTE.

## THE BEAUCHAMP TOWER.

THIS edifice, which is the second tower on the western side of the Tower-green, has been restored of late years, and is now open to public inspection. It derives its name from its having been the scene of the imprisonment of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, in 1397, and the walls are almost covered with records of the abode there of many persons well known in history; indeed, on entering, the eye at once falls on the name of Robert Dudley, afterwards the favourite Leicester.

The tower consists of three stories of one room each, beside some small cells, but the inscriptions are found chiefly in the room

on the first floor; on the basement, however, we have the following distich:—

“The man whom this house cannot mend,  
Hath evil become, and worse will end”;<sup>a</sup>

it is the work of Charles Bailly, an agent of Mary Queen of Scots.

In the great room on the first floor each of the four loopholed recesses, as well as the fireplace and the recess now occupied by a modern window, presents a mass of inscriptions and devices, among which those of Philip, earl of Arundel, Lords Thomas Fitzgerald, John and Robert Dudley<sup>o</sup>, Drs. Abel, Cook, and Story, Geoffrey, Arthur

against the earl of Surrey of saying, “If the king die, who should have the rule of the prince, but my father or I?”

<sup>1</sup> The charge against him was that, “machinating to extinguish the cordial love which the king’s lieges bore to him, and to deprive him of his crown

a cross fleury between five martlets gold,” which belonged to the king in right of his kingdom, and might not be borne by any subject.”

<sup>m</sup> His life was saved by the death of the king early on the following morning, but he was imprisoned in the Tower until the accession of Mary.

<sup>a</sup> The spelling of the inscriptions cited has been modernized.

<sup>o</sup> The device of John Dudley, earl of Warwick, is very handsome and elaborate. It comprises the lion double quevé and the bear and ragged staff within a floral border, composed of roses, geraniums, honeysuckles and acorns, to indicate the initials of his four brothers, Robert, Guilford, Henry and Ambrose. The inscription runs thus:

“You that these beasts do well behold and see,  
May deem with ease wherefore here made they be.  
With borders eke wherein *[there may be found]* !  
Four brothers’ names who list to search the ground.”

In another recess is the name “Jane,” doubtless Lady Jane Grey, and probably inscribed by her husband Guilford Dudley.



Arms of Edward the Confessor.

and dignity, he had set up, joined to his proper bearings, the arms of Edward the Confessor, ‘Azure,

and Edmund Poole, may be traced, as well as many others by persons less known. Many of the devices are of a religious character, others are heraldic; some present skeletons and other emblems of mortality. The inscriptions are in a variety of languages—English, Latin, French, Spanish and Italian. Many are passages of Scripture, others are “the sorrowful sighing of the prisoner,” as,—

“Thomas Miagh, which lieth here alone,  
That fain would from hence be gone.  
By torture strange my troth was tried,  
Yet of my liberty denied. 1581, Thomas Miagh.”

Another is a melancholy calculation, by T. Salmon,—“Close prisoner, 8 months, 32 weeks, 224 days, 5376 hours;” a third is a piece of sound advice, pointing out a line of conduct which it is to be hoped its author (Charles Bailly) followed himself:—

“The most unhappy man in the world is he that is not patient in adversities; for men are not killed with the adversities they have, but with the impatience which they suffer.”

The great majority of the inscriptions are expressive of hope or pious resignation, and few breathe either impatience or

despondency. “Spera in Dio;” “Adoramus Te;” “En Dieu est mon esperance;” “Dolor patientia vincetur;” “Hope to the end, and have patience;” and similar thoughts, are plentifully inscribed. There are but two of a contrary nature, and these appear the production of one person, William Tyrrel, who was a knight of St. John, imprisoned in 1541, probably in connexion with the suppression of his order in the preceding year. In one inscription he exclaims, in Italian, “Oh! unhappy man that I think myself to be!” and in the other he expresses himself still more despondingly: “Since Fortune hath chosen that my hope should go to the wind to complain, I would that Time were no more, my star being ever sad and unpropitious.”

Such are a few of the painfully interesting inscriptions to be seen in the Beauchamp tower. Many other parts of the fortress have been formerly used as “prison-lodgings,” and they also have their memorials, as the Salt tower, where may be seen the curious sphere cut by “Hew Draper of Bristowe” in 1562, a reputed alchemist, but they are now occupied as dwellings, or in other ways which prevent their being readily accessible.

P “A Particular of the names of the Towers,” of the date of 1642 (printed in the Appendix to Bayley’s History of the Tower, p. xxxiii.) mentions as such, beside the Beauchamp, the Bell, Broad Arrow,

Constable, Cradle, Lantern, Martin, Salt, Wakefield and Well towers, and the Nun’s bower, over Cold Harbour-gate, adjoining the White tower.



Great Seal of Edward VI.

## EDWARD VI.

EDWARD, the son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, was born at Hampton Court, Oct. 12, 1537. He succeeded to the throne Jan. 28, 1547, and his reign is a very important period of English history, although, from his

youth, his influence on its transactions was very limited. The real rulers were, first, his uncle Somerset, and afterwards John Dudley, duke of Northumberland<sup>a</sup>, both men of little principle. From merely political motives,

<sup>a</sup> He was the eldest son of the Dudley of Henry VII.'s reign, and was born in 1502. Soon after his father's death he was restored in blood, and he early distinguished himself in arms, being



Arms of Dudley, duke of Northumberland.

knighted for his prowess in 1524. He accompanied Cardinal Wolsey on his embassy to France, and was appointed master of the horse to Anne of Cleves. In 1543 he was, in consequence of his maternal descent, made Lord Lisle; and was soon

after appointed lord high admiral, when he took Leith, and the next year defended Boulogne, and ravaged the French coast. He was named one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII., was created earl of Warwick, bore the principal part in the Scottish campaign of 1547, and is accused of sowing the dissension between the Protector and his brother which caused the ruin of both. He became on Somerset's fall the real ruler of the kingdom, obtained the high offices of lord steward and earl marshal, and was created duke of Northumberland, receiving at the same time the county palatine of Durham, the see being suppressed. By a feigned zeal for Protestantism he gained a great ascendancy over Edward VI., and prevailed on him to bequeath the crown to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey; but this enterprise failed in the execution. Northumberland was deserted by his adherents, was, in spite of his abject submission, tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor, and he owed Christian burial to the gratitude of an old servant (John Cock, Lancaster herald), who begged his remains from the queen, and interred them in the chapel of the Tower. He had married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Guilford, warden of the Cinque Ports.

they joined with Cranmer and other Reformers in establishing the Church of England substantially on its present footing; but they confiscated its possessions, laboured to render its ministers, from the highest to the lowest, mere creatures of the State<sup>b</sup>, and treated the Princess Mary, Gardiner, Heath, Bonner, and others in a manner that is altogether unjustifiable, and which unquestionably had a great share in bringing about the persecution by which the following reign was rendered so unhappy and so odious.

Somerset, the Protector, after driving from the council the lord chancellor, (Wriothesley,) who was a decided Romanist, applied himself with vigour to carry forward the work of reformation. He also made an expedition against Scotland, but though he gained a victory in the field, he could not bring about the marriage which Henry VIII. had projected between his son and the young queen as a means of uniting the kingdoms. He offended the rest of the council by assuming a superiority which they contended that Henry VIII. had not meant to exist, and alarmed them by introducing foreign troops. Becoming also odious to the nation in general for his rapacity in seizing the college and chantry lands, and his unnatural conduct in bringing his brother to the scaffold, he was easily stripped of his power by a confederacy formed against him, and committed to the Tower, in October, 1549.

The earl of Warwick was now ruler. After a while Somerset was permitted

to return to the council, but was soon involved in what seems to have been a sham plot, tried, condemned, and put to death. The young king's health had long been declining, and Dudley (now become duke of Northumberland) having gained his confidence by an apparent zeal for the Reformation, persuaded him to settle the crown on his cousin, Lady Jane Grey<sup>c</sup>, to the exclusion of his sisters; a change in the succession which he was incompetent to make without the authority of parliament. Edward died very shortly after, at Greenwich, on July 6, 1553, and was buried on August 8, at Westminster.

Beside the formal establishment of Protestantism, the reign of Edward is chiefly remarkable for the enactment of severe laws against vagabonds and tumultuous assemblies, the creation of a variety of new treasons<sup>d</sup>, and some discreditable tampering with the coin<sup>e</sup>. A peace was concluded with France, by which Henry's conquest of Boulogne was given up, and an attempt was made to bring about a marriage between the king and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II. War was maintained, on a small scale, against the Scots, but the council feared to enter on hostilities with the emperor (Charles V.), and therefore, after an angry debate, they desisted from their design of forcing the new service-book on the Princess Mary, though they imprisoned her servants, and prevented her own escape to Flanders.

The arms of Edward VI. are the same as those of Henry VIII., but his

and had a large family. Four of his sons were concerned in his treason, but only one of them (Guilford) was executed; his daughter Mary became the mother of Sir Philip Sidney. Northumberland was a bold, active, unscrupulous man, and though he greatly forwarded the Reformation, it was evidently merely from views of personal aggrandizement, for he died professing himself a Romanist, and warning the spectators to avoid the Protestant teachers as "sowers of sedition."

<sup>b</sup> Bishops were appointed by letters patent, and in the instances of Ridley and Poynt reduced to the position of mere stipendiaries, £1000 a-year each being allowed them, and the revenues of their sees of Rochester and Winchester appropriated by the Government; whilst the see of Durham was suppressed, without even such a provision being made for its administration.

<sup>c</sup> She was the daughter of Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, by his wife Frances, who was the daughter of Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. and Charles Brandon. Lady Jane, who was only sixteen, was the wife of Guilford Dudley, the duke's

son. She was learned, amiable, and pious, and her imprisonment and violent death were the fruit of her filial piety, which induced her to accept the crown against her better judgment.

<sup>d</sup> These treasons, in general, had been created under the reign of Henry VIII. and abolished in the first parliament of Edward VI.; they were re-enacted in the year 1552, after the fall of Somerset.

<sup>e</sup> Under the date April 10, 1551, the young king writes in his Journal: "It was appointed to make 20,000 pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gains £16,000 clear, by which the debt of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt, and the coin amended." Several subsequent entries speak of "deliberations touching the coin," in one of which "the small money was ordered to be made of a baser state," and in another, two standards were fixed on, "one without any craft;" "the other not fully six [the nominal standard], of which kind was not a few."



supporters are uniformly the golden lion and the red dragon. Only one badge, the sun in splendour, is ascribed to him.



Arms of Edward VI.



Badge of Edward VI.

not himself, has been laid the odium of the execution of his uncles, and the burning of heretics, and, to a certain extent, justly; and he has been praised personally for the foundation of hospitals and schools, to which, however, he gave little but his name. His acquirements embraced both ancient and modern languages<sup>f</sup>, and he has left a minute Journal, and several detached letters and papers on political and controversial subjects, but their tone is harsh and dogmatic, and their value, of course, very small.

A.D. 1547.

Edward received as king, Jan. 28<sup>g</sup>. He is crowned, Feb. 20.

The executors of the late king's will meet, when, after some opposition from Wriothesley, the chancellor, the earl of Hertford is declared protector of the king's realms, and governor of his person.

Several of the executors and others

His youth and his ill-health combined have inclined writers in general to give a favourable idea of Edward's character. On his councillors, and

receive higher titles: the earl of Hertford is created duke of Somerset; the viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; the lord Wriothesley, earl of Southampton.

Andrew Dudley (brother of the earl of Warwick) is sent to cruise against the Scots<sup>h</sup>, Feb. 27.

The chancellor puts the great seal in commission without the consent of the rest of the executors. He is himself in consequence deprived of his office, and imprisoned, March 6.

The Protector receives a grant of his office by letters patent, March 13.

Francis I. of France dies, March 22. He is succeeded by Henry II.

The curate and churchwardens of a London parish (St. Martin, Ironmonger-lane) remove the images and pictures and crucifix from their church. Gardiner and the clergy generally censure this, but Cranmer and his friends resolve on a further reformation.

An ecclesiastical visitation carried out, for the purpose of removing images, asserting the royal supre-

<sup>f</sup> His chief tutor was Sir John Cheke, a man of more learning than firmness of principle. He was of St. John's College, Cambridge, and greatly promoted the study of Greek in that University. On the death of the young king he was imprisoned, first as a partisan of Lady Jane Grey, and next as a heretic, when hard usage induced him to feign conformity to Romanism; but being put forward in the persecution of others, he died of grief and shame in the year 1557.

<sup>g</sup> His regnal years are computed from this day, which was also that of the death of his predecessor, — a practice then first introduced.

<sup>h</sup> An attack on the English coast by the Scots

and French was expected, and the following passage from a letter of Edward Vaughan, governor of Portsmouth, dated Feb. 16, 1547, and now in the Public Record Office, shews how ill prepared that town at least was to meet it. "I do not doubt but that your Lordships [of the Council] doth right well consider the estate of this town, and how it lieth open, so that at low water men may come into it although they were thirty in rank; and also the gates to the waterside are so weak, that four or five good fellows with a piece of timber may lay them on the ground. And the walls in this frost that hath been now of late doth moulder away, and beginneth in divers places to fall into the ditch."

macy, and compelling the use of the English tongue in the Church services.

A book of Homilies, twelve in number, set forth, in which the doctrines of the Reformers are advocated.

The castle of St. Andrew's captured and destroyed by the French, August.

Nicholas Ridley appointed bishop of Rochester<sup>1</sup>, Aug. 14.

The Protector invades Scotland, in order to enforce the marriage treaty formed in 1543. He defeats the Scots at Pinkie (near Musselburgh), Sept. 10, captures Edinburgh, and places garrisons in Broughty, Roxburgh, and other castles, and returns to England.

Bonner and Gardiner express their dissent from the proceedings of the visitors, and are imprisoned in the Fleet, September<sup>k</sup>.

The Princess Mary protests against the projected changes in religious matters<sup>l</sup>.

The parliament meets, Nov. 4.

The sacrament of the altar directed to be administered in both kinds, as agreeable to primitive usage, and contemptuous words against it to be punished by fine and imprisonment, [1 Edw. VI. c. 1].

The appointment of bishops ordered to be by letters patent, [c. 2].

Vagabonds ordered to be branded, and for absconding to be reduced to perpetual slavery, [c. 3].

This statute, though containing some provisions for the relief of "impotent folk," was manifestly, from the number of clauses relating to clerks convicted, directed against the expelled monastics, whose natural hostility to the men who had displaced them, pointed them out as serious obstacles

in the way of the reformation which Cranmer and his friends were resolved to carry out. Though the pensions that had been granted to them when their houses were suppressed appear to have been paid<sup>m</sup>, and though some of their number received benefices, these were ordinarily inadequate to their subsistence, and they would have starved but for the affection borne to them by the great bulk of the people. Hence, from necessity, many wandered about living on alms, and they thus fell under the penalties of this statute, which are more barbarous than can readily be imagined. Any person was empowered to seize another "loitering, without work for three days together," and take him before a justice, who was to cause the prisoner to be branded with "V" on the breast with a hot iron, and to adjudge him to two years' slavery, to be "fed on bread and water, or such small drink and refuse of meat" as the master should think fit; who was also empowered to punish the "slave" at his discretion by beating, chaining, or the like. If the unhappy creature endeavoured to escape, he was to be branded with "S" and condemned to slavery for life. Such a system could not long be maintained, even against religious opponents, and accordingly stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 16 abolished it, and revived the less rigorous provisions of the act of 22 Henry VIII<sup>n</sup>.

Several of the new-made treasons of the late king's reign abolished, [1 Edw. VI. c. 12].

All colleges, chantries, and free chapels given to the king<sup>o</sup>, [c. 14].

<sup>1</sup> He was born in 1500, in Northumberland, was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and became eminent as a preacher. He warmly embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, and ventured as early as 1540 to celebrate portions of the service in English, in his church of Herne, near Canterbury, but was saved from evil consequences by Cranmer, by whose influence also he was now raised to the episcopate. In 1550 he was translated to London, and treated the kindred and servants of his deprived predecessor Bonner with a kindness and liberality which he unfortunately did not himself experience when Bonner was reinstated. A sermon of his before Edward VI. had great effect in inducing him to endow the city hospitals. On the young king's death, Ridley preached in favour of Lady Jane Grey, stigmatizing Mary as an idolater; he was in consequence thrown into the Tower, where he was for a while mildly treated, in the hope of his conformity. At length he was sent to Oxford, condemned as a heretic, and burnt with Latimer, Oct. 16, 1555.

<sup>k</sup> Gardiner was released in January, 1548, but again imprisoned in June; and he remained in the Tower until the accession of Mary.

<sup>l</sup> She maintained that the council had no authority to make any change in the laws of Henry VIII., they having sworn to observe them while the king was under age. Such was also the opinion of Gardiner and Bonner.

<sup>m</sup> This fact, which has been doubted, is proved by the returns to a commission of inquiry on the subject issued in 1552. As one example, the commissioners for the bishopric of Durham (Robert Tempest, Christopher Chaytor and Edward Allanson), under date of Dec. 20, 1552, report that 198 persons had appeared before them, who all acknowledged that they had been "fully paid hitherto." Evidence of a similar nature also occurs in the next reign.

<sup>n</sup> See A.D. 1531.

<sup>o</sup> The act professes that their revenues are to be devoted to the maintenance of grammar schools, the improvement of vicarages, and the support of

A.D. 1548.

Proclamations issued against several accustomed ceremonies (as carrying candles on Candlemas-day, and ashes on Ash-Wednesday), and also for the removal of images, February.

A committee of bishops and other divines<sup>p</sup> appointed to examine the offices of the Church, and consider of their amendment.

A new communion-office is in consequence promulgated, to take effect at the next Easter, (April 1).

Gardiner is summoned before the council, and declining to preach in all respects as directed, is sent to the Tower, June 30.

The French dispatch succours to Scotland, and the young queen (Mary) is sent to France.

The Scots besiege Haddington in vain<sup>q</sup>, but recover Home castle and other fortresses, August.

An English fleet is repulsed in an attempt on the Scottish coast.

Peter Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, and other foreign reformers are invited to England<sup>r</sup>.

A commission issued to bishops Goodrich and Ridley and others for the visitation of the Universities<sup>s</sup>, Nov. 12.

Lord Seymour, the Protector's brother<sup>t</sup>, intrigues against him, and endeavours to gain possession of the king's person.

A.D. 1549.

The Act of Uniformity passed, [2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.] ordaining that the "order of divine worship" contained in the book drawn up by the commissioners<sup>u</sup>, "with the aid of the Holy Ghost," should be the only one to be used after the ensuing Whitsuntide (May 20)<sup>v</sup>. The penalties for refusing to use it, or for writing or speaking against it, were, fines for the first and second offences, and forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for life for the third.

Lord Seymour is committed to the Tower, Jan. 17. The charges against him were that he had endeavoured to marry the Princess Elizabeth, and to corrupt the king's servants; had attempted to raise forces, and had procured the coining of base money; had leagued with pirates, and intended to seize on the isle of Lundy and the Scilly isles<sup>w</sup>. He was condemned without a hearing, and attainted, [2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18].

Tithes regulated by statute, [c. 13].

Abstinence from flesh ordained, not as a religious matter, but as healthful, and also to employ fishermen, [c. 19].

The marriage of priests allowed, [c. 21].

Commissioners appointed to make inventories of church ornaments, jewels, bells, vestments, and other property<sup>x</sup>, Feb. 15.

preachers. Some portion was so applied, but much the greater part was shared among the members of the government, to support the charge of their new dignities, or was employed in the payment of some of the late king's debts.

<sup>p</sup> These were Cranmer and Holgate, the arch-bishops; the bishop of London (Bonner) and fifteen other bishops, and Cox and five other divines.

<sup>q</sup> The fortifications of Haddington were blown up, and the town abandoned by the English shortly after.

<sup>r</sup> As has been remarked (see p. 205) the foreign reformers had no influence while Henry VIII. lived, but they were now courted most assiduously by Cranmer and his friends. They were divided into the two classes of Lutherans and Calvinists, and some of the peculiar and contradictory dogmas of each being introduced into our public formularies gave occasion for the unhappy dissensions in the Church which marked the reign of Elizabeth and her successors, and endure to the present day.

Of the parties named, Peter Martyr, originally an Italian friar, was particularly skilful in disputation, and of a fierce quarrelsome temper; Bucer had carried on a controversy with Gardiner on the marriage of priests; and Fagius was an eminent Hebraist. Peter Martyr was placed in a professorship at Oxford; the others were similarly employed at Cambridge. Bucer and Fagius died in England; Peter Martyr withdrew on the accession of

Mary, and afforded such aid as was in his power to the Protestant exiles.

<sup>s</sup> The commissioners are accused of making much barbarous havoc with the libraries of the colleges, destroying illuminated missals and other precious manuscripts, or selling them to tailors for measures and bookbinders for covers.

<sup>t</sup> His wife (Queen Katherine) was now dead, and he wished to marry the Princess Elizabeth, which the Protector opposed.

<sup>u</sup> See A.D. 1548.

<sup>v</sup> Some priests were found who continued to use the former mode. A presentment of the grand jury of Essex remains on record against William Harper, vicar of Writtle, for "elevating the sacrament of our Lord" and invoking saints contrary to this statute; the proceedings were removed into the court of King's Bench, April 24, 1550, but their result is not known.

<sup>w</sup> Some of these charges are known to be true, from other sources of information, as the attempt to marry the Princess Elizabeth. The depositions of Katherine Ashley, her governess, remain in the Public Record Office, and present a strange picture of the manners of a Court in the sixteenth century. But on the other matters charged, there is no certainty, as these Tudor bills of attainder are notoriously untrustworthy.

<sup>x</sup> A great number of the returns made under this and similar commissions issued in 1551 and 1553

Lord Seymour is beheaded, March 20<sup>a</sup>.

The Princess Mary refuses to receive the new service. The council remonstrate with her, but the emperor (Charles V.) espouses her cause, and they do not venture to proceed to extremities.

Public disputations held at Oxford and Cambridge on the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Tumults in many parts of England, chiefly directed against landlords who had illegally seized on common lands<sup>b</sup>, inclosed their own lands also for pasture, and discouraged tillage. The Protector expresses himself favourable to the people, and thus offends many of his fellow-councillors.

The people of Cornwall and Devon, headed by Humphrey Arundel, a veteran soldier, rise in June, and demand the restoration of the ancient Liturgy<sup>c</sup>. They besiege Exeter, but are dispersed by Lord Russell<sup>d</sup> about the middle of August; some, who retire into Somersetshire, are followed and dispersed by the end of the month. Ket, a wealthy tanner, rises in Norfolk, in July, and demands the destruction of inclosures and the dismissal of evil counsellors. He defeats some parties sent against him, but his forces are dispersed by the earl of Warwick, about the end of August.

Much blood was shed in skirmishes, and after the dispersion of the insurgents, many were put to death by martial law, several priests being hung on their own church steeples. Arundel, Bury, a Somersetshire insurgent, and the two Kets, Robert and William<sup>e</sup>, together with John Wynchelade and

Thomas Holmes, were tried at Westminster<sup>f</sup>, November 26. They all pleaded guilty, and were soon after executed.

The French besiege Boulogne, and the Scots recover all their strong places, except Lauder, from the English.

Bonner is ordered to preach on the necessity of obeying the king, though under age. His sermon not being considered satisfactory, he is summoned before the council, is deprived of his see, and imprisoned<sup>g</sup>, Oct. 1.

The earls of Southampton and Warwick cabal against the Protector. He retires to Hampton Court with the king. The rest of the council assemble at Ely-house, Oct. 6; they charge the Protector with a design against their lives, are joined by the lieutenant of the Tower, and the citizens of London, and the speaker of the House of Commons.

The Protector, having meanwhile removed the king to Windsor, submits to the council, and is sent to the Tower, Oct. 11. The king is brought back to Hampton Court, and placed in the keeping of the earl of Warwick and five others of the council.

The earl of Warwick, who was understood to be favourable to the ancient worship, finding the king inclined to a further reformation, takes every possible step to promote it.

The parliament assembles, Nov. 4. It passes a severe act against unlawful assemblies, [3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 5]; the meeting of twelve persons on any matter of state being declared treason, or if for destroying inclosures only, felony<sup>h</sup>.

are preserved in the Public Record Office. That of the latter date (May 16, 1553) states that many of the articles of value have been embezzled instead of being preserved for the king's use, and directs a strict search for the offenders; but the documents also shew that the churches had not been so ruthlessly stripped by Somerset and his associates as is usually stated. Several of these inventories have of late years been printed by the Kent and other Archaeological Societies.

<sup>a</sup> His nephew, the young king, enters the fact in his Journal, without one word of natural feeling: "The lord Sudley, admiral of England, was condemned to death, and died in March ensuing." His brother the Protector, and Cranmer, both signed the warrant, which rendered them very unpopular.

<sup>b</sup> This oppression of the poor was mainly the work of new-made nobles and gentry, who had acquired a large share of the abbey lands.

<sup>c</sup> They declared, "We will have the act of Six Articles up again, and ceremonies as were in King Henry's time." Cranmer was employed by the

council to reply to their demands, but neither this nor a threatening proclamation from the king was at all regarded by them.

<sup>d</sup> John Russell, a Dorsetshire gentleman, who became a courtier, obtained vast grants of abbey lands, and was made a peer in 1539. In 1550 he was created earl of Bedford. By a timely conformity on the death of Edward, he continued in favour under Mary, was employed by her in embassies, and died in March, 1555.

<sup>e</sup> They are called "Kete or Kette, otherwise Knight," in the indictments found against them.

<sup>f</sup> From the indictments of various parties it appears that there were disturbances also in the counties of Berks, Hants, Kent, Middlesex, Oxford, Suffolk, Surrey, and Sussex; the cry of the insurgents in some places was "Kill the gentlemen."

<sup>g</sup> Hooper, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, was one of the two informants on whose report the council acted.

<sup>h</sup> The parties were to be warned to disperse, in a form of words substantially the same as those

Images and pictures of saints in churches ordered to be destroyed<sup>i</sup>, [c. 10].

A new form of ordination of ministers ordered to be prepared by a committee of six prelates and six divines, [c. 12].

The duke of Somerset makes his formal submission before the king and the council, Dec. 23<sup>1</sup>.

The council directs all missals and similar books to be given up, and provision to be made for celebrating the communion in both kinds.

A.D. 1550.

Heath, bishop of Worcester, declines to agree to the Ordinal drawn

up by his fellow-commissioners, and is sent to the Fleet, March 4.

The duke of Somerset, who had been released from the Tower, Feb. 6, is re-admitted to the council, April 10<sup>k</sup>.

Peace made with France and Scotland, March 24. Boulogne is surrendered for a sum of money<sup>l</sup>, and the fortifications of Roxburgh and other places on the Scottish border destroyed.

The earl of Warwick makes himself supreme in the council, and fines and imprisons on various pretexts most of those who had joined him against Somerset, as well as Somerset's friends.

The sees of London and Westminster united, and Nicholas Ridley appointed bishop, April 1.

## IRELAND.

The new Liturgy read in the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, on Easter-day (April 6).

The Prayer-book was printed, professedly in Dublin, in 1551, and the Bible in the following year<sup>m</sup>; but these important steps in favour of the Reformation were not followed up. Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had been appointed in 1540, continued lord deputy in both this and the succeeding reign<sup>n</sup>; and though, in obedience to directions from England, statutes were enacted for a reformation in religion, no pains were taken to put them in execution. Archbishop Browne, of Dublin, and John Bale, bishop of Ossory, were almost the only favourers

of the Reformation. On the death of King Edward, Browne was expelled as being a married man, and Bale, attempting to celebrate the English service, had several of his attendants slain, and was besieged in his palace; when relieved by the mayor of Kilkenny, he thought it prudent to retire to Dublin, and shortly after went into exile.

A.D. 1550.

Joan Bocher, a woman of Kent<sup>o</sup>, burnt for heretical opinions on the incarnation of our Lord, May 2.

John Hooper<sup>p</sup>, appointed bishop of Gloucester, July 3, refuses to wear the

now employed in case of riot: "The king, our sovereign lord, chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in the Act lately made against Unlawful and Rebellious Assemblies. And God save the king."

<sup>i</sup> Images on tombs were excepted from the operation of this statute, but too many of them were sacrificed to a barbarous zeal stimulated by cupidity, as they were often formed of copper. Monumental brasses were also destroyed from the same cause.

<sup>j</sup> In this document he pleaded guilty to all the matters contained in an accusation of 29 articles exhibited against him. His submission, however, did not appear complete, and he was obliged to make another, couched in most abject terms, Feb. 2, 1550.

<sup>k</sup> He appeared at the court on the 31st March, according to the King's Journal.

<sup>l</sup> Lord Clinton, the governor, marched out with his garrison, April 25; he returned to England in May, and was made lord high admiral. The light

horsemen and men at arms of the garrison were employed as a body guard for the court, under the marquis of Northampton; the rest were sent to the Scottish frontier.

<sup>m</sup> These have been usually considered the earliest productions of the Irish press, but it is now pretty generally agreed that the Prayer-book was printed in England.

<sup>n</sup> He was displaced and reinstated twice in the time of Edward VI., in consequence of quarrels with the Butlers. One of the intermediate governors (Sir Edward Bellingham) enlarged the English pale by the reduction of the districts of Leix and Ofally, (now King's and Queen's County).

<sup>o</sup> According to local tradition, she belonged to a congregation at Eythorne, near Dover, which still exists, and claims to be the oldest nonconformist body in England.

<sup>p</sup> He had been a Cistercian monk, but had quitted the order, and had for several years wandered on the Continent, where he especially attached himself to the Reformers of Geneva. He became even more intolerant than his masters in the matter of vestments and ceremonies, and up to the very close of his life he maintained, from his

customary vestments, on which a controversy arises among the Reformers.

A congregation of German Protestants allowed to settle in London, under the superintendence of John a Lasco<sup>a</sup>.

Ridley makes a visitation of his diocese, and labours zealously to enforce the injunctions.

The Princess Mary endeavours to flee to Flanders, but the sheriff of Essex (Sir John Yates) is directed to prevent her, and bodies of troops are posted to watch the coast, July.

Sentence of sequestration pronounced against Gardiner, July 19.

A revision of the new service-book is made, in accordance with the advice of Bucer and others of the foreign Protestants.

#### A.D. 1551.

Gardiner is deprived of his see, March 23. He is succeeded by John Poynt, bishop of Rochester.

George van Parre, an Anabaptist, burnt, April 24.

Articles of religion, (forty-two in number) prepared, and further alterations made in the Book of Common Prayer.

The council endeavour to compel the Princess Mary to adopt the new service-book. They imprison her chaplains and officers, but she refuses to

yield<sup>a</sup>, and they abandon the point, for fear of a war with the emperor, her kinsman.

Veysey, bishop of Exeter, resigns his see. He is succeeded by Miles Coverdale<sup>a</sup>, Aug. 14.

The earl of Warwick intrigues to alter the succession to the throne. He procures higher titles for himself and his adherents<sup>a</sup>, and resolves to remove the duke of Somerset.

Day, bishop of Chichester, and Heath, bishop of Worcester, are deprived of their sees, Oct. 10.

Somerset is suddenly seized and sent to the Tower, Oct. 16. He is tried before the Lord High Steward (William Paulet, marquis of Winchester) and peers, charged with high treason and felony<sup>a</sup>, Dec. 1. He is acquitted of treason, but found guilty of felony, and sentenced to be hanged.

Tunstall, bishop of Durham, is sent to the Tower, Dec. 20.

#### A.D. 1552.

The parliament meets, Jan. 30.

A second act for uniformity of common prayer and administration of the sacraments passed<sup>a</sup> [5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1], and ordered to be read in churches annually.

The duke of Somerset is beheaded within the Tower, Jan. 22<sup>a</sup>.

Sir Ralph Fane, Sir Thomas Arun-

prison, an angry controversy with Ridley and others, in whom he detected some lingering regard for "Romish rags," as he styled clerical attire.

<sup>a</sup> Letters patent, dated July 24, 1550, were issued, naturalizing them, 380 in number, and assigning the church of the Austin Friars, in the city of London, for their use. Other bodies quickly followed, and one party, consisting chiefly of Flemish weavers, was allowed to set up their looms in the ruined church of Glastonbury.

<sup>b</sup> According to her brother King Edward's Journal, when summoned before the council (March 18), "she answered, that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings." Strict measures were taken against her servants; Dr. Mallet, her chaplain, was sent to the Tower, April 27; and Sir Robert Rochester and other members of her household, in August, when the Lord Chancellor (Rich) and others visited her at her house at Copt-hall, Essex, and forbade the celebration of the mass.

<sup>c</sup> He was born in Yorkshire, in 1487, and became an Augustinian friar. He was one of the earliest Englishmen who adopted the views of Luther, and in consequence went abroad, where he was the associate of Tindal in the translation and printing of the Bible. On the accession of Mary he was expelled from his see, and again went abroad, where he took part in the production of the Geneva Bible. Though he returned in the time of Eliza-

beth, he declined to re-enter on his see, but passed the few remaining years of his life as an itinerant preacher, being, under the name of "Father Coverdale," greatly esteemed, and the scruples regarding vestments which he had brought with him from Geneva, treated with kindly forbearance. He died in 1568.

His coadjutor, William Tindal, was a Welshman, who had been educated at Oxford, but failing to procure a living at home, had gone to Antwerp, where he employed himself on the translation of the New Testament. He afterwards removed to Hamburg, where he met with Coverdale. After suffering shipwreck and other misfortunes, Tindal was seized and executed as a heretic at Brussels, in 1536.

<sup>d</sup> He himself was created duke of Northumberland, Oct. 11, and the marquis of Dorset, duke of Suffolk; the earl of Wiltshire became marquis of Winchester, and Sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke. Cecil, the secretary, (afterwards the minister of Elizabeth), was knighted.

<sup>e</sup> The treason was a design imputed to him of seizing the Tower and the treasure and stores therein, and the great seal; the felony, an attempt on the liberty (not the lives) of Warwick and other councillors.

<sup>f</sup> The act states that the Book of Common Prayer had been "perused, explained, and made fully perfect," and it was alone to be used, under the same penalties as in the act of 1549. See p. 317.

<sup>g</sup> The king gives, in his Journal, several particulars of the charges against his uncle, but dismisses

del, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Michael Stanhope, are tried as having instigated the duke of Somerset to insurrection<sup>2</sup>, Jan. 27, 28, Feb. 5 and 6. They are found guilty<sup>3</sup>, and are executed, Feb. 26.

A new king of arms, Ulster, appointed for Ireland, Feb. 2.

A body of canon law drawn up, principally by Cranmer<sup>b</sup>.

The see of Gloucester is suppressed, and its territory united to that of Worcester, John Hooper being made bishop, May 20.

A number of new treasons created by act of parliament, [5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11]. Keeping possession of any of the king's castles, or ships, or artillery, six days after being ordered to give them up; or declaring the king, or any of the presumptive successors named by his father's will (the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth), to be a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, are among the number.

Fast days and holy days set forth by statute, [5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 3].

A.D. 1553.

The parliament meets, March 1. It

grants a subsidy to the king, stating in the preamble of the act [7 Edw. VI. c. 12], that the occasion for it arises from the "wilful misgovernance" and waste of his treasure by the duke of Somerset.

The see of Durham suppressed by act of parliament, [c. 17]. The act professes that two sees were to be founded, one at Durham, and another at Newcastle; but the whole of the temporalities of the see were granted as a county palatine to the duke of Northumberland.

The king grants his palace of Bridewell to the citizens of London for a workhouse, April 10. He afterwards bestows on them also the hospital of St. Thomas, in Southwark.

The English merchants fit out ships for discovery and trade<sup>c</sup>.

The king, who had been ill from the beginning of the year, being in danger of death, is prevailed on by the duke of Northumberland to bestow the succession to the crown on Lady Jane Grey, by his letters patent, June 21. He dies at Greenwich July 6, and is buried at Westminster<sup>d</sup>, Aug. 8.

EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Interim decree at the diet of Augsburg . . . . .	1548	The Turks fail in an attack on Malta . . . . .	1551
		The Peace of Passau . . . . .	1552

his death in the most heartless manner: "The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning."

<sup>2</sup> They were charged with the design to murder Warwick, and imprison the marquis of Northampton and Sir William Herbert.

<sup>3</sup> The king states that Arundel was only condemned "after long controversy," the jury remaining near a day and night shut up before they returned their verdict. He also complains that Fane "answered like a ruffian." Fane was a veteran soldier, and his offence seems to have consisted in saying to the court, "Now the wars are

ended, the coward and the brave man are esteemed alike."

<sup>b</sup> He was the head of the commission, which consisted of eight prelates and eight other divines, eight civilians, and eight lawyers.

<sup>c</sup> Three vessels sailed for northern discovery; two were lost at Nova Zembla, but the third reached Archangel, and opened a trade with Russia.

<sup>d</sup> The service was, in consequence of the exertions of Cranmer, according to the English ritual; but Queen Mary also celebrated solemn obsequies for him in the Roman mode in her private chapel.



Great Seal of Philip and Mary.

## MARY.

MARY, the only child of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon who survived her parents, was born at Greenwich, Feb. 18, 1516. In her tenth year a separate establishment was formed for her, and she was sent to reside at Ludlow, with a household of 300 persons, and with the countess of Salisbury<sup>a</sup> for her governess. The time she passed there was probably the happiest of her days, for her life was early embittered by the controversy regarding her parents' marriage, although she was not pronounced illegitimate until her father had formed a new union with Anne Boleyn. Mary was brought up in a profound veneration for the see of Rome, by her mother, with whom she naturally sided, and thus she gave deep offence to her imperious father, who at length extorted the most humiliating submis-

sions from her<sup>b</sup>; though it is to be hoped that he did not entertain the monstrous thought of putting her to death, as has been asserted. Her life, however, for years was evidently full of anxiety and danger, and her case was little improved when her brother Edward VI. succeeded to the throne. Though twenty years her junior, he undertook to enlighten her, and when his reasonings made no impression, his councillors endeavoured to enforce her conformity to the "new religion," as she considered it, by imprisoning her chaplains and servants. She refused to yield, and though they prevented her from escaping to the continent, they feared to proceed further, as she was supported by a numerous party to whom she was endeared by her mother's sufferings, and her own community of faith and works of

<sup>a</sup> The daughter of George duke of Clarence and mother of Cardinal Pole, executed in 1541.

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1536.



charity<sup>c</sup>, and she had beside a powerful and steady friend in her cousin the emperor (Charles V.)

Edward VI. died July 6, 1553, and Mary became queen, in spite of a futile attempt of the duke of Northumberland to place his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne. She entered London in triumph, accompanied by her sister Elizabeth and the Lady Anne of Cleves, released the prisoners in the Tower, and took one of them, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who had been harshly treated in the preceding reign, for her chief adviser. He was made lord chancellor, and he at once set himself earnestly to work to undo all that had been effected to the prejudice of the see of Rome for the preceding twenty years. Cranmer, Ridley, and other eminent Protestants, having supported the usurpation of Jane Grey, were imprisoned, ostensibly as traitors; all preaching except on the side of the Romish party was forbidden; a public disputation was managed with palpable unfairness; and Grindal, Sandys, Aylmer, Jewel, and others who afterwards became governors of the Church, as well as Whittingham, Sampson, Humphrey, and many more who in the next reign disturbed its peace, retired to the continent; as did several desperate adventurers, who having failed in an attempt to rob the treasury, joined the French, and planned an invasion. The married clergy were displaced, images restored, and the ancient worship re-established in many cases (as by Bonner at St. Paul's) without

waiting for the consent of the parliament.

Mary's first parliament met in October, 1553; and, acting on the prompting of Gardiner, it annulled all the laws of the last two reigns regarding religion, and thus prepared the way for a formal reconciliation with Rome, which was effected, under the mediation of Cardinal Pole<sup>d</sup>, about a year later. Meanwhile, after an attempt to prevent it by insurrection, the queen had married Philip of Spain, and most probably by him<sup>e</sup>, rather than by Gardiner, was induced to sanction the barbarous persecution of the Protestants, in the course of which, and in less than four years, an archbishop, three bishops, many other clergymen, and almost three hundred of the laity<sup>f</sup>, of every age, sex, and condition, suffered at the stake, but, in the language of one of the victims, (Latimer), "lighted such a candle as all Rome has not since been able to put out." Though Protestantism was as yet the creed of but a minority of the people, the forcible re-establishment of Romanism proved impossible, and these cruelties of its most devoted partisans only rendered themselves odious to every succeeding age.

The foreign transactions of Mary's reign were as unfortunate as her domestic government. The traitorous proceedings of some of the exiles plunged her into a war with France, which utterly exhausted her treasury, and caused the loss of Calais; an event that she did not long survive, dying exhausted by grief and anxiety<sup>g</sup>,

<sup>c</sup> Her Privy Purse Account from 1536 to 1544 has been published by Sir Frederic Madden. The entries shew active benevolence towards the poor, compassion for prisoners, friendly regard and liberality to her servants; and also indicate many elegant pursuits and domestic virtues, for which in general she does not receive credit.

<sup>d</sup> See A.D. 1554.

<sup>e</sup> Public opinion at the time regarded Philip as the real originator of the persecution, and Gardiner and Bonner merely as his tools; an opinion which received confirmation from his treatment of the Protestants in his hereditary states, and which was not altered by a sermon inculcating charity and forbearance preached by his confessor, a Spanish friar.

<sup>f</sup> There are various estimates of the number, but this is the lowest; and to it must be added many victims who died in prison.

<sup>g</sup> In apprehension of the peril of childbirth Mary made a will, March 30, 1558, which abounds in affectionate expressions respecting her mother, her husband, and her subjects. She leaves the place

of her burial to her executors, only directing that they shall cause her mother's body to be removed from Peterborough and buried with her, "with honourable tombs or monuments for a memory of us both." She gives considerable sums to religious houses, and bequeaths 400 marks a-year for the foundation of an hospital for old and maimed soldiers, "the which we think both honour, conscience, and charity willett should be provided for." She wills valuable jewels to her husband, which she prays him to keep for a remembrance, and only to bequeath them to their children, "if God should give her any;" provides for her servants; and solemnly charges her executors to make payment of the loans she has recently received from her people, and after that to discharge the debts of her brother and her father. On Oct. 28, when she felt the approach of death, she added a codicil, lamenting that Philip should no longer reign, but praying him ever to remain friendly to the English nation; and earnestly adjuring her "heir and successor" (she does not name her) to perform her bequests, and to pay her debts. The debts were

in the same year, Nov. 17, 1558. She was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, Dec. 13.

In her youth several marriages were proposed for Mary, but they were all abandoned, probably in consequence of the stigma cast on her birth. In 1554 she married Philip, the son of the emperor Charles V., who was much younger than herself; he soon treated her with neglect, and some time before her death withdrew entirely to his own dominions<sup>b</sup>. She had no issue.

Mary before her marriage bore the



Arms of Mary before her marriage.

same arms as her brother, but without the garter; after her marriage her arms were impaled with those of

Philip<sup>1</sup>. For supporters of her own arms she employed the golden lion, associated sometimes with the red dragon, at others with the white greyhound; but the coat when impaled is supported by an eagle and a lion. She ordinarily employed the usual motto, "DIEU ET MON DROIT;" but sometimes (in allusion to a passage in the preamble of the act asserting her legitimacy) "VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA<sup>k</sup>." She used the pomegranate, and rose and pomegranate badges of her mother, and also a badge peculiar to herself, an impalement of the Tudor rose and a sheaf of arrows.

Like all the children of Henry VIII., Mary was learned<sup>1</sup>, and her only pleasures were her devotions, her charities, and her books. Her personal piety cannot be disputed, and her simple inexpensive mode of life saved her people from the exactions and disorders which attended the splendid "progresses" of her successor. Yet the character of Mary is usually represented in the darkest colours. Her treatment of her sister, her alleged ingratitude to Cranmer, and her persecuting to the death so many of her subjects, her war with France, and consequent loss of Calais, have, in the popular estimation, covered her memory with infamy.



Badges of Mary.

There are circumstances, however, in regard to all these charges against her, which ought to be taken into the account, if it be wished to form an impartial estimate of her conduct. Her

war with France was manifestly far more the work of her ministers than of herself, and she as deeply deplored its result as any of her subjects could do. Whilst in matters in which she

eventually paid, but the bequests were not, and the hospital for soldiers was left to be founded in another age.

<sup>b</sup> Philip became king of Spain by the resignation of his father, in January, 1556.

<sup>1</sup> Philip's coat has no less than eleven bearings; the arms, namely, of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Austria (modern), Burgundy (ancient and modern), Erabant, Flanders, and Tyrol.

<sup>k</sup> The expression seems to be taken from an elo-

quent passage in the speech of Bishop Fox of Hereford, in the convocation of 1537: "Truth is the daughter of Time, and Time is the mother of Truth; and whatsoever is besieged of Truth cannot long continue; and upon whose side Truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall."

<sup>1</sup> Her tutor was Dr. Fetherstone, who was executed in 1540 for asserting the validity of her mother's marriage.

was personally concerned, it is obvious that she was sincere in her line of conduct, and, unlike most of her contemporaries, the changes in religion which she attempted were the source, not of gain, but of loss to her<sup>m</sup>. She could scarcely regard as a sister, the child of the rival of her mother, and Elizabeth did not conduct herself towards her in a way to remove her distrust<sup>n</sup>. The statement that Cranmer's intercession preserved her life from the fury of her father is, at best, doubtful; and, on the other hand, it is undeniable that he concurred in the harsh proceedings of her brother's council against her, and joined in the attempt to exclude her from the throne; and she could hardly be expected to forget the sentence of divorce and bastardy that he had pronounced. As to the heaviest charge against her, her persecution of her Protestant subjects, this was disguised, probably even to her own heart, by the same specious reasons as induced Latimer to preach at the burning of Forest, and Cranmer to commit Joan Bocher and the Anabaptists to the flames. Persecution of all who ventured to hold opinions contrary to those favoured by authority was a general rule of policy with every communion in the sixteenth century; and this fact accounts for, though it cannot justify, the conduct of the queen of England and the contemporary king of France, as well as that of Cranmer and Calvin<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1553.

Northumberland and his associates endeavour to seize the Princess Mary. She is informed of her brother's death, which they endeavour to conceal, and writes to the council from Kenninghall, in Suffolk, July 9, to claim the crown<sup>p</sup>.

The council reply, that "Queen Jane is their sovereign, according to the ancient laws of the land and the late king's letters patent."

Lady Jane is proclaimed queen, July 10.

Queen Mary raises forces to support her title<sup>q</sup>. Northumberland leaves London, July 14, to proceed against them.

Ridley, bishop of London, preaches at Paul's-cross in favour of Jane, Sunday, July 16, as does Sandys, the vice-chancellor, at Cambridge, on the same day<sup>r</sup>.

The earl of Arundel and others of the council forsake Northumberland. They proclaim Queen Mary in London, July 19, and order Northumberland to disband his forces.

Northumberland, being at Cambridge, dismisses his troops and proclaims Queen Mary, July 20. He is seized by the earl of Arundel, July 21, and sent with three of his sons to the Tower, where he arrives July 25<sup>s</sup>.

The queen enters London, August 3, accompanied by the Princess Elizabeth, and the Lady Anne of Cleves. She proceeds at once to the Tower, and releases the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the widow of the duke of Somerset, lord Courtenay<sup>t</sup>, and other prisoners.

The queen sends for the lord mayor (George Barne) and aldermen to the Tower, Aug. 12, and assures them that "albeit her own conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meant not to compel or strain men's consciences otherwise than God should, as she trusted, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she is in, through the opening of His word unto them by godly and virtuous and learned preachers."

<sup>m</sup> Though burdened with the debts of her father and brother, she re-founded several religious houses, and gave back to the Church the first-fruits and tenths. These were all seized again by her successor, Elizabeth.

<sup>n</sup> Yet she made her several presents of rich jewels, and at least at the beginning of her reign treated her kindly; but she soon found that she must be on her guard against the designs of such men as Wyatt, who styled themselves Elizabeth's friends.

<sup>o</sup> If the royal offenders against Christian charity committed atrocities which seem to throw the burning of the Anabaptists and of Servetus into the shade, it must not be forgotten that there was at least as great a difference in the power of the respective parties as in their actions.

<sup>p</sup> Her reign is reckoned to begin July 6.

<sup>q</sup> Among the earliest to join her were the crews of some ships that had been stationed on the coast to prevent her anticipated flight.

<sup>r</sup> They were both sent to the Tower a few days after. Ridley was kept in confinement until his martyrdom, but Sandys was soon released; he went abroad, returned on Mary's death, held in succession the sees of Worcester, London and York, and died Aug. 8, 1588.

<sup>s</sup> The duke of Suffolk, father to Lady Jane Grey, was also sent to the Tower, July 28, but released three days after.

<sup>t</sup> He was the son of the marquis of Exeter, executed in 1539. He was soon created earl of Devon, but fell under suspicion of favouring Wyatt's rebellion, was imprisoned for a time, and died in exile at Padua, Sept. 1556.

Bonner reinstated as bishop of London, Aug. 5. A tumult occurs in Paul's-cross, on Sunday, Aug. 13<sup>a</sup>; occasion is thence taken to prohibit all preaching except by persons having special licence<sup>a</sup>.

The duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, (Northumberland's son,) are tried before the duke of Norfolk as Lord High Steward, and their peers,

charged with treason; they plead guilty, Aug. 18. Sir Andrew Dudley<sup>b</sup>, Sir John Gate, Sir Henry Gate, and Sir Thomas Palmer, are tried by a special commission on a similar charge, Aug. 19; they also plead guilty. The duke, Sir John Gate, and Sir Thomas Palmer, are beheaded, Aug. 22<sup>c</sup>.

Gardiner is made lord chancellor, Aug. 23.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1553.

George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, is reinstated in his see, and the primacy.

Dowdall had gone into exile in the time of King Edward, on the primacy being adjudged to the see of Dublin. He now had a commission granted to him, in virtue of which he deprived the archbishop of Dublin (George Browne), and the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Leighlin (Edward Staples, Thomas Lancaster, and Robert Travers), as

married men; and Bale, bishop of Ossory, having fled the country, the rest of the bishops readily complied with the restoration of Romanism. Sir Thomas Ratcliff (afterwards earl of Sussex) was appointed deputy in 1556, and held a parliament which passed acts regarding religion similar to those that had been carried in England, but, probably owing to their small number, no persecution of Protestants followed; indeed, some from England found refuge in Ireland.

A.D. 1553.

Bonner, Day, Gardiner, Heath, and Tonstall, are formally restored to their sees. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, is sent to the Fleet, Sept. 1.

Latimer (formerly bishop of Worcester) is sent to the Tower, Sept. 13<sup>a</sup>. The foreign Protestants are ordered to leave England, and Cox, Grindal, Horne, and other Churchmen, retire to Germany.

Cranmer draws up a declaration of his steadfastness in the reformed reli-

gion<sup>b</sup>. He is summoned before the council, and committed to the Tower, Sept. 15.

The queen is crowned with much ceremony, by Gardiner, Oct. 1, on which occasion she remits the<sup>c</sup> taxes voted in the last parliament of King Edward.

The archbishop of York (Robert Holgate) committed to the Tower, Oct. 4.

The parliament meets<sup>e</sup> Oct. 5, and sits (with a short adjournment) till

<sup>a</sup> Bourn, his chaplain, preached a sermon in which he censured the proceedings against Bonner in the preceding reign; stones and a dagger were thrown at him, and he owed his life to the exertions of Rogers and Bradford, two of the prebendaries, who afterwards suffered martyrdom.

<sup>b</sup> These licences were granted only to known Romanists, but many of the Protestants preached without, and were in consequence imprisoned, which was the first step in the Marian persecution.

<sup>c</sup> Northumberland's brother, a celebrated naval commander. He was pardoned and released Jan. 18, 1555.

<sup>d</sup> The sum of £10 13s. 4d. was given to them, by the queen's order, to distribute in alms at their execution, as appears from the Lord Chamberlain's accounts. Northumberland on the scaffold professed himself a Romanist, and they all died warning the people not to turn religion into sedition, as they had done. The others were pardoned after a brief imprisonment, and most of them were afterwards employed by the queen: the earl of Warwick, however, died at Penshurst, the residence of his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney (having been

released earlier than the rest in consequence of illness), Oct. 21, 1554. He has left his own name "JOHN DUDLEY," on the wall of the Beauchamp tower, as also an elaborate device and inscription, commemorating by floral emblems the names of his four brothers.

<sup>e</sup> He is said in the Council-book to be committed for his seditious demeanour; he was to remain a close prisoner, but to be attended by one Ansly, his servant.

<sup>f</sup> Reports had been spread that he had offered to perform mass before the queen, and had caused it to be restored in his cathedral. Inspired it is said by Peter Martyr, a man of vehement temper, he denied the statement in such violent terms as gave great offence.

<sup>g</sup> The convocation met Oct. 18, and after a strenuous opposition from Philpot and a few others, the doctrine of transubstantiation was affirmed. Weston, dean of Westminster, the prolocutor, in reply to one who said, "We have the word [of Scripture]," exclaimed, "But we have the sword," and closed the debate.

Dec. 6. The new treasons, præmunires, and felonies created in the two preceding reigns are abolished, [1 Mar. c. 1]. The queen is declared to have been born "in a most just and lawful matrimony," [sess. 2, c. 1]; the laws concerning religion passed in the last reign are annulled, [c. 2]; and the form of divine service as used in the last year of Henry VIII. is re-established from the ensuing 20th December<sup>a</sup>.

Assemblies of more than twelve persons to attempt any alteration of religion declared felony<sup>c</sup>, [1 Mar. c. 12].

The attainder of the duke of Norfolk reversed, [1 Mar. cc. 22, 34].

Archbishop Cranmer, Lady Jane Grey, her husband Guilford, and his brothers Sir Ambrose and Henry Dudley, are tried at Guildhall, Nov. 13, by a special commission consisting of the lord mayor (Thomas White), the duke of Norfolk and others, on charges of treason. Cranmer pleads not guilty, but withdraws his plea; the rest plead guilty. Sir Robert Dudley<sup>d</sup>, another brother, is tried at the same place on similar charges, Jan. 20, 1554, and pleads guilty<sup>e</sup>.

Negotiations are commenced for a reconciliation with Rome. Cardinal Pole is commissioned as legate to bring it about.

Veysey, bishop of Exeter, is restored to his see, Dec. 28.

A.D. 1554.

A marriage is concluded between the queen and Philip, son of the emperor, Charles V. The parliament (dissolved near the end of the preceding year) had expressed their dislike of the match, and now certain parties resolved to resist it by arms.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish gentleman, confederated with Sir Peter Carew, Sir William Pickering, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir James Crofts, and others, as early as November, 1553, to hinder the marriage, and they seem to have been little scrupulous about the means<sup>f</sup>. The duke of Suffolk, his brother (lord Thomas Grey), and his sons joined themselves to them, and endeavoured to raise troops in Leicester, Jan. 29, by the offer of a payment of sixpence a-day; their attempt was unsuccessful, and they were soon lodged in the Tower. Carew<sup>g</sup> and Crofts equally failed in Devonshire and Wales.

Wyatt's enterprise at first seemed to prosper. He got together at least 2,000 men at Rochester, as early as Jan. 26, (according to the indictment against him,) and fortified the castle

<sup>a</sup> By the zeal of Bonner, the former service was fully re-established in St. Paul's on the 25th of November, even before the queen had assented to this act. Indeed, he had commenced its restoration on his own authority, Aug. 27.

<sup>b</sup> By the assembly of a less number the penalty of a year's imprisonment was incurred. The act also punished tumults for other purposes, as destroying inclosures, &c., but its provisions under that head were less rigorous than those of the statute of 1549 against unlawful assemblies.

<sup>c</sup> Afterwards earl of Leicester.

<sup>d</sup> Only Guilford Dudley and Lady Jane were executed on this conviction. The other Dudleys received a pardon in 1555, and Cranmer was put to death as a heretic, not as a traitor.

<sup>e</sup> Among their schemes, a pretended spirit, concealed in the wall of a house in the city, denounced the queen, the prince, the mass, confession, and other matters; the impostor (Elizabeth Croft, a girl of 18) was detected, and made a public confession of her offence at Paul's-cross, July 15. Some prayed for the queen's death, and at least one man contemplated regicide. This was William Thomas, formerly clerk of the council, who in May, 1554, was convicted of suggesting to Arnold and others the murder of the queen. In his indictment he is charged with putting the following "argument" in writing: "Whether were it not a good device to have all these perils that we have talked of, taken away with very little bloodshed, that is to say, by killing the queen. I think John Fitzwilliams might be persuaded to do it," &c. He attempted to kill himself in prison before his trial, but was executed May 18. Unlike the rest, most of whom professed penitence on the scaffold, he vehemently declaimed against the

queen, and declared he died for his country.

<sup>f</sup> He escaped to France. The conduct of the queen towards him, recorded in the following terms in the Council-book, (Hampton Court, Sept. 22, 1554, Gardiner being present,) may fairly be taken as an evidence that she was not destitute of kind and womanly feeling. "Whereas the Lady Talboys [widow of Lord Talboys of Kyme, who died April 15, 1539], wife to Sir Peter Carew, hath made right humble and earnest suit unto the King and Queen's Majesties, as well for leave to write unto her husband from time to time, as also to have license to send him some present relief; notwithstanding the greatness of her husband's offences, upon her importunity nevertheless, and considering that she hath done herein for her part no less than became a good and loving wife, their majesties being inclined to compassion and clemency, have been contented to condescend thereunto; and therefore it was this day resolved by the lords, that the Lady Talboys being called before them, should, for answer of the King and Queen's Highness' pleasure in the premises, not only have thus much declared unto her, that she might when she would write over the seas to her said husband, and for this one time only relieve him with her goods, without incurring their Highnesses' indignation for so doing." What follows shews kindness in the council also. "The lords further declared, upon her humble suit, that, for her indemnity and better discharge, this declaration of the King and Queen's Highnesses' pleasure herein should be entered as matter of record in the Liedger and Register-book of the Council; of which resolution she being desirous to have a copy, the lords were content to grant her therein also her humble request."

and bridge. The duke of Norfolk<sup>k</sup> was sent against him with the queen's guard, his own retinue, and about 500 men raised in London, under the command of Alexander Brett. He sent a herald to offer pardon to the rebels, which they refused to accept, and when he was about to attack their position (Jan. 29), Brett and the Londoners cried out "We are all Englishmen!" "A Wyatt! a Wyatt!" and went over to the Kentish men, as did some of the guard and many of the retinue; the duke was obliged to flee for his life, leaving all his cannon and ammunition behind.

Wyatt reached Deptford on the 1st of February, and in answer to a message from the queen demanded that she should change her councillors, surrender the Tower to him, and go to reside there under his custody. On the same day the queen came to the Guildhall, in London, and claimed the assistance of the citizens against Wyatt, appointing Lord William Howard lieutenant of the city, and the earl of Pembroke general of her forces in the field. The Kentish men entered Southwark without opposition on the evening of the 3rd, and plundered the palace of the bishop of Winchester<sup>l</sup>, but were unable to force a passage over London bridge. On the morning of the 6th Wyatt withdrew from Southwark, at the entreaty of the inhabitants, who saw the guns of the Tower directed against them, and marched to Kingston. He repaired the bridge, which had been broken, and marched in the night of Feb. 6-7 towards London, but losing time in endeavouring to bring on a gun which had broken down, and which he could not be persuaded to abandon, his design of surprising the queen in her palace before daybreak, miscarried: he halted at

Knightsbridge to rest his men, when many of his partisans, despairing of success, forsook him. When he moved forward he found himself exposed to the fire of artillery and charges of horse; he passed on, however, repulsing an attack made on him by Sir John Gage at Charing Cross, until he came to Ludgate, which was defended against him by Lord William Howard. Thus unable to join his partisans in the city, he returned towards Westminster, but was met at Temple-bar by a party of horse; a skirmish ensued, and after a brief parley with a herald, who exhorted him to merit the queen's pardon by sparing bloodshed, he surrendered himself to Sir Maurice Berkeley, and with his chief accomplices was shortly after conveyed to the Tower.

Wyatt's approach was notified to the queen early in the morning, but she refused to remove for safety to the Tower. She instead remained calmly at her devotions while the conflict was going on around her gates<sup>m</sup>; and she afterwards displayed a degree of lenity very unusual in her age, in dealing with the defeated insurgents; of the many hundreds of prisoners taken, not a tenth were punished, except by a few days' imprisonment<sup>n</sup>.

This rebellion, however, proved fatal to the unhappy Lady Jane Grey and her husband<sup>o</sup>; they were executed, the one within, the other without, the Tower, Feb. 12. Her father, the duke of Suffolk, was tried by his peers, and convicted, Feb. 17, and executed Feb. 23; her uncle, Sir Thomas Grey, pleaded guilty March 9, and was executed April 27. Sir Thomas Wyatt pleaded guilty March 15, and was executed April 11<sup>p</sup>.

Sir James Crofts and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton were tried April 17,

<sup>k</sup> He had not long before been released, after a six years' imprisonment in the Tower, and he was now more than 80 years of age. He died in the following July, and was succeeded by his grandson, who was executed in 1572.

<sup>l</sup> According to Stow, "they left not a lock on a door, or a book in his gallery or library uncut or rent into pieces, so that men might have gone up to the knees in leaves of books cut out and thrown under foot."

<sup>m</sup> So imminent appeared the danger, that Dr. Weston, who sang the mass before her, wore armour under his vestments.

<sup>n</sup> Her father, her brother, her sister, all acted very differently, though not exposed to personal danger. See A.D. 1537, 1549, 1569.

<sup>o</sup> It seems highly probable that but for it they would never have suffered, as their confinement had hitherto been by no means rigorous. Lady Jane, the Dudleys, and Archbishop Cranmer, were, by order of council, Dec. 17, 1553, allowed to have "the liberty of the walks within the garden of the Tower," on suggestion "that divers be and have been evil at ease in their bodies for want of air."

<sup>p</sup> A great number of his followers were tried, and mostly pleaded guilty, on various dates from the 13th to the 26th of February, of whom about 50 were executed, mainly in London. On February 20, upwards of 400 were brought before the queen at Westminster with halters round their necks, and then were set at liberty.

The trial of Throckmorton occupied the whole day, and he was acquitted<sup>9</sup>, for which the jury were imprisoned for a time, and fined<sup>1</sup>. Crofts was again brought to the bar, April 28, and convicted, but afterwards pardoned.

The earl of Devon (Edward Courtenay) is sent to the Tower, Feb. 12.

The foreign congregations are ordered to quit the realm, Feb. 17.

The queen issues injunctions to the bishops to restore the ecclesiastical laws to their state under Henry VIII., but dispensing with the oath of supremacy, March 4.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer removed from the Tower, March 13, and conveyed to Oxford.

The Princess Elizabeth is sent to the Tower, March 18<sup>a</sup>.

The marquis of Northampton, Lord Cobham, and several other prisoners, are released from the Tower, March 24.

The married clergy are either expelled, or separated from their wives<sup>1</sup>.

The archbishop of York (Robert Holgate), the bishops of Bristol (Paul Bushe), Chester (John Birde), St. David's (Robert Ferrar), Gloucester (John Hooper), Hereford (John Harley), and Lincoln (John Taylor), are deprived of their sees. The bishop of Bath and Wells (William Barlow) resigns<sup>2</sup>; the bishop of Chichester (John Scory) preserves his see for awhile by renouncing his wife and doing penance, but is subsequently expelled<sup>3</sup>.

The parliament meets, April 2, and sits till May 5.

All regal power declared to be vested

in the queen as fully as in any king, [1 Mar. sess. 3. c. 1].

The stipulations of the queen's marriage contract established by parliament, [c. 2].

The see of Durham re-established<sup>4</sup>, [c. 3].

A public disputation held at Oxford, April 16, 17, 18, on the mass, at which Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer state their opinions, but are borne down by clamour. They are again brought forward April 28, and refusing to conform are pronounced "obstinate heretics<sup>5</sup>."

The imprisoned preachers in London issue a protest against the public disputations as unfairly managed, and a design of taking some of them to Cambridge for that purpose is abandoned, May 8.

The exiled earl of Kildare<sup>6</sup> restored, May 14.

The Princess Elizabeth is released from the Tower, May 19. She is put first in the charge of Lord Williams, at Woodstock, and afterwards under the care of Sir Henry Bedingfield<sup>7</sup>.

The preacher at Paul's-cross (Dr. Pendleton) is fired at, June 10, which occasions a proclamation against bearing weapons.

Philip of Spain<sup>8</sup> lands at Southampton, July 20, and marries the queen at Winchester, July 25. He procures the release of the earl of Devon<sup>9</sup> and others, and opposes the views of Gardiner against the Princess Elizabeth, but is unpopular from his haughty, formal behaviour<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> He was charged with conspiring with Sir Peter Carew to seize the Tower, and had accompanied Wyatt throughout his rebellion. Though acquitted, he was not set at liberty until Jan. 18, 1555.

<sup>1</sup> They were held by the judges to have given an untrue verdict, and were therefore liable to the much heavier penalty of attainder under the statute of Henry VII. See A.D. 1497.

<sup>2</sup> She had been desired in courteous terms to repair to the court nearly two months before (Jan. 26), but seems to have neglected to do so.

<sup>3</sup> From early times, a priest who took a wife was considered a bigamist, being already married to his church. Hence three married priests and two laymen who had two wives each did penance together at Paul's-cross, on Sunday, Nov. 4, 1554.

<sup>4</sup> He soon after escaped beyond sea; one William Marriner, of Bristol, was sent to the Marshalsea for aiding him.

<sup>5</sup> He became bishop of Hereford under Elizabeth, and alienated much of the property of the see.

<sup>7</sup> The former act suppressing the see is said in the preamble to have been brought about by "the sinister labour, great malice, and corrupt means of

certain ambitious persons then being in authority."

<sup>2</sup> Cranmer exclaimed, "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose presence on the altar I am thus condemned." His fellow prisoners also rejoiced that they were to suffer for the truth.

<sup>3</sup> See A.D. 1534.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Birchall, one of her servants, was committed to the Marshalsea for seditious words, July 6, but was released Sept. 17.

<sup>5</sup> He had received from his father the kingdom of Naples, and in consequence he and the queen took the style of "King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland."

<sup>6</sup> He had been removed from the Tower to the castle of Fotheringhay. He was now allowed to go abroad, and he died in Italy in 1556.

<sup>7</sup> Quarrels ensued between his attendants and the English, which are noticed in the Privy Council Book, under date Aug. 15, 1554. The Spaniards are referred to the judgment of the king, being apparently not considered amenable to the English laws.

A scale of allowances for prisoners in the Tower is fixed by the council<sup>f</sup>, June 24.

Notes of the proceedings in council ordered to be made in Latin or Spanish for the use of King Philip<sup>g</sup>, July 27.

The bishops make a visitation to enforce the queen's injunctions<sup>h</sup>. Some of the Reformed disperse ballads and poems in ridicule of the re-established ceremonies, which gives great offence, and measures are taken for severe punishment<sup>i</sup>.

The parliament meets, Nov. 12, and sits till Jan. 16, 1555.

Cardinal Pole's attainder is reversed. He comes to England, arriving in London, Nov. 14; and makes a speech to the parliament inviting them to reconciliation with the Holy See, Nov. 27.

The cardinal's speech is considered in the parliament, Nov. 29. A conference of both houses is held, and an address voted to the king and queen expressing detestation of their "most horrible defection and schism from the Apostolic See," a readiness to repeal all laws made to its prejudice, and an earnest desire for reconciliation.

The cardinal, in consequence, grants them absolution, and frees the realm from all spiritual censures, Nov. 30.

Cardinal Pole and Gardiner advise different courses regarding the Reformed. The cardinal recommends lenity and forbearance, but the more violent counsels of Gardiner<sup>k</sup> unfortunately prevail.

A statute passed, "repealing all Statutes, Articles, and Provisions made

against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII., and also for the establishment of all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the Laity;" [1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8]. This act recites that "much false and erroneous doctrine hath been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers the natural-born subjects of this realm, and partly being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries, hath been sown and spread abroad within the same;" hence the obnoxious statutes (19 in number) which are now repealed<sup>l</sup>.

Praying for the queen's death, said to be practised in "prophane and schismatical conventicles," declared treason, [c. 9].

Speaking or preaching openly and advisedly against the title of the king and queen and their issue made punishable, for the first offence by forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for life, and for the second as treason<sup>m</sup>, [c. 10].

The Russia Company incorporated. They dispatch Richard Chancellor and Anthony Jenkinson as their agents to open a trade with Russia and Persia.

#### A.D. 1555.

Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir George Harper, and several other prisoners, are released from the Tower, Jan. 18<sup>n</sup>.

The Marian persecution begins, with the seizure of a congregation of thirty persons in the city of London, who

<sup>f</sup> For nobles the sum was 6s. 8d. per day; for knights £1 13s. 4d., and for gentlemen 10s. per week.

<sup>g</sup> This would seem to prove that he took more interest in English affairs than historians have supposed.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 329.

<sup>i</sup> Some of them had before this acted very unwisely and offensively. One Robert Mendham, a tailor, was brought before the Star-chamber, Sept. 15, 1553, for "shaving a dog in despite of priesthood," and was ordered "openly to confess his folly" in the parish church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. On Sunday, April 2, 1554, a cat was found hanging in Cheap, "with her head shorn, and the likeness of a vestment cast over her, with her fore feet tied together, and a round piece of paper like a singing cake betwixt them;" this, by order of Bonner, was shewn to the people at Paul's-cross, by Dr. Pendleton, who was himself fired at in the pulpit shortly after. Such conduct has provoked the wrath of governments in ages more tolerant than that of the Tudors.

<sup>k</sup> Gardiner was probably led to this unhappy

course through the irritation caused by some of the English exiles abroad reprinting a book on True Obedience, written by him twenty years before, in which language most offensive to the queen was used regarding her mother's marriage and "the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome."

<sup>l</sup> The bishoprics, colleges, schools, hospitals, &c., "established since this schism," are confirmed, as are all marriages liable only to canonical objections. Cardinal Pole, as papal legate, consented to the Church property which had been seized remaining in lay hands, but laid it as a solemn charge on men's consciences to make restitution to the extent of their ability.

<sup>m</sup> The arbitrary course of proceeding by attainder, so frequent under Henry VIII., and used by Edward VI.'s ministers, is forbidden by this statute: all prosecutions under it are directed to be "according to the due order and course of the common laws of this realm, and not otherwise."

<sup>n</sup> The prince of Orange had visited the Tower a few days before, and expressed compassion for their captivity, and a hope that the queen would relieve them.



are discovered using the service-book of King Edward.

Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, is brought before the council, and examined as to his religious opinions, Jan. 22; he refuses to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, and is sent back to Newgate.

Hooper, the deprived bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, are examined before Gardiner and other bishops at St. Mary Overy, Southwark, and condemned as "obstinate heretics," Jan. 28.

Rogers is burnt in Smithfield, Feb. 4; and Hooper at Gloucester, Feb. 9. Alphonso, a Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, preaches a sermon, Feb. 10, in which he throws the odium of the burnings on the bishops; they, in consequence, pause in their course.

Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and lord Montacute<sup>o</sup>, are sent as ambassadors to Rome, to formally complete the reconciliation, February.

The English exiles circulate an address to the queen and the people against persecution for conscience' sake<sup>p</sup>.

The queen surrenders such of the Church lands as still remain with the crown, and places them at the disposal of the cardinal.

Robert Ferrar, the deprived bishop of St. David's, burnt at Caermarthen, March 30.

William Flower, formerly a monk, attempts to murder the priest at St. Margaret's, Westminster, whilst ministering the sacrament on Easter-day (April 14). His hand is cut off, and he is then burnt as a heretic, in the Sanctuary, April 24.

The justices of the peace are en-

joined diligently to search out heretics. Many persons are in consequence apprehended, condemned, and executed.

Thirteen persons burnt at Stratford, June 27.

John Bradford<sup>q</sup>, a prebendary of St. Paul's, is burnt in Smithfield, July 1.

The English ambassadors have conferences with the pope, (Paul IV.), who presses them for a restoration of all the Church lands, and the payment of Peter-pence.

The bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, (John White, James Brooks and John Holyman) and other commissioners, hold a court under the papal authority at Oxford, for the trial of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer<sup>r</sup>. After several examinations Ridley and Latimer are condemned as "obstinate heretics," and are burnt near Balliol College, Oct. 16. Cranmer is remanded to prison.

The parliament meets, Oct. 21.

Commissioners appointed to restore and re-edify castles and towns in the northern counties, [2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. c. 1].

Tenths and first-fruits restored to the Church<sup>s</sup>, [c. 4].

Former statutes for the relief of the poor confirmed and amended<sup>t</sup>, [c. 5].

Sir Anthony Kingston, a member of the Commons, is imprisoned by the council for his conduct in parliament<sup>u</sup>.

Cardinal Pole, having the royal licence, holds a synod, at which canons are drawn up for reforming the state of the Church.

Dr. Story, a civilian<sup>v</sup>, and others are commissioned to restore the rood-lofts, crucifixes, and images in the churches.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and

<sup>o</sup> Anthony Browne, formerly one of the queen's household.

<sup>p</sup> This manifesto also entered into political matters, endeavoured to alarm the holders of the abbey lands, and drew a picture of the Spanish rule in the Netherlands, and of the dangers which threatened England from the same cause. It was answered by the Romanists by an appeal to the Mosaic laws against blasphemers, and such texts as "Compel them to come in."

<sup>q</sup> Already mentioned (see A.D. 1553) as having, with his fellow martyr Rogers, saved the life of Bourn, Bonner's chaplain. He had been imprisoned ever since Aug. 16, 1553, and is remarkable for having carried on a warm theological controversy with Ridley and other prisoners.

<sup>r</sup> The process commenced early in September, though sentence was not pronounced against Ridley and Latimer until Friday, Oct. 4, and then the cause, as far as regarded Cranmer, was remitted to

Rome, where a definite sentence of deprivation was passed against him in December. This was carried out by his formal degradation, Feb. 14, 1556.

<sup>s</sup> They had been given to the crown in 1536. They were reclaimed by Elizabeth in 1559, but were again given up by Anne in 1703, for the purpose of augmenting the provision for the poorer clergy.

<sup>t</sup> Where the poor were particularly numerous they might be licensed to beg; and sums gathered in London for their relief were to be paid to and disbursed by Christ's Hospital.

<sup>u</sup> He was discharged after a fortnight's confinement, but being afterwards accused of a design to rob the Exchequer, he was apprehended, and died on his way to London. His alleged confederates, John Throckmorton (brother of Sir Nicholas) and seven others, were found guilty, and executed.

<sup>v</sup> See A.D. 1571.

lord chancellor, dies at Whitehall, Nov. 12<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1556.

The archbishop of York (Nicholas Heath) is appointed lord chancellor, Jan. 1.

William Chamberlain, or Constable, a youth who had personated the deceased king, Edward VI., is executed<sup>b</sup>, March 13.

Cranmer is tampered with in prison, and recants. He however is ordered for execution by writ dated Feb. 24; after a further delay he is burnt at Oxford, March 21.

Trinity College, Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas Pope<sup>c</sup>, March 18.

Cardinal Pole is consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, March 22<sup>a</sup>. He publicly assumes the functions of papal legate, March 28.

Richard Uvedale, governor of Yarmouth castle, in the Isle of Wight, is convicted of treason<sup>b</sup>, April 21, and executed April 28.

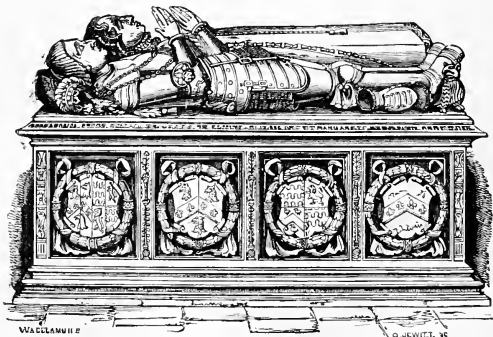
A commission granted to Bonner and others (Sept. 23) to search for and collect all records of the visitations of the monasteries, and deliver them to the cardinal, "that they might be disposed of as the queen should order<sup>c</sup>."

<sup>a</sup> His body was wrapped in lead and placed in a vault in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, where it remained until near the end of February, 1556, when it was removed with much pomp and buried at Winchester. Whilst it rested in St. Mary's, the rich velvet pall was stolen from the coffin.

<sup>b</sup> Some persons were examined by the council as long back as Nov. 1553, for spreading a report of

King Edward being alive. Chamberlain was the son of a miller in the north, and had been in the service of Sir Peter Meautys, who was himself imprisoned in 1555; he had before confessed his imposture, and been dismissed with a whipping, on a promise of repairing to his own country, which it seems he had not done.

<sup>c</sup> This deserves notice, as the first college founded in either University by an individual since the Re-



Tomb of Sir Thomas Pope, in Trinity College Chapel.

formation. On its site were some ruined buildings of Durham college, a foundation of the latter part



Arms of Trinity College, Oxford.

of the 13th century, which had been shortly before granted to Dr. George Owen and William Martyn, and were purchased from them by Sir Thomas

Pope. He had been educated at Eton, was a lawyer, and had held many important offices. He became clerk of the Star-chamber, then a privy councillor; also treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, master of the jewels, and warden of the mint. He was for awhile the keeper of Princess Elizabeth, and dying in January, 1559, soon after her accession, he was buried in the chapel of his college.

<sup>a</sup> He had been appointed by the pope, by a bull dated Dec. 11, 1555.

<sup>b</sup> He had agreed not to oppose a threatened landing of Henry Dudley and others who had formerly fled to France, and to whom the plunder of the Exchequer (see A.D. 1555) was intended to be sent. John Throckmorton was tried and executed with him.

<sup>c</sup> They are presumed to have been destroyed, as very few are now known to exist.

The abbey of Westminster formally re-established, Nov. 21; John Feckenham, or Howman, late dean of St. Paul's, is installed as abbot.

A.D. 1557.

Cardinal Pole holds a visitation of the Universities, when English Bibles and books containing "heretical opinions" are destroyed. The body of Peter Martyr's wife is removed from its grave at Oxford, but re-interred through defect of legal evidence as to her creed<sup>d</sup>. At Cambridge the bodies of Bucer and Fagius are taken up, their teaching testified to, and their remains then burnt<sup>e</sup>, Feb. 6.

A commission issued, Feb. 8, to Bonner and others, to inquire rigorously concerning "devilish and clamorous persons," who spread seditious reports or brought in "heretical and seditious books." They had also full power over those who neglected or contemned the Church ceremonies, and "vagabonds and masterless men<sup>f</sup>."

Osep Napea, the first ambassador

from Russia, arrives in London, Feb. 28<sup>g</sup>, and makes a commercial treaty.

St. John's College, Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas White<sup>h</sup>, March 5.

The queen declares war against France, in support of her husband Philip<sup>i</sup>, June 7.

The Spaniards defeat the French at St. Quentin, Aug. 10, being assisted by some English troops.

The French incite the Scots to invade England.

The English fleet defeated, and Sir John Clere, the admiral, killed, in an attack on the Orkneys, Aug. 13.

The order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem re-established<sup>k</sup>; Sir Thomas Tresham made lord prior of England<sup>l</sup>, Nov. 30.

A.D. 1558.

The French, under the duke of Guise, invest Calais. The castles of Newenham bridge and Ruysbank are abandoned, Jan. 3; the duke then besieges the castle of Calais, which surrenders, Jan. 6<sup>m</sup>; the town capitulates the next day<sup>n</sup>. The French then ad-

<sup>d</sup> She could not speak English, and therefore testimony as to her religious opinions was not procurable.

<sup>e</sup> This revolting act seems to have been forced on Pole's commissioners by the bigotry of the bishop of Chester (Cuthbert Scott) and some members of the University.

<sup>f</sup> They were empowered to fine, imprison, or "otherwise punish," at their pleasure; but charges of "heretical acts or opinions" they were to remit to the spiritual courts. These commissioners became exceedingly odious, as they were looked on as the precursors of the establishment of the Inquisition.

<sup>g</sup> He had left Archangel, July 28, 1556, in a ship belonging to the English merchants (see A.D. 1553), but suffered shipwreck on the coast of Scotland, when Richard Chancellor, his conductor, was drowned.

<sup>h</sup> He was a Muscovy merchant, who had been twice lord mayor of London, and was knighted for

chapel of his college; his funeral oration was delivered by Edmund Campion, afterwards the celebrated Jesuit.

<sup>i</sup> Philip had long before endeavoured to induce the queen to take this step, but she declined it until her states were attacked by a force fitted out by the refugees in France. Thomas Stafford landed with a party in Yorkshire, and seized Scarborough castle, April 25; he also issued a proclamation reviling the queen, and styling himself protector of the kingdom. He was soon captured and brought to London, where, with five of his associates, he was tried, May 22 and 25; they all pleaded guilty (one, John Sherlles, a Frenchman, at first pleaded not guilty, but retracted his plea). Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, and three others (Stowell, Proctor, and Bradford) executed at Tyburn, May 28; Sherlles and Saunders were pardoned.

<sup>k</sup> See A.D. 1540.

<sup>l</sup> As he was a skilful soldier, the defence of the Isle of Wight was committed to him.

<sup>m</sup> Troops were hastily assembled at Dover for the relief of Calais, but, owing to tempestuous weather, they were unable to cross over in time to save it.

<sup>n</sup> Lord Wentworth and fifty others were to remain as prisoners; the rest of the English, about 4,000 in number, were to go where they would. The French at once entered the town, "and forthwith," says Grafton, "all the men, women, and children were commanded to leave their houses, and to go unto certain places appointed for them, there to remain till order were further taken for their sending away. The places appointed for them to remain in were chiefly four, the two churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, the deputy's house, and the Staple, where they rested part of that day, the night following, and the next day till the afternoon. And while they were thus in these four places, proclamation was made in their hearings, straitly charging them that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels, to the value of fourpence, to bring



Arms of St. John's College, Oxford.

his services in suppressing Wyatt's rebellion. His foundation occupies the site of St. Bernard's College, an educational establishment of the Cistercians, founded by Archbishop Chicheley. Sir Thomas White died in 1567, and was buried in the

vance to Guines, which, after a stout defence by Lord Grey of Wilton, is taken, Jan. 21, and the only remaining fort in Hammes being abandoned the same night, the English are entirely expelled from France.

The loss of Calais occasions great discontent. Philip offers to assist in recovering it, but the queen's council, though greatly urged by herself<sup>o</sup>, plead inability to bear the expense of the attempt.

The parliament meets, Jan. 20, and sits till March 7.

The French defeated at Gravelines,

July 13, by the Spaniards, assisted by an English fleet.

A fleet sent against France, under Lord Clinton, burns Conquet, in Brittany, (July 29,) but though joined by some Spanish ships, does not venture, as was intended, to attack Brest<sup>p</sup>.

Conferences for peace between England, France, and Spain opened at Cambray, in October.

The queen, who had been long in bad health, dies at St. James's, Nov. 17<sup>q</sup>. She is buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster abbey, Dec. 13<sup>r</sup>.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.
The Emperor, Charles V., abdicates	1556
The pope, Paul IV., claims the disposal of the empire . . . .	1556

	A.D.
Commerce established between England and Russia . . . .	1557

the same forthwith, and lay it on the high altars of the said churches upon pain of death, bearing them in hand they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation there was made a sorrowful offering: and while they were at this offering in the churches, the Frenchmen rifled their houses, where they found inestimable riches and treasure." After this the English were expelled from the town, in several parties, but they were kindly treated by the Scottish horsemen in the duke's army, who guarded them through the French camp, and protected them from the insolence of the victors. This event was the cause of great rejoicings in France, and the district is to the present time popularly known as the Reconquered Country.

<sup>o</sup> She pleaded personally with them, styling Calais "the chief jewel of our realm," but to no purpose.

<sup>p</sup> It was hoped to capture it, and exchange it for Calais when peace should be made.

<sup>q</sup> Cardinal Pole lay ill at the same time, and died the day after her.

<sup>r</sup> The bishop of Winchester (John White) preached her funeral sermon; his text was, "I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive;" and giving offence by speaking warmly in her praise, and condemning the projected alterations in religion, he was confined to his house until the meeting of parliament. He was deprived in 1559, and died Jan. 12, 1560.



Great Seal of Elizabeth.

## ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH, the only surviving child of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, was born at the palace of Placentia (Greenwich), September 7, 1533. In her third year she was deprived of her mother, and was also declared illegitimate; but in 1544 she was conditionally restored; and from that time until the death of Edward VI. she was apparently well treated. She joined her sister Mary in opposing the usurpation of Lady Jane Grey, and accompanied the queen on her entry into London. Little cordiality, however, could be expected to subsist between them; Elizabeth was looked upon as the hope of the Protestant party, and, being suspected of fa-

vouring the rebellion of Wyatt, she was sent to the Tower, but after a short time was released, probably by the desire of Philip of Spain. She was, however, soon placed under restraint again, and dwelt in a confinement more or less rigorous, according to the various tempers of her different keepers<sup>a</sup>, until called to the throne by the death of Mary, Nov. 17, 1558.

It was the general expectation of both friends and foes that Elizabeth would reverse the religious policy of her sister; and she very soon proceeded to do so. Her principal adviser was Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley<sup>b</sup>), who took his

<sup>a</sup> Of these, Sir Thomas Pope is said to have been the most indulgent, and Sir Henry Bedingfield the most severe.

<sup>b</sup> He remained her prime minister until his death, and to him is due more properly than to the queen, the praise or blame of the most important transactions of her reign. He was born Sept. 13, 1520, at Bourn, Lincolnshire, his father being then a yeoman of the robes to Henry VIII. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was a diligent student; he was intended for the law, but

attracted the attention of the king, and became a courtier. Cecil served in the Scottish war under the Protector Somerset; became secretary of state to Edward VI.; so temporized in the matter of Lady Jane Grey, as not to be committed with either party; and complied with the change of religion under Mary, though he still kept up a good understanding with the Princess Elizabeth. On her accession he again changed his religious profession. He was named her secretary of state even before she set out for London, and he at once sub

measures with so much address that all opposition was borne down, and an apparent conformity brought about with very little trouble; but it needed all the firmness of three successive primates (Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift), to prevent the Church being reduced to a mere creature of the State, — a scheme most agreeable to the arbitrary temper of the queen, who entertained as high ideas of her ecclesiastical supremacy as Henry VIII. had ever done.

Elizabeth's relations with foreign powers were, during the whole course of her reign, surrounded with difficulties connected with the subject of religion. At her accession the reigning pope (Paul IV.) refused to acknowledge her title; Philip of Spain professed personal regard, but gave it to be understood that he could only continue in friendship with her if she continued a Catholic; and the king of France (Henry II.) induced his daughter-in-law, Mary of Scotland, to assume the style and arms of queen of England; on the other hand, the Protestants of France, Scotland, and the Netherlands looked to her for support against the tyranny of their sovereigns, as well in civil as religious matters. Whatever her own intentions may have been, the "Machiavel-governance" of her ministers, not confined to secret dealings with Romanists and Puritans at home, aggravated the troubles of other coun-

tries; their arts were retorted by men as unscrupulous as themselves, and many determined attempts were made both against her government and her life, but all these efforts were signally unsuccessful<sup>d</sup>.

Elizabeth sent aid to the French Protestants on several occasions, but without any very important results. Her interference in Scotland was of a more decided character, the affairs of that country being in reality directed by her ministers. Mainly by their intrigues the ill-advised, unhappy, but probably not guilty Mary<sup>e</sup>, was driven from her throne. She sought shelter in England; and though she found instead a prison, and eventually a violent death, her coming had most important consequences, for the Romanists, who had hitherto accepted Elizabeth as queen, now began to look to foreign powers for support, which they hoped to obtain by her means, and in return many shewed themselves ready to accept her as their sovereign.

The Romanists had, indeed, some time before begun to decline attendance at church, moved by the exhortations of William Allen<sup>f</sup>, and of priests who had gone abroad on the re-establishment of the English Liturgy, but about 1563 had ventured to return, and who then spread among them a censure of the Council of Trent on such conformity. Allen, too, founded a se-

mitted to her "a device for alteration of religion," in which he recommended a systematic discouragement of all who had been in authority under Queen Mary, and supplying their place with "men meaner in substance and younger in years," the involving the clergy in a præmunire, and "a sharp law" against popular assemblies. The plan was adopted, and at first seemed successful; but many men were found, both Romanists and Puritans, who refused to follow his example of adapting their consciences to every change of government; nor could the many sharp laws<sup>g</sup> that were devised by him bring them to conformity. In the midst of the cares of state, Cecil was far from neglectful of his own interest. He was ennobled, as Lord Burghley, in 1571, and afterwards made lord high treasurer; and he succeeded in raising a vast estate, great part of it, as was too usual with the courtiers of the later Tudors, wrung by way of inequitable exchange from the Church. He died Aug. 4, 1598.

<sup>e</sup> Such is the term used by Archbishop Parker, in letters to Cecil, as fittest to describe the secret favour given by members of the government to both Romanists and Puritans, whilst the bishops were compelled to coerce them, making both themselves and their order odious.

<sup>d</sup> Most of these plots were foiled by the sagacity of Sir Francis Walsingham, who was for many years secretary of state, and who, by foreign travel,

had imbibed much of the dark and dangerous policy of his opponents. He was born at Chiselhurst, in Kent, in 1536; was educated at King's College, Cambridge; went abroad on the accession of Mary, thus became an accomplished linguist, and was employed on the most important embassies to France and Scotland. He was rewarded with the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, but he was not a favourite with Elizabeth, for he belonged to the Puritan party, and, unlike his patron Burghley, he remained a poor man. He died April 6, 1590.

<sup>e</sup> The guilt or innocence of the Scottish queen has frequently been made almost a national question, and innumerable writers have employed their powers upon it; all their researches, however, only confirm the propriety of the remark of a contemporary (Camden), who says, "There are many suspicions, but no proofs."

<sup>f</sup> He was born in Lancashire in 1532. He studied at Oxford, was principal at St. Mary's Hall there in the time of Mary, and withdrew to the continent on her death. He resided principally in Flanders, and is accused of being deeply engaged in the various plots against Elizabeth. He was made a cardinal in 1567, wrote an Admonition in favour of the projected Spanish invasion, and was rewarded by Philip with the archbishopric of Mechlin. He died in 1594.

minary at Douay<sup>g</sup>, to which the young men of their best families were sent, where many became priests, and where all appear to have imbibed opinions certainly hostile to the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, and little favourable to her civil government. Severe laws were in consequence enacted, but they rather irritated than subdued the body against which they were directed; and, though near 200 Jesuits and other priests and their adherents suffered as traitors, the enterprise they had set before themselves, of endeavouring to restore Romanism, was never abandoned<sup>h</sup>.

Troubles had before arisen in another direction, and, being unwisely met, grew every day more serious. Many learned and pious men (especially some who had been exiles in Germany or at Geneva) expressed themselves dissatisfied with certain points in the discipline of the Church, which to them savoured too much of Romanism, though fairly defensible on the grounds of decency and order<sup>i</sup>. It was attempted to overcome such scruples by depriving some of the

more eminent of them of their preferences; but this only induced them to form separate congregations, which at length became the objects of the rigour of the laws equally with the Romanists. Many of the Puritans, as they came to be contemptuously termed, who had been exiles in the time of Mary, had imbibed abroad a democratic spirit, which soon extended itself among their party, and rendered them willing to proceed to any lengths against the Church. They were favoured, from interested motives, by the unprincipled Leicester<sup>j</sup> and others, but repressed by the queen, who perceived that, humanly speaking, the Church and the State must stand or fall together.

The Puritans had no support from abroad, and, though violent in language, were then too weak to do more than inspire uneasiness, though Archbishop Parker clearly pointed out the dangerous political consequences that naturally flowed from their opinions. The Romanists, on the other hand, had the active help of successive popes (particularly Sixtus V.<sup>k</sup>), and of Philip

<sup>g</sup> The college was dedicated to St. Thomas Becket. It subsisted till the first French revolution, when the members removed to England, and established a house which still subsists at Old Hall Green, near Standon, in Hertfordshire; the patron saint, however, was changed to Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury. Other seminaries for the English were in the course of a few years established at Reims, St. Omer, Rome, Paris, Madrid, and elsewhere, the members of which took an oath to return to England, when ordered by their superiors, "to convert the souls of their countrymen and kindred."

<sup>h</sup> Campion, the Jesuit, one of the earliest papal missionaries, wrote thus to the queen's council: "Be it known unto you, that we have made a league, all the Jesuits in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England, cheerfully to carry the cross that you shall lay upon us, and never to despair your recovery, while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked by your torments, or to be consumed by your prisons. Expenses are reckoned, the enterprise is begun; it is of God, it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted, so must it be restored."

<sup>i</sup> The principal matters objected to at first were the vestments, the use of music, and bowing and kneeling; but afterwards episcopacy was attacked, and attempts were perseveringly made to substitute the presbyterian form of Church government.

<sup>j</sup> Robert Dudley, born in 1532, was a younger son of the duke of Northumberland. He joined in the attempt to set Lady Jane Grey on the throne, seized the town of King's Lynn, and proclaimed her there, for which he was tried, Jan. 22, 1554. He pleaded guilty, but his life was spared, and he received a pardon the following year, (Easter term, 1555). He then went abroad, and served at the battle of St. Quentin. By Elizabeth he was created Lord Denbigh, Sept. 28, 1563, and earl of Leicester

the next day. He received many important posts, and was treated with such peculiar favour by the queen that she was generally supposed to entertain a design of marrying him. In 1585 he was



Arms of Dudley, earl of Leicester.

sent, with almost regal powers, into the Low Countries, but greatly injured their cause by his insolence and incapacity; yet in 1588 he was made generalissimo of the army raised to oppose the Spaniards. He died in the same year (Sept. 4), not without suspicion of poison. He professed adherence to the rigid doctrines of the Puritans, but was an execrable character, who removed his opponents by poison. He was three times married. He was suspected of murdering his first wife (Amy Robsart), whom he wedded June 4, 1550; and he disowned the second (Lady Douglas Howard), but left by her a son, Sir Robert Dudley, who lived abroad, and, being a favourite of the emperor, Ferdinand II., styled himself duke of Northumberland; he died at Florence in 1650. His third wife, who survived him, was Lettice, widow of the earl of Essex, and mother of another royal favourite.

<sup>k</sup> Pius V. issued a bull (April 25, 1570), pronouncing the queen excommunicated and deposed, the

of Spain, the most potent prince of his time. They made one feeble attempt at rebellion in England, but Ireland was for years the scene of a desolating war, the funds for which were supplied by Philip; and he engaged in a futile attempt at the conquest of England. Its result was the destruction of his fleet, and the exposure of his own shores to every injury that a ruthless naval war could inflict<sup>1</sup>.

Elizabeth took a lively interest in the affairs of France, as well as in those of the Netherlands; and her help, though often grudgingly bestowed<sup>2</sup>, had a most important effect in establishing Henry IV. on the throne, and in raising up the United Provinces. Scotland was so much under her influence, that it rather resembled a turbulent province of her realm than an independent kingdom; and her ministers, though they had fomented the troubles that rendered the rule of its king (James VI.) almost nominal, yet paid such obvious court to him when they saw that he was destined for Elizabeth's successor, as embittered her declining years<sup>3</sup>. Ireland was in reality a foreign country, where her treasures were exhausted in contending, with but very moderate success, against the arts and arms of the popes and the king of Spain. Its disturbed state rendered it impossible to follow up with the necessary vigour the measures proper to recommend the reformed doctrines to the people, and from this fact the most serious consequences have ensued.

At home, for many years, Elizabeth

was harassed by plots against her life, some real, some imaginary<sup>4</sup>, and the unjustifiable execution of Mary did not lessen her anxieties. The Puritans gave her deep uneasiness by the freedom of their attacks on the Church; her chief favourite, Leicester, was undeserving her esteem; his successor, Essex, provoked an untimely fate, and the queen at length died, worn out as much with grief and anxiety as by age, March 24, 1603. She was buried in the chapel of Henry VII., in Westminster Abbey.

Though Elizabeth was never married, the numerous negotiations into which she entered on that subject form an important feature of her reign. It is probable that her affections were really given to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, although state reasons prevented her accepting him for a husband. She fed with delusive hopes others of her subjects, as Sir William Pickering and Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel; she listened with apparent complacency to Eric, king of Sweden; to the Archduke Charles of Austria; and to two French princes who bore in succession the title of Duke of Anjou<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps she never intended to give her hand to any of them, but the apprehensions of her subjects were raised as to the French match, and one Puritan (John Stubbe, a lawyer, and brother-in-law of Cartwright,) published a pamphlet, entitled, "The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf," in which he gave vent to remonstrances with a freedom that was highly resented and severely punished.

only effect of which was to bring down ruin on the few who attempted to execute it, and to cause the enactment of rigorous laws against the whole body of Romanists. Sixtus V. fulminated a similar bull, but he supported it by an invasion of Ireland at his own cost, and by inducing Philip to send his Armada against England.

<sup>1</sup> Spain itself was thus harassed after the destruction of the Armada, the Groyne being taken in 1589, and Cadiz in 1596; but the English seamen, long before as well as after these events, carried on a destructive warfare against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. It is impossible to defend their proceedings by any laws now recognised among nations, and Philip always stigmatized them as piracy.

<sup>2</sup> She was long before she could consent to help subjects against their sovereigns; and she had, in the early part of her reign, good reason to complain of the ingratitude of the French Protestants. They urgently solicited her aid, but soon after came to an agreement with their opponents, and shamelessly joined them in expelling her troops, their great leader, the prince of Condé, even taking the

command at the siege of Havre. The Scots and the Netherlands adhered with honourable firmness to their engagements, and thus succeeded in maintaining their religious freedom; while the French, who deserted their allies, were in their turn deserted by their own leaders, and utterly ruined.

<sup>3</sup> The younger Cecil and Raleigh, especially courted his favour; both were unprincipled men, but Cecil was probably the worst. He is suspected not only of having contrived the strange plot in which Raleigh was involved, but of being privy to the proceedings of Catesby and his associates, though he suffered them to remain unmolested, in order to secure the forfeiture of their estates.

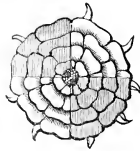
<sup>4</sup> Of the various plotters, Parry, it would seem, never intended more than to obtain money; probably the same may be said of Squire; Babington's conspiracy was known from the very outset to her ministers, and guarded against; but the attempt of Lopez, the physician, to poison her at the instigation of Spain, has the appearance of truth, and was very probably real.

<sup>5</sup> Henry, afterwards Henry III., and his brother Francis, duke of Alençon.



Elizabeth bore the same arms as her father and brother, but occasionally she employed a white greyhound for the sinister supporter. Her motto was "DIEU ET MON DROIT," and some-

times "SEMPER EADEM." Her badge is a Tudor rose, with the motto, "ROSA SINE SPINA;" she likewise used the badge of her mother, Anne Boleyn.



Arms and Badges of Elizabeth.

The reign of Elizabeth is a very memorable era under every aspect in which the state of a nation can be considered. In religion, the reform that had been begun was accomplished, not so completely as could be wished, for the governors of the Church met with opposition at every step from the Puritans, but still in a degree that should be ever thankfully remembered. Lite-

rature flourished as it had never done before, and works were produced, both in theology and on secular subjects, which it may be reasonably concluded will endure as long as the English language itself. Archbishop Parker<sup>a</sup> was a munificent patron of learning, and preserved many valuable records that might otherwise have perished; Jewel<sup>r</sup> and Hooker<sup>s</sup> defended the religious

<sup>a</sup> Matthew Parker was born at Norwich in 1504, and was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he studied in company with Ridley, Cecil, Nicholas Bacon, and others, and, like them, imbibed the opinions of the reformers. He became chaplain to Anne Boleyn, but on her death returned to Cambridge, where he was chosen master of his college, and twice served the office of vice-chancellor. He was expelled on the accession of Mary, and lived in retirement during her reign; but when his friend Cecil became Elizabeth's minister, Parker was by him brought forward, and induced, though reluctantly, to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury. This high station he filled with dignity, providing such men as Grindal, Sandys, and Jewel to occupy the vacant sees; opposing so far as he might the designs of the courtiers on the property of the Church; extending a liberal patronage to learning, and cultivating it himself; settling the service and vestments of the ministers on a scale of decent splendour; and, though presenting a firm front to the intemperate zeal of some among the returned Marian exiles, ever desirous of conciliating them by Christian charity. He died May 17, 1575, and was buried at Lambeth; his remains were disturbed during the Civil War, but they were collected and again interred by Archbishop Sheldon.

<sup>r</sup> John Jewel was a native of Devonshire, and was born in 1522. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, was a most laborious student, and embraced with eagerness the doctrines of the reformers, attaching himself particularly to Peter

Martyr, whose lectures he took down in short-hand. On the accession of Mary the fellows of his college expelled him on their own authority; but he continued in the university, and was weak enough to recant his opinions. Soon repenting of this unhappy step, he resigned his archdeaconry of Chichester, and fled to Germany, where he made a public confession of his fault. He lived chiefly with his friend Peter Martyr, laboured to compose the differences on points of discipline which broke out among the English exiles, visited Italy, and, returning to his native country, took an active part in the disputation at Westminster in the year 1559. The next year he was raised to the see of Salisbury. He died September 23, 1571, worn out by his earnest endeavours to discharge every duty of his office; though an invalid, he travelled unceasingly through his diocese, and he preached within a few days of his death. Bishop Jewel had a principal part in the revision of the Articles of Religion, and his famous Apology has ever been esteemed a masterpiece both in matter and manner.

<sup>s</sup> Richard Hooker, a native of Devonshire, was born in 1554. He found a patron in Bishop Jewel, was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and, after some minor preferments, became master of the Temple. Here he was involved in a painful controversy with the lecturer, Walter Travers, a Puritan; but this, in its result, was a matter of joy to all who adhere to the unity of the Church, free alike from papal as from Puritan innovations; for it led him to produce his matchless work on Eccle-

changes that had been effected against the Romanists, as did Whitgift against the Puritans; and Shakspeare, Spenser, Sidney, and Buckhurst, not to mention minor names, displayed the poetic riches of their native tongue. In other matters most important progress was made. The credit of the nation was re-established by the withdrawal of the base coinage of former sovereigns; new branches of industry were introduced by foreign refugees; the spirit of the people was kept alive by the favour with which bold and costly enterprises for the furtherance of trade and commerce were regarded; Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, Cavendish, and other hardy navigators, displayed

"Her cross, triumphant on the main,  
The guard of commerce, and the dread of Spain";

and Elizabeth's reign witnessed the beginnings of two of the most wonderful empires of the world, the English East India Company and the United States of North America.

But the era so full of benefits for posterity was very far from a quiet or a happy one for the people of its own

time. The government was a pure despotism<sup>u</sup>, both in Church and State, the Courts of High Commission and of Star Chamber being the great instruments of government, and their proceedings not controlled, when any reason of state interfered, by any rules of law or equity. A large proportion of the people, either as Romish or as Protestant nonconformists, lived exposed to penalties and restrictions that would at the present day be justly regarded as unbearable; the law of treason was strained so as to include very trifling offences, and its barbarous penalties were inflicted to the very letter<sup>v</sup>, while torture was commonly employed to extort confessions<sup>x</sup>. The state of the Church was not more satisfactory. The queen's council was mainly composed of the new-made nobility and gentry, who had already gained so much of its property, but who were desirous to obtain still more. As a means to this end they encouraged the Puritans to bring forward their "platform," or "godly discipline," the success of which would have placed all the bishops' lands at their disposal; but

siastical Polity. His humble and lowly spirit induced him to confine himself to his living of Bishopsbourne, in Kent, though his services to the Church would have commanded its highest dignities, and there he died, Nov. 2, 1600. His life, penned by Izaak Walton, is one of the most delightful pieces of biography in the English language.

The exploits that chiefly recommended these men in their own day would now be regarded as piratical, and Hawkins is believed to have been the first Englishman who engaged in the American slave trade. In a letter to the queen, dated from Plymouth, Sept. 16, 1567 (now in the Public Record Office), he states that he is about to sail "to lade negroes in Genoya [Guinea], and sell them in the West Indies, in truck of gold, pearls and emeralds." He and Drake were Devonshire men, Frobisher came from Yorkshire, and Cavendish from Suffolk. There is a curious statement, in some papers lately brought to light, (the despatches of the Venetian ambassador in Spain in 1587,) that Drake was in his youth a page in the English court of King Philip, and was afterwards employed by him in India, but failing to obtain a large arrear of pay, he returned to England, saying he would revenge himself with his own hand. "Having obtained leave from the queen, he proceeded immediately to India with five armed ships, and in Magellan's Strait, among other prizes, he captured a vessel freighted with gold. Not content with this, he returned a second time last year in yet greater force, and then and there, and now in Spain, has done such great damage as is notorious; and yet worse may be expected, which may God avert."

<sup>u</sup> "We, of our prerogative royal, which we will not have argued nor brought in question," is the phrase employed by Elizabeth in a patent, dated May 19, 1591, which grants protection from all suits for debt for both person and property to an

Irish noble (Patrick lord Dunsany) and a London gentleman, (John Mathewe). If any suit should be commenced, the judges of the different courts are directed to stay it, "without other warrant than the sight of these our letters patent or the inrolment thereof."

<sup>v</sup> These penalties, which the humane Henry VI. pronounced "too grievous to be done unto any Christian creature," were, as appears from the record of each conviction, as follows. The prisoners were to be drawn on hurdles to the place of execution (that is, in many cases, from the Tower or Newgate to Tyburn) and hanged, then cast down to the ground by cutting the rope, and their bowels drawn out of their bellies and burnt, *they living*; then their heads cut off and their bodies divided into four quarters, and their heads and quarters to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure. The heads were usually placed on spikes in some conspicuous situation, as the tower on London bridge; the quarters were generally buried, but sometimes they were steeped in pitch and exposed. One sufferer (Dr. Story) is related to have struggled with and struck the executioner who disembowelled him; many others are mentioned as "groaning heavily" under his hands.

<sup>x</sup> Torture was allowed to be contrary to law, but it was sanctioned by prerogative. The courts, however, thought themselves authorized to pass sentences of almost incredible barbarity; as one instance, we find (March 2, 1571) one Timothy Penredd, who had forged the seal of the king's bench, adjudged to stand on the pillory in Cheap-side on two successive market days, "and on the first of such days he is to have one ear nailed to the pillory, and on the second day his other ear nailed to the pillory, and in such a manner that he, the said Timothy, shall, by his own proper motion, be compelled to tear away his two ears from the pillory."

the firmness of Parker and Whitgift defeated the scheme, although they could not prevent the sees on each vacancy from being plundered to a greater or less extent to gratify the hungry courtiers.

Though Elizabeth was quite as learned, and quite as imperious as her father, she yet was guided by a few clever ministers, who, for their own ends, strove successfully against the natural fickleness of her temper, and kept her the head of the Protestant party, but also led her to consent to many acts that bear heavily on her memory. She usually receives the credit of the able, though frequently dishonest policy of her statesmen, and therefore she ranks high as a sovereign, but her personal character had many grievous defects. Early in her reign she professed an intention to live and die a virgin queen, but she gave to worthless favourites encouragement hardly consistent with the declaration, and she indulged in boundless expense for splendid dress, though in more important matters her parsimony was often carried to an unwise extreme. The language which her favourites, and even her parliaments, used towards her shew that no flattery could be too gross for her; and on many occasions she descended to the meanest dissimulation. Her bursts of passion were extravagant, and accompanied by oaths and blows; and an innate cruelty of disposition unmistakably appears in her treatment of her near kinswomen, the Ladies Katherine and Mary Grey<sup>y</sup> and Mary of Scotland.

A.D. 1558.

The Princess Elizabeth is proclaimed

queen by the lords of the council, Nov. 17. She enters London, amid great rejoicings, Nov. 24, and releases all persons confined on account of religion.

The queen retains her sister's councillors for a short time, but adds to their number Sir William Cecil, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and other Protestants.

The Service-book of King Edward is set up in some places without authority. Many of the Protestant refugees return from abroad, and angry controversial sermons are preached; priests are insulted and hindered in their ministration.

The queen, by proclamation (Dec. 27), forbids all unlicensed preaching, as also the elevation of the Host. She allows the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, and Litany, to be used in English.

A.D. 1559.

The queen is crowned at Westminster, Jan. 15, by Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle.

The parliament meets, Jan. 25, and sits till May 8.

The "ancient jurisdiction of the crown over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual" restored, and "all foreign repugnant to the same" abolished, [1 Eliz. c. 1]. By this act the general repeal of statutes affecting religion by the act of Philip and Mary [1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8] was abrogated; all spiritual jurisdiction was united to the crown, in virtue of which the Court of High Commission was established in 1583<sup>z</sup>; and all ministers and officers, spiritual and temporal, were bound to take an oath, acknowledging the queen as "the only supreme governor of the realm . . . as

<sup>y</sup> Her treatment of Queen Mary is but too well known; the unhappy fate of the others is not so frequently alluded to. Katherine was a younger sister of Lady Jane Grey, and having been married in May, 1553, to Lord Herbert, was divorced by him a short time after, on the fall of her family, and apparently for no other reason. She lived unmolested during the reign of Mary, but about 1561, venturing to marry Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford (son of the Protector), without asking the royal licence, she and her husband were committed to the Tower. Hertford was heavily fined, on the charge of "corrupting a princess of the blood," the marriage was annulled in the ecclesiastical court by virtue of the queen's prerogative, and Katherine died after a seven years' imprisonment, Jan. 27, 1568. On her death, Hertford was liberated, and lived till 1621; the legality of his marriage had previously been established by the ordinary courts,

and he was succeeded by his grandson, who suffered very similarly to himself for an attempt to marry the unhappy Lady Arabella Stuart. Mary in 1565 married Thomas Keyes, the sergeant porter of Dover Castle, a man of substance and of military character. He was at once committed to the Fleet, where he remained for three years, and his wife was placed in the custody first of one gentleman, then of another, Sir Thomas Gresham being one of the number. On his release he applied for her liberation also, but without effect, and he died in 1571. She survived until 1578, when she died after a confinement of thirteen years.

<sup>z</sup> A commission to carry the act into execution was issued July 19, 1559, addressed to Parker, Grindal and others. Several other commissions were appointed from time to time, each usually with greater powers than before, and at last the court was formally established in 1583.

well in spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal," and renouncing "all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, or authorities," under pain of forfeiture of present office and disability to hold any other. Persons maintaining, "by express words, deed, or act," the authority of any foreign prince or prelate, were to forfeit their goods, or, if they were under £20 value, to suffer a year's imprisonment for the first offence; to incur the penalties of *præmunire*<sup>a</sup> for the second, and to be executed as traitors for the third. The oath above mentioned was to be tendered to every person within thirty days after the close of the session.

The last Service-book of King Edward (as established in 1552) confirmed with some alterations<sup>b</sup>, by the Act of Uniformity, [1 Eliz. c. 2].

The queen's title to the crown recognised in general terms<sup>c</sup>, [c. 3].

First-fruits and tenths again vested in the crown, [c. 4]. "The late queen," the statute says, had given up these funds "upon certain zealous and inconvenient respects," although they had been willingly paid by the clergy for many years; and they were now restored to lessen "the huge, immeasurable, and inestimable charges of the royal estate."

Various new treasons created; among them, denying the queen's title, [c. 5].

The queen empowered to "reserve to herself" the bishops' lands, giving them inappropriate tithes instead, [c. 19].

Queen Mary's foundations suppressed, and their possessions vested in the crown, [c. 24].

Peace is concluded with France, April 2. Calais remains in the hands of the French<sup>d</sup>.

Whilst the parliament sat, the clergy were assembled in convocation, and, although warned by a message from

the queen, drew up a document asserting the corporal presence, the supremacy of the see of Rome, and the exclusive right of the Church to treat of doctrine, the sacraments, and the orders of public worship. In consequence a disputation was held in Westminster Abbey (March 31 and April 3) before the Houses of Parliament, and under the presidency of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper. The bishops of Carlisle, Chester, Lichfield, Lincoln, and Winchester, with Drs. Chedsey, Cole, Harpsfield, and Langdale, appeared on one side; and Scory (late bishop of Chichester), Aylmer, Cox, Grindal, Guest, Horne, Jewel, Sandys, and Whitehead on the other.

The Protestants put in papers condemning the use of an unknown tongue in the public service of the Church; asserting that each Church had a right to regulate rites and ceremonies; and denying that the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. Dr. Cole argued against these propositions, and was answered by Horne, whose reply was so greatly applauded, that the bishops desired to add something to Cole's speech, which it was agreed they should do at the next meeting. They then, however, had changed their minds, and refused to proceed with the disputation, on which the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester "were condignly committed to the Tower of London," and the rest of their party (except the abbot of Westminster) ordered to appear daily at the council table, to answer for their "disorders, stubbornness, and self-will<sup>e</sup>."

Thomas, lord Wentworth, is tried before the marquiss of Northampton and his peers for the treasonable surrender of Calais, and acquitted, April 22<sup>f</sup>.

The new Book of Common Prayer is first publicly used, June 24.

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1393.

<sup>b</sup> The revision was the work of a committee of divines, Parker, Grindal, and others, most of whom were shortly after advanced to the episcopate.

<sup>c</sup> The terms of this act offer a striking contrast to those of the statute [1 Mar. sess. 2, c. 1] by which the title of Mary had been asserted and the honour of her mother vindicated. See p. 327.

<sup>d</sup> Hostages and bonds for 500,000 crowns were placed in Elizabeth's hands, and a promise was made to restore the town in eight years, if no act of hostility was committed in the mean time. The queen, however, sent aid to the Protestants, both in France and Scotland, and thus gave an excuse

for not fulfilling the promise, which probably was never intended to be kept.

<sup>e</sup> Such is the account published by Sir Nicholas Bacon, and several other councillors.

<sup>f</sup> He was tried on an indictment found July 2, 1558, in the time of Queen Mary, while he was still a prisoner in France. Edward Grimston, comptroller of Calais, was tried on similar charges, and also acquitted, Dec. 1. Sir Ralph Chamberlain, lieutenant of the castle of Calais, and John Harleston, lieutenant of the Ruysbank, were tried for surrendering their posts, and found guilty, Dec. 22, but they were pardoned.

Injunctions issued by the queen requiring the clergy to "use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward VI.<sup>8</sup>"

About this time the oath of supremacy was offered to the bishops, and refused by all except Kitchin, of Llandaff, and Stanley, of Sodor and Man<sup>h</sup>. Commissions were issued for a general visitation of the kingdom, to enforce the adoption of the reformed service,

and it was attended with so much success that a very small number only of beneficed men surrendered their livings rather than comply<sup>i</sup>. The hierarchy, however, still remained incomplete, until near the end of the year, when Matthew Parker was prevailed on to accept the see of Canterbury<sup>j</sup>. He shortly after consecrated several other bishops, and a brief profession of doctrine was drawn up, to which all incumbents were obliged to signify their assent<sup>k</sup>.

## FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1560.

Elizabeth sends money, arms, and a fleet to the assistance of the Scottish Reformers, and also succours the Protestants in France.

Both France and Scotland were at this period oppressed by the overwhelming influence of the aspiring family of Guise<sup>l</sup>, who were declared foes to the tenets of the Reformers. Francis duke of Guise, who had gained great popularity by his conquest of Calais<sup>m</sup>, was directed by his brother Charles, a cardinal<sup>n</sup>, and they were understood to aspire, the one to the throne, the other to the papacy. The king (Francis II.) and his queen (Mary of Scotland) were in their hands, and both too young and inexperienced to counteract their designs; their sister (Mary of Guise, widow of James V.) was regent of Scotland, and openly endeavoured to reduce that country to

a mere province of France. She had succeeded in marrying her daughter to the heir of the French throne, and they soon assumed the style and arms of sovereigns of France, Scotland and England. This was naturally resented by Elizabeth; she regarded it as an attempt to carry into execution the threat of the pope (Paul IV.), who had denounced her as incapable of succession without his sanction, and she found a ready means of warding off the danger by fanning the flame of civil war in Scotland, where a determined attempt was being made by the Protestant party to free their country from French influence. The regent had brought over French troops, who strongly fortified Leith, and she took up her residence there. The Scots assailed the town in vain, were put to flight, and the lands of their leaders, who took the title of Lords of the Con-

<sup>8</sup> It was explained that it was not meant to attribute any "holiness or special worthiness" to these garments; but the greater part of the clergy who had been in exile disliked them, and many refused to wear them, which at length gave occasion to coercive measures, and these were followed by formal separation.

<sup>h</sup> Ten sees were vacant; the holders of fifteen more either resigned or were deprived in the course of a short time after. Matthew Parker was consecrated as archbishop of Canterbury Dec. 17, 1559, and all the sees except Oxford were filled up before the end of 1562.

<sup>i</sup> The whole number, including the bishops, is variously stated at from 189 to 243, out of a body of nearly 10,000 individuals; but subsequent events proved that the compliance of the rest was in many cases insincere.

<sup>j</sup> He was, as appears from his official register, consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559, by the bishops Barlow, Coverdale, and Scory, and Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford. Many years after a tale was brought forward by Romish writers of a so-called consecration of Parker at a tavern (the Nag's Head, in Cheapside), but it can only be regarded as a malignant invention.

<sup>k</sup> The new Prayer-book was declared agreeable to

Scripture, the queen's supremacy acknowledged, the power of the pope disclaimed, the mass rejected, and pilgrimages, extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles, condemned as vain superstitions.

<sup>l</sup> The founder of the family was Claude, a younger son of René II., duke of Lorraine, who served in the wars of Francis I., and received in marriage Antoinette of Bourbon, the king's kinswoman. Of his numerous family, Francis, Charles, and Mary were the most conspicuous. Francis may be regarded as the instigator of the religious wars in France; he defeated the Protestants at Dreux, but was assassinated before Orleans soon after. His son Henry saw him fall, vowed hatred to the Reformers, and in concert with his brothers, Louis a cardinal, and Charles duke of Mayenne, was for many years the actual ruler of France. He instigated and took part in the butchery of St. Bartholomew's day, formed the League, or Holy Union, with intent to seize the crown, and gained military possession of Paris. At length, in 1588, he was assassinated with his brother the cardinal, and the duke of Mayenne soon after abandoning the struggle, the civil war was brought to a close.

<sup>m</sup> See A.D. 1558.

<sup>n</sup> Often called the cardinal of Lorraine. He died in 1574.

gregation, ravaged. They appealed to Elizabeth for aid, and she sent a land force under Lord Grey, and a fleet under William Winter, to assist them. The siege of Leith was again formed, the garrison made a desperate resistance, but were at length reduced to extremity by famine. The queen regent withdrew to Edinburgh, where she soon after died (June 10), and a treaty was concluded between Elizabeth and the Scots (July 6), which provided that all the French troops should leave Scotland, and that Mary and her husband should discontinue the use of the style and arms of sovereigns of England and Ireland<sup>o</sup>.

For the present Elizabeth's exertions in favour of the French Protestants were confined to remonstrances against the persecution they experienced, and complaints of the arrogance and sinister designs of the Guises; but eventually she sent the earl of Warwick with a large force to Normandy, which had been overrun by the prince of Condé and other leaders of the Reformers. They had taken up arms professedly to save the young king (Charles IX.) from the tyranny of the Guises, but evidently from worse motives, as they obtained her assistance by the acknowledgment of her right to the crown of France, an acknowledgment glaringly contrary to the laws of their country<sup>p</sup>, which leaves as indelible a stigma on their patriotism, as their subsequent conduct to their allies does on their honour and gratitude.

A.D. 1560.

The exiles at Geneva publish a revised translation of the Bible in English<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>o</sup> Mary refused to ratify this treaty, alleging, with truth, that it was concluded without her authority. The title she was willing to renounce, but she feared that by abandoning the arms she might endanger her right of eventual succession to the English throne.

<sup>p</sup> See A.D. 1328.

<sup>q</sup> This, generally termed the Geneva Bible, contained a preface and notes, in which both the doctrine and the discipline of Calvin were set forth; hence it was as popular with the Puritans as it was distasteful to the queen and the bishops. Archbishop Parker endeavoured to counteract it by procuring a new edition of Cranmer's Bible; eight prelates, as well as other learned men, were employed in the revision, and the work when published (in 1568) was commonly known as the Bishops' Bible; it is the foundation of the present authorized version.

<sup>r</sup> This was justly considered so important, that it

The base money in circulation is called in, and money of just value issued instead<sup>r</sup>.

A.D. 1561.

Mary returns to Scotland, landing at Leith, Aug. 19<sup>s</sup>.

A.D. 1562.

The religious wars in France recommence. The duke of Guise attacks a Protestant congregation at Vassy, March 1. The Protestants take up arms, overrun Normandy, and apply to Elizabeth for assistance; she sends forces under the command of the earl of Warwick (Ambrose Dudley, the son of Northumberland).

These forces took possession of Havre in September. They afforded important aid to the Protestants, but were unable to prevent the loss of Rouen, or that of the battle of Dreux (Dec. 19), in which the prince of Condé was made prisoner. The duke of Guise was soon after assassinated at the siege of Orleans, (he died Feb. 24, 1563,) and a temporary pacification followed, (concluded at Amboise, March 19,) when the Protestants, with almost unexampled baseness, joined the German mercenaries of the court in expelling the English garrison. Havre was fiercely attacked and desperately defended for more than two months (May 22 to July 28), when the garrison, worn out by pestilence<sup>t</sup>, surrendered on honourable terms<sup>u</sup>, but brought the plague with them to England, where it made fearful havoc, especially in London.

A.D. 1563.

The parliament meets, Jan. 12.

An act passed against "fond and fantastical prophecies<sup>v</sup>," [5 Eliz. c. 15].

is commemorated in the inscription on Elizabeth's tomb.

<sup>s</sup> Her husband (Francis II.) died Dec. 5, 1560, and she was regarded with jealous dislike by her mother-in-law, Katherine de Medicis.

<sup>t</sup> "The pestilence," says Stow, "slew daily great numbers of men, so that the streets lay even full of dead corpses not able to be removed by reason of the multitude that perished."

<sup>u</sup> The prisoners on both sides were released without ransom, and the English were to take with them all property belonging either to the queen or her subjects.

<sup>v</sup> Spreading prophecies founded on the armorial bearings of any person, or the days or seasons of the year, was rendered punishable with a year's imprisonment and £30 fine for the first offence, and imprisonment for life and forfeiture of goods for the second.

Persons practising "conjurations, enchantments, and witchcrafts," declared felons without benefit of clergy<sup>y</sup>, [c. 16].

The authority and rights of the keeper of the great seal declared to be the same as those of the lord chancellor, [c. 18].

The Bible and Book of Common Prayer ordered to be translated into Welsh, and divine service to be performed in that tongue in the places where it is commonly used, [c. 28].

The expenses of the royal household settled at £40,027 4s. 2½d. per annum, [c. 32].

The Articles of King Edward<sup>z</sup> are modified in the convocation, and reduced to their present number, thirty-nine, Jan. 29.

Edmund and Arthur Pole, and four others, are tried and convicted of high treason<sup>a</sup>, Feb. 26.

The parties in France are reconciled, and the English garrisons are expelled.

The council of Trent holds its last session, Dec. 3<sup>b</sup>.

The Romanists begin to withdraw abroad rather than attend the English service. The vestments and the cere-

monies of the Church are at the same time denounced as antichristian by some of the clergy, and Protestant non-conformity commences.

A.D. 1564.

The queen issues instructions to the archbishops and bishops to bring about a conformity, which they in vain attempt. The non-conformists gain the support of Dudley, earl of Leicester, and the bishops are unable to carry out their instructions.

Peace is concluded with France, in which no mention is made of the restoration of Calais<sup>c</sup>, April 1.

A.D. 1565.

Sampson and Humphrey<sup>d</sup>, two of the most considerable of the non-conformists, are deprived of their preferments, June.

Mary of Scotland publicly marries Henry, lord Darnley<sup>e</sup>, after many attempts on the part of Elizabeth and her ministers to prevent it<sup>f</sup>, July 29.

Mary drives Murray and his associates from Scotland<sup>g</sup>. They repair to England, where they are received with apparent indignation by the queen.

Mary favours the Romanists, and

<sup>y</sup> If the witchcraft was not directed against the life of any one, imprisonment for life was the extreme penalty.

<sup>z</sup> See A.D. 1551.

<sup>a</sup> The Poles were nephews of the cardinal; and Arthur had in the year 1559 written to Cecil offering his services to the queen, which appear not to have been accepted. In their indictment the brothers were charged with a design to set Mary of Scotland on the throne, and to re-establish Romanism in England; Arthur was to be declared duke of Clarence, and Edmund was to marry the Scottish queen. Their associates were executed, but the Poles were imprisoned in the Tower until their deaths; their names occur several times on the wall of the Beauchamp tower, roughly cut, doubtless by the unhappy prisoners themselves, in one place at the end of a Latin inscription, importing, "He who sows in tears shall reap in joy." From this source we learn that Edmund Pole was alive in 1568, and was then in his 27th year.

<sup>b</sup> It had been in abeyance for the greater part of the time since its first assembling in 1545, and it at length separated with little other result than drawing up a creed in which the articles that had been most objected to by the Reformers were systematically and authoritatively put forth as matters of faith. One decision of the council, condemning the occasional conformity of the Romanists to avoid the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, had very important consequences, and its acts are thus connected with English history.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1559. The hostages placed in Elizabeth's hands were set at liberty in exchange for some of her agents who had been seized when the war broke out.

<sup>d</sup> They both belonged to Oxford. Sampson was dean of Christ Church; Humphrey was Regius

Professor of Divinity and president of Magdalen College. Humphrey eventually conformed, and died dean of Winchester; Sampson refused compliance, but was allowed to receive some small preferment, (the Whittington lectureship, in the gift of a City company).

<sup>e</sup> He was the son of Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, and grandson of Queen Margaret of Scotland by her second husband, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus. Darnley was a tall, handsome youth, but of a weak, inconstant, and profligate character. He alternately sided with, and deserted the Protestant leaders, and met his death at their hands. This is certain, but very different views have been put forth by many distinguished writers on the more obscure question of the guilt or innocence of Mary in the matter.

<sup>f</sup> They are said to have been privately married at Stirling, in the preceding April, in the chamber of David Rizzio, the queen's foreign secretary. As no priest is mentioned, it is probable that it was a mere betrothal.

<sup>g</sup> One means was to imprison his mother. An inscription remains in the Bell tower in the Tower of London, dated May 20, 1565, which shews she was then confined there. From papers in the Public Record Office we learn that she remained a prisoner all through the year 1566. On the 12th March, 1567 (a month after the murder of her son) she was in the custody of Lady Dacre and Lady Sackville; but in the following July she was at liberty. On July 1 her husband writes to Cecil, saying that their estate is still withheld from them, and they are £3,000 in debt; he also asks for a loan of £1,000, but whether it was granted does not appear. The earl was killed in Scotland in 1571, but his wife survived until 1577, and was then buried in Westminster Abbey.

allows the mass to be publicly celebrated.

Sir Henry Sidney is appointed lord-deputy of Ireland<sup>b</sup>, Oct. 13.

A.D. 1566.

Darnley is gained over to the party of the Reformers.

David Rizzio is murdered by Darnley and his associates<sup>c</sup>, almost in the queen's presence, March 9. The confederates attempt to seize on the royal power, but are suddenly deserted by Darnley, and obliged to flee to England.

Murray and his friends are allowed to return to Scotland.

Mary pardons the murderers of Rizzio on the intercession of the earl of Bothwell<sup>d</sup>.

The Puritans publish books against the vestments and ceremonies<sup>e</sup>; the circulation of the works is forbidden under heavy penalties<sup>f</sup>.

The Parliament meets, Sept. 30.

The consecration of archbishops and bishops, as practised since the queen's accession, declared "good, lawful, and perfect<sup>g</sup>," [8 Eliz. c. 1].

The corporation of the Trinity House empowered to erect and maintain beacons and sea-marks<sup>h</sup>, [c. 13].

Darnley again quarrels with Mary, and leaves the court. He refuses to be reconciled with her. Murray and others propose to procure a divorce,

which she declines. Bothwell then undertakes to murder him, and a bond approving of the deed is drawn up and signed.

A.D. 1567.

Mary and Darnley are apparently reconciled, Jan. He lies ill at a lone house, near Edinburgh, called the Kirk of Field, which is blown up, early in the morning of Feb. 10.

Bothwell, being publicly accused of the murder, is brought to trial. He appears surrounded by his friends in arms, and is at once acquitted, April 12. His partisans draw up a new bond, promising, in general terms, to support his views, April 19; when he seizes the queen, April 24, and compels her to marry him<sup>i</sup>, May 15.

A congregation of Protestant non-conformists is seized at Plumbers' hall, in London<sup>j</sup>, June 19.

The Scottish nobles take up arms. Bothwell flees the country<sup>k</sup>, and Mary is obliged to resign the crown to her son<sup>l</sup>, July 24. She is imprisoned at Lochleven, and Murray is made regent.

A.D. 1568.

Mary escapes from her prison of Lochleven, May 2; she raises some troops, which are defeated at Langside (near Glasgow) May 13. She escapes into England, landing at Workington, in Cumberland, May 16<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> He held the office (with the exception of three years, 1571—1574) until 1578, and laboured zealously to advance the cause of the Reformation, but his efforts had little success. O'Neal in the north, and the earl of Desmond in the south and west of Ireland, carried on an almost perpetual war, and received supplies of both men and money from the king of Spain and the pope. At length O'Neal was assassinated, but Desmond protracted the contest for several years after the final recall of Sidney.

<sup>c</sup> Among them were the lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and Morton.

<sup>d</sup> James Hepburn, the grandson of the first earl of that name (see A.D. 1491), was one of the very few Scottish nobles who under all circumstances had adhered to Mary. He was warden of the marches, and of a most ambitious and daring character; he had become the queen's chief adviser, and he exercised a most unhappy influence over her.

<sup>e</sup> The Stationers' company were directed to search for and seize such works. The authors were to be dealt with by the High Commission Court; booksellers were to forfeit 20s. for each copy, and printers to suffer imprisonment and be forbidden to follow their occupation any longer. These enactments utterly failed, and the press continued to be obnoxious, and even formidable, to the government.

<sup>f</sup> This statute was occasioned by an altercation between Horne, bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, the deprived bishop of London, then a prisoner in the Marshalsea. Horne indicted him for refusing

the oath of supremacy; Bonner, on his trial, denied that Horne had been regularly consecrated, and as the rulers in those times declined to allow such matters to be canvassed in the law courts, the proceedings were stayed, and Bonner was allowed to end his days in prison.

<sup>g</sup> Removing any steeples, trees, or other sea-marks, is rendered an offence punishable by a fine of £100, or outlawry.

<sup>h</sup> To prepare for this step, which Bothwell had long plotted for, he had, on the plea of consanguinity, divorced his wife, (Jane Gordon, sister of the earl of Huntley).

<sup>i</sup> The party consisted of about 100, 15 of whom were seized and sent to prison for the night. On the following day they were examined before Bishop Grindal and others, who failed to reduce them to conformity.

<sup>j</sup> He lurked awhile on the Scottish coast, and then retired to Norway, where he was seized as a pirate. After a long confinement he died a mad-man in the castle of Draxholms in Zealand, April 14, 1578.

<sup>k</sup> In this document, which has a pathetic tone not common in state papers, the unhappy queen describes herself as "vexed in spirit, body and senses, and at length so wearied, that her ability and strength of body is not able longer to endure" her calamities.

<sup>l</sup> She wrote at once to Elizabeth, wishing to be allowed to come to the court, but this was refused,



The English College at Douay is founded by William Allen.

Conferences held at York, before the duke of Norfolk<sup>s</sup>, the earl of Sussex<sup>t</sup>, and other commissioners, at which the charges and counter-charges of Mary and the Scottish lords are brought forward, but nothing is determined. Mary, however, remains a prisoner, and plots begin to be formed for her liberation.

A.D. 1569.

The duke of Alva (Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo), governor of the Netherlands, seizes the goods of the English merchants<sup>u</sup>; they remove their trade to Hamburg.

The pope (Pius V.) sends agents<sup>x</sup> into England, who denounce the queen as a heretic, and "fallen from her usurped authority."

The duke of Norfolk intrigues with them, and also corresponds with Mary.

He is summoned to court, and sent to the Tower, Oct. 11.

The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland (Thomas Percy and Charles Neville) are also summoned to appear; instead, they take up arms, and proclaim their design of restoring the old religion<sup>y</sup>.

They enter Durham, destroy the Bibles and Prayer-books in the cathedral, and set up the mass there and in other places. They advance southward into Yorkshire, but are obliged to retire before the royal forces under the earl of Sussex, and soon abandon their enterprise. The earls escape<sup>z</sup>, but their followers are punished with extreme severity.

The rebellion commenced in the middle of November, and was completely crushed by the end of the year. Sir George Bowes, who had been obliged to surrender Barnard Castle to

as was her next request, that she might be permitted to depart out of England. She was instead kept a prisoner, first at Carlisle, subsequently at Bolton, Tutbury, and other places; and she was so much an object of suspicion that a warrant for her execution was drawn up in 1569. This fact appears from a letter of Leicester to Walsingham, dated October 10, 1586.

<sup>s</sup> Thomas Howard, son of the accomplished earl of Surrey, executed by Henry VIII. (see A.D. 1547). Mary's agents interested the duke in her favour, and led him afterwards into a plan of marriage with her, which eventually cost him his head.

<sup>t</sup> He was the great-grandson of Lord Fitzwalter, executed in 1494. His father was one of the first to declare in favour of the Princess Mary, and he him-

July 9, 1583, and was buried at Boreham, in Essex, where he had raised a stately monument, to which the bodies of several of his ancestors were removed. He was twice married, (one of his wives was aunt to Sir Philip Sidney,) but leaving no issue, he was succeeded by his brother Robert.

<sup>u</sup> Alva was a bitter persecutor of the Protestants, thousands of whom sought shelter from his tyranny in England. A large sum of money sent to him from Spain being carried into English ports to escape capture from the French, a dispute arose about it; he ill used and drove out the English merchants, and afforded a refuge to the queen's enemies; she retaliated by assisting the Netherlands to establish their independence.

<sup>x</sup> The most considerable of these was Nicholas Morton, formerly prebendary of York, but who had long held an office in the papal court. Philip of Spain was concerned in the plot, and placed large funds in the hands of Ridolfi, a Florentine merchant settled in London; and the duke of Alva sent the marquis of Cetona, an experienced soldier, under pretence of a commercial negotiation, to prepare for a projected invasion.

<sup>y</sup> On their banners were painted the five wounds of Christ, or a chalice, and Richard Norton, "an old gentleman with a reverend grey head," bore a cross with a streamer before them. The queen of Scots, whom they intended to release, was hastily carried from Tutbury to Coventry.

<sup>z</sup> Northumberland fled to Scotland, and was sheltered awhile on the borders, but was afterwards given up by Morton for a payment of £2,000, and was executed at York, Aug. 22, 1572. Westmoreland escaped to the Netherlands, and lived on a pension of 200 crowns a month from the Spaniards. Egremont Radcliff, the half-brother of the earl of Sussex, was concerned in the rebellion, but escaped. After several years' wanderings he ventured to return to England, when he was imprisoned in the Beauchamp tower, where the inscription, "EAGREMOND RADCLYFFE, 1576," still remains. At length he was released, and again went abroad. He was soon after executed in the Netherlands for an attempt on the life of the Spanish governor, Don John of Austria, and declared to be the last that he had been set at liberty by the influence of the secretary Walsingham for that purpose.



Arms of Radcliff, earl of Sussex.

self was employed in embassies by her. He held the office of deputy of Ireland, as also that of president of the Council of the North, in which capacity he repressed the insurrection of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and ravaged the lands of their Scottish partisans. He was a very important person in Elizabeth's court, where he was lord-chamberlain, but lived in a constant rivalry with the earl of Leicester, against whom he warned his friends on his death-bed. "Beware of the Gipsy," he said, "for he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beast so well as I do." Sussex died

them, carried out martial law against the insurgents. An alderman and a priest, and above sixty others, were hanged by him in Durham alone, and, according to his own boast, many others suffered in every market town between Newcastle and Wetherby. Several gentlemen were executed at York, and others in London, but not, apparently, by martial law; and the earl of Sussex made a fierce inroad on Scotland, early in 1570, advancing as far as Dumfries on one side and Hawick on the other, burning and destroying the castles and towns of those who had given shelter to the fugitives. Another party was sent, later in the year, under Sir Drew Drury, which marched as far as Glasgow and Dumbarton, and supported the partisans of the young king against the friends of his mother. In this expedition some English fugitives were captured and executed.

A.D. 1570.

Leonard Dacre<sup>a</sup> takes up arms in the north, but is defeated.

The regent Murray is assassinated at Linlithgow, Jan. 23. He is succeeded by the earl of Lenox, the father of Darnley. Mary's adherents ravage the English border.

The pope (Pius V.) publishes a bull or "sentence declaratory against Elizabeth, queen of England, and the heretics adhering unto her<sup>b</sup>," April 25.

This memorable document "contained, among other treasonable matter, the impious and most wicked de-

claratory sentence of the said bishop of Rome, in which he assumes and usurps power and authority within this kingdom of England; and the bishop of Rome, amongst other false and impious matter, declared that the queen was never at any time true queen of this kingdom of England, but only the pretended queen, and that she had been lawfully deprived of her royal authority. And by the said bull the pope absolved all the proceres, subjects, and people of the realm of all oaths of fidelity and allegiance to the queen." A copy of it was fixed on the English ambassador's house in Paris, and another copy, "printed upon paper," was posted on the gate of the bishop of London's palace, about eleven at night, on the 24th May, by John Felton, a gentleman, and Cornelius Irishman, a priest. Felton, from whose indictment the foregoing account is taken, was tried for high treason at Guildhall, August 4, and executed August 8.

Some gentlemen of Norfolk endeavour to raise an insurrection to release the duke. John Throckmorton and two others are executed.

The duke of Norfolk is set at liberty, Aug. 4, and sent to reside in his own house (the Charter-house, London) under the keeping of Sir Henry Neville.

The earl of Sussex makes another inroad in Scotland, burning and destroying the houses of the queen of Scotland and her friends<sup>c</sup>.

Cartwright<sup>d</sup>, a noted Puritan preacher, is expelled from Cambridge, Dec.

<sup>a</sup> He was the uncle of Lord Dacre of Greystoke, who had been killed by accident shortly before. He offered his services against the insurgent earls, but they were declined, and after the insurrection had been crushed, he gathered some 3,000 desperate borderers around him in Yorkshire, under the pretext of defending himself from the vengeance of their friends. He was summoned to lay down his arms, but refused, and was subdued with extreme difficulty by Lord Hunsdon. Dacre fled to Scotland, and ultimately to the Netherlands, where he died in poverty.

<sup>b</sup> The cause of issuing it is said to have been, the failure of the late insurrection. Many of the northern gentry who were favourable to that rising excused their not joining in it on the plea that the pope had not given a formal sanction to a war on the queen; this now was done in the most explicit manner.

<sup>c</sup> Among others, they blew up the castle of Caerlaverock, which had been captured by Edward I. (see p. 177).

<sup>d</sup> Thomas Cartwright, a Hertfordshire man, born in 1535, was a laborious student of St. John's, Cambridge. During the reign of Mary he withdrew from the university, and supported himself by the

occupation of a clerk. He returned on the accession of Elizabeth, and became a fellow of Trinity, but, disappointed as to further promotion, he soon after went to Geneva. He came back about 1568, thoroughly imbued with Calvinism, and receiving the appointment of Margaret Professor in 1570, declaimed with such vehemence not only against the vestments, but the hierarchy, that he was expelled in the same year. As the acknowledged head of the Puritan party, Cartwright carried on an angry controversy with Whitgift and others; but in 1573 he thought it prudent to withdraw to the continent. He passed several years as chaplain of the English factory at Antwerp, and returning without permission, in 1585, was arrested, but soon released. He was now presented with the mastership of an hospital at Warwick by the earl of Leicester, and grew wealthy from the gifts of his friends and the practice of usury. He, however, did not refrain from preaching and praying against the bishops; and, having presided as moderator at Puritan national synods, he was in 1590 brought before the High Commission Court. He steadily refused to take the oath *ex-officio*, and was in consequence imprisoned until April, 1593, when he was released on a general promise of peaceable behaviour. He returned to

A.D. 1571.

The parliament meets April 2. Severe laws were passed against the Romanists; calling the queen heretic, schismatic, or usurper, was made treason, [13 Eliz. c. 1]; as was the introduction of papal bulls, [c. 2]. Sending relief to the fugitives over sea was prohibited, [c. 3]; and the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and several other parties to the late rebellion, were attainted<sup>c</sup>, [c. 16].

The Puritans bring forward a bill for the abrogation of various religious ceremonies; they also propose a new confession of faith. The queen manifests her displeasure, and imprisons the mover (Mr. Strickland). At length an act is passed [c. 12] "to redress disorders touching ministers of the Church<sup>d</sup>."

An act for the attain of jurors giving corrupt verdicts<sup>e</sup> made perpetual, [c. 25].

The universities of Oxford and Cambridge incorporated by act of parliament, [c. 29].

Dr. John Story is executed for treason<sup>f</sup>, June 1.

Injunctions issued by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, forbidding "reading, praying, preaching, or administering the sacraments in any place, public or private," without licence, June 7.

Sampson and other Puritan leaders are summoned to Lambeth, and exhorted to conformity, but without effect.

The earl of Lenox, regent of Scotland, is killed, Sept. 4. He is succeeded by the earl of Mar.

The plans of the duke of Norfolk become known, and he is again sent to the Tower, Sept. 7.

The queen's accession-day is celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings, Nov. 17<sup>g</sup>.

Jesus College, Oxford, founded.



Arms of Jesus College, Oxford.

A.D. 1572.

The duke of Norfolk is tried and convicted of treason, in conspiring to dethrone the queen, and to marry Mary, "late queen of Scots<sup>h</sup>," Jan. 16. He is executed, June 2, on Tower-hill.

The parliament meets, May 8, and sits till June 29. Its most important acts were, one declaring conspiracy to seize, detain, or destroy castles, felony, and holding them against the queen, treason [14 Eliz. c. 1], and another against attempts to rescue prisoners [c. 2], both having reference to the proceedings of the partisans of Mary

Warwick, and died there, in 1602, expressing on his death-bed regret for the dissensions he had been instrumental in occasioning.

<sup>c</sup> Some attempts were made to defeat this act by fraudulent conveyances, against which a special law was passed in 1576, [18 Eliz. c. 4].

<sup>d</sup> This act was in some measure one of concession to the Puritans, as it allowed clergymen already benefited, but questionably ordained, to hold preferment by subscription to such of the Articles of 1563 "as only concern the profession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments" in the same spirit, a portion of the twentieth Article—"The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith"—was omitted in a new edition of the Thirty-nine Articles prepared by Bishop Jewel, but probably not published until after his death. Such unwarrantable tampering with public documents gave occasion to the Puritans of a later day to charge the bishops with forging the clause in question; but it exists in a Latin edition printed in 1563, as well as in some English ones of 1571.

<sup>e</sup> See A.D. 1497.

<sup>f</sup> He was a civilian, and was conspicuous in parliament for opposing the changes in religion effected under Edward VI. Under Mary he was employed in restoring the ornaments in churches (see A.D. 1555) and made himself otherwise obnoxious to the Protestants. On the queen's death he with-

drew to the Netherlands, where he obtained an office in the customs, which often brought him into collision with the English merchants, and they, in the year 1570, seized him when searching one of their ships, and brought him to England. Some curious letters respecting the cost of his capture, and his treatment, remain in the Public Record Office. He was confined awhile in the Tower, and was at length executed, at the age of seventy, for refusing the oath of supremacy. The inscription, "1570 IHON. STORE DOCTOR," on the wall of the Beauchamp tower, indicates the place of his imprisonment.

<sup>g</sup> A prediction had been some time before industriously spread, in spite of the penalties risked (see A.D. 1563), that the queen would not reign longer than twelve years. This was the thirteenth anniversary, and therefore a practical confutation of the invidious fancy.

<sup>h</sup> He was also charged with sending money to the earl of Westmoreland (his brother-in-law), and the countess of Northumberland, then in exile in Flanders. The earl of Shrewsbury was lord high steward of the court, which consisted of himself and twenty-six other peers, Leicester and Burghley being among the number. Norfolk had been educated by John Foxe, the Martyrologist; and, though he leagued with Romanists, he lived and died professedly a Protestant.

of Scotland<sup>1</sup>; and a merciless statute against sturdy beggars [c. 5], who were ordered to be apprehended, "grievously whipped," and "burnt through the right ear with a hot iron of one-inch compass". Bills for abolishing many ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies, and for suppressing several of the Thirty-nine Articles, were brought in, but dropped, on the manifestation of the queen's displeasure<sup>2</sup>.

Some of the Netherland exiles, being ordered, on the complaint of the duke of Alva, to leave England, seize the port of Briel, on the Maes. Flushing and other towns join them, and they carry on a naval war against the Spaniards.

Great numbers of the English repair to the Netherlands, and take part in the contest. Some Romanists serve the Spaniards, but the majority join the malcontents.

The Puritans form their first presbytery at Wandsworth<sup>3</sup>.

The earl of Northumberland is executed at York, Aug. 22.

The court of France devise and execute a hideous butchery of the Protestants, since well known as the massacre of St. Bartholomew<sup>4</sup>.

A.D. 1573.

Charke, Dering<sup>5</sup>, and other Puritans silenced, and attempts made, in

vain, to suppress the Admonition to the Parliament.

The English seas infested by pirates. William Holstock, comptroller of the navy, is sent against them, and captures 20 ships and 900 men<sup>6</sup>.

The trade between England and the Netherlands is resumed, at the desire of the duke of Alva<sup>7</sup>.

English troops are sent into Scotland to support the party of the young king. They capture the castle of Edinburgh, May 28, and soon after return to England.

Thomas Woodhouse, a Romish priest, executed at Tyburn, June 19.

Peter Burchet, a Puritan, attempts to murder John Hawkins, a naval officer, mistaking him for Sir Christopher Hatton, captain of the queen's guard, Oct. 11. He murders his keeper in prison, Nov. 10; is executed Nov. 12<sup>8</sup>.

The earl of Morton (James Douglas) is made regent of Scotland, Nov. 9.

A.D. 1574.

Several private assemblies of Romanists are surprised, on Palm Sunday, (April 4). The priests and the hearers are apprehended<sup>9</sup>, and the service-books and church decorations seized.

A.D. 1575.

A congregation of Dutch Anabap-

<sup>1</sup> John Hall and Francis Rolston, Derbyshire gentlemen, were tried at Westminster, May 17, charged with corresponding with her for the purpose of delivering her from the custody of George, earl of Shrewsbury, as long before as August, 1569. They were found guilty, and were executed.

<sup>2</sup> They were to fare still worse for the second offence, and for the third to suffer death as felons.

<sup>3</sup> Shortly after the prorogation there appeared an "Admonition to the Parliament," in which the views of the Puritans were set forth, and the most bitter and contemptuous language was employed against the Established Church. Two divines, Field and Wilcox, its presumed authors, were prosecuted as seditious libellers, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment each. Whitgift was employed to prepare an Answer; Cartwright published a Reply, Whitgift a Defence of the Answer, and Cartwright a Second Reply; the controversy extending over nearly six years.

<sup>4</sup> The example was speedily followed in other places. The vigilance of the High Commission Court was unable to detect the members of the Wandsworth presbytery, but they were believed to be London ministers. Field, already mentioned, was lecturer at Wandsworth, but resident in London, and a leading man in the Conferences which the Puritan ministers had long been in the habit of holding clandestinely there.

<sup>5</sup> It began on that day (Aug. 24), in Paris, with the assassination of the Admiral Coligny, and was continued in that city until all the Protestants were believed to be murdered, or to have made their escape. Similar butcheries took place in many

other places, and the lowest estimate of the number of victims is that of De Thou, who states it at 30,000; other writers make it very much higher. To the eternal disgrace of the reigning pope (Gregory XIII.), medals were struck, and thanksgivings offered up on the occasion. The monstrous crime, however, injured the cause it was intended to serve, as it proved to the Protestants of all countries that their safety could only be found in a closer union than they had hitherto maintained; accordingly, they looked to Elizabeth as their protectress, and her aid rendered the triumph of Romanism impossible.

<sup>6</sup> Dering was a lecturer at St. Paul's, London; Charke, a fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. From their respective pulpits they inveighed fiercely against the hierarchy, Charke in particular maintaining that "Satan had introduced bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, patriarchs, and popes."

<sup>7</sup> The pirates had shortly before attacked and plundered the earl of Worcester (William Somerset), while proceeding on an embassy to France.

<sup>8</sup> It was, however, soon broken off, and open countenance given by Elizabeth to the Protestants.

<sup>9</sup> He was manifestly mad, but the queen, who was alarmed, wished to have him executed by martial law directly he was apprehended; and though prevailed on to abandon that notion, she manifested so much dislike to his sect that Cartwright thought it prudent to withdraw to Germany.

<sup>10</sup> The ladies Browne, Guilford, and Morley, and many other gentlewomen and children, were seized, as were four priests.

tists (27 in number) is seized on Easter Sunday (April 3), in London. Four recant their errors at Paul's-cross, May 15<sup>s</sup>, and one woman does so afterwards. Eleven more are condemned to be burnt, May 21, but are instead banished. Two men (John Wielmacher and Hendrick Ter Voort, who probably had relapsed,) are burnt in Smithfield<sup>7</sup>, July 22.

The confederate Netherlanders offer the protection, or possession, of Holland and Zealand to the queen. She declines the offer, but promises her help to procure them a safe peace with Spain.

Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, dies, May 17. He is succeeded by Grindal.

A.D. 1576.

The parliament meets, Feb. 8, and sits till March 15.

Coining, and clipping of good coin, declared treasonable offences<sup>7</sup>, [18 Eliz. c. 1].

An act passed to restrain the "heinous offences" commonly committed by mercenary informers, [c. 5]. By this statute, which was enforced by another in 1584 [27 Eliz. c. 10], informers were obliged to appear in person to support their accusations, and to state the true time of the offence; if they discontinued the action, they were to pay the costs; and if they compounded

\* The Anabaptists rejected the Trinity, repudiated baptism, and denied the lawfulness of oaths, of war, or of magistrates; they were therefore peculiarly obnoxious, and had been ordered to quit England as early as Sept. 22, 1560. Some English fanatics, styling themselves the Family of Love, abjured their errors (which they professed to have received from Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman) at the same place, June 12. Their sect, however, survived; and it is in some respects represented by the Quakers of the present day.

<sup>7</sup> John Foxe, the Martyrologist, wrote a letter to the queen, entreating her to inflict some other death than burning, which he, forgetful of the fate of Servetus at the hand of John Calvin, represents as the distinctive cruelty of Romanists. Neither he nor his contemporaries seem to have had any doubt of the justice and propriety of capital punishment for religious opinions.

\* These practices had become very common since the reformation of the coinage in 1560. Two persons were executed in 1570, for forging and passing pieces of "tin and tin-glass" for shillings; and others were condemned for clipping gold, but obtained a pardon. Some doubt, however, being raised as to the legal quality of these offences, they were now authoritatively declared treason.

<sup>7</sup> Gold was fixed at 22 carats, and 12d. per oz. for work; silver at 10 oz. 2 dwt., and 12d. per lb. for work. The Goldsmiths' company had the mark-

ing of the same; and affixing false marks was rendered punishable by a fine of double the value of the goods.

Colleges rents appointed to be paid at least one-third in corn at market price, [c. 6].

Two justices appointed for each Welsh circuit, [c. 8.]

The fineness of gold and silver plate fixed by statute<sup>7</sup>, [c. 15].

Edmund Grindal<sup>b</sup>, archbishop of York, is translated to Canterbury. He is confirmed Feb. 15.

The Commons petition the queen for a reformation of discipline in the Church<sup>c</sup>.

The Netherlanders piratically seize many English vessels; a fleet is sent against them.

A charter granted to the people of Limerick, Nov. 16, allowing them to trade with foreigners, strangers and the queen's enemies in time of war, pirates only excepted.

A.D. 1577.

Rowland Gabriel, Katherine Deago, and six others, are tried at Aylesbury, April 18, charged with "feloniously keeping company with other vagabonds, vulgarly called and calling themselves Egyptians, and counterfeiting, transferring, and altering themselves in dress, language, and beha-

ing of the same; and affixing false marks was rendered punishable by a fine of double the value of the goods.

<sup>b</sup> He was born in Cumberland in 1519, and was educated at Cambridge, where he found a patron in Bishop Ridley. He went into exile in the time of Mary, and rendered himself conspicuous by his firm support of the English Liturgy against the objections of Knox and his partisans. He took part in the disputation at Westminster on Elizabeth's accession, was in 1559 made bishop of London, removed to York in 1570, and in 1576 to Canterbury. Grindal inclined to the views of the Puritans, and, though commanded by the queen to suppress the exercises termed "prophesyings," he declined to comply, and addressed to Elizabeth a letter of earnest remonstrance, such as very few men but himself would have ventured to have written. It was, however, disregarded; he was sequestered from his see, and confined to his house; he became blind, but his spirit was unsubdued, and steps were being taken to deprive him, when the queen and her ministers were spared so odious a step against a truly learned, pious, conscientious, and amiable man, by his death, which occurred at Croydon, July 6, 1583.

<sup>c</sup> The queen answered that the bishops had been directed to examine the matter, and if they failed in their duty she would supply the want by her supremacy.

viour." They are found guilty, and hanged<sup>d</sup>.

The queen makes a league with the Netherlanders, and assists them with money, ships, and men.

The puritanical meetings, called Prophesyings, forbidden by the queen, May 7, and almost immediately discontinued<sup>e</sup>.

Cuthbert Mayne, a seminary priest, is executed at Launceston, Nov. 29<sup>f</sup>.

Francis Drake sails from Plymouth, on a voyage against the Spanish settlements, Dec. 13<sup>g</sup>.

#### A.D. 1578.

John Nelson, a priest, and Thomas Sherwood, a young layman, are executed at Tyburn, Feb. 3 and 7, for denying the queen's supremacy<sup>h</sup>.

The pope (Gregory XIII.) supplies forces for the invasion of Ireland, but the project is not carried into effect<sup>i</sup>.

The State Paper Office founded, Dr. Wilson, a civilian, being appointed the first keeper.

#### A.D. 1579.

Matthew Hamond, of Hetherset, near Norwich, is burnt at Norwich as a heretic, May 20<sup>k</sup>.

A small party of Spaniards land at Smerwick, in Kerry, and fortify themselves there<sup>l</sup>, July.

Negotiations are commenced for a marriage between the queen and Francis, duke of Anjou, brother of the French king<sup>m</sup>.

#### A.D. 1580.

James of Scotland chooses two young men<sup>n</sup> as favourites, who intrigue to overthrow the regent Morton.

Allen induces the pope (Gregory XIII.) to dispatch a mission of Jesuits to England, to attempt its re-conversion. Its leaders are Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion<sup>o</sup>. They reach England in July, and reconcile many to the Church of Rome. A proclamation is issued against them, to which Campion prepares a reply, in which he

<sup>d</sup> They had been apprehended by an order from the council, signed by the lord keeper (Sir Nicholas Bacon) and others.

<sup>e</sup> These meetings of the clergy for prayer and exposition of Scripture, but without the use of the Service-book, appear to have arisen at Northampton about 1570, or even earlier, when that town was so completely under puritanical influence that the service in the churches was new modelled, and Calvin's Catechism substituted for that set forth by authority. Laymen soon mixed in them, and disaffection to the civil government was feared from their continuance.

<sup>f</sup> He had been some time in England as chaplain to a Cornish gentleman, named Tregian, a known recusant. Mayne had in his possession, when seized, a papal bull, not relating to politics; but he was held by the court to have offended against the law of 1571; his own party regarded him as "the protomartyr of Douay."

<sup>g</sup> He gained a large amount of plunder in his voyage, which extended round the world, returned in 1580, was visited on board his ship by the queen, and knighted.

<sup>h</sup> According to Dr. Milner, 15 persons altogether suffered on this charge; 126 for exercising the functions of the priesthood; and 63 either for being reconciled, or for assisting priests; a total of 204.

<sup>i</sup> The command of 800 men had been given by the pope to an English fugitive named Thomas Stukeley, whom he created marquis of Leinster; and he was to have been joined by a much larger body of Spaniards and Portuguese, under Sebastian, king of Portugal. The king, however, prevailed on Stukeley first to accompany him on an expedition to Africa, where they both perished. After the short reign of Dom Henry, Philip of Spain (uncle of Sebastian) seized on Portugal in 1580, and Antonio, the heir to the crown, found refuge in England.

<sup>k</sup> He was an ignorant mechanic, who denied the Trinity, and pronounced the Gospel a fable. He was condemned to the stake, but venturing to utter in court "words of blasphemy against the queen's majesty, and others of her council," he was sen-

tenced also to lose his ears, and was burnt a month after.

<sup>l</sup> They had been raised by James Fitzmaurice, brother of the earl of Desmond. In their company were Saunders, an English refugee, invested with the commission of papal legate, and Allen, an Irish Jesuit.

<sup>m</sup> The project caused much alarm, especially to the Puritans, and also much mischief to the Romanists, many priests being executed apparently to remove the fears of the former, who imagined that the queen intended to forsake Protestantism. The duke came to England, and resided here for some months, in 1581 and 1582; but the scheme was abandoned, and he was invited to become the protector of the Netherlands. He acted treacherously in this capacity, attempted to seize Antwerp, but was defeated, and died shortly after, July 10, 1583.

<sup>n</sup> These were Esme Stuart, nephew to the king's grandfather, the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, son of Lord Ochiltree. Esme was soon made duke of Lenox, and James received the title of earl of Arran.

<sup>o</sup> They had both formerly professed Protestantism, and had belonged to Balliol and St. John's Colleges, Oxford. Parsons (born 1546, in Somersetshire) had left that university under the imputation of a disorderly life, wandered abroad for some years, and at length became a Jesuit, after he had endeavoured to live as a physician, or a civilian. Campion, who was a Londoner (born 1540), had when a youth appeared a zealous Protestant, and was in consequence favoured by Bishop Cheyney, of Gloucester. He became a Romanist about 1569, went to Ireland, and thence to Douay, where he became professor of divinity; he was afterwards a Jesuit missionary in Bohemia, and at length was dispatched, somewhat against his will, as he asserted, to England. He was, unlike his companion, a man of mild and amiable character, but both were furnished with instructions relative to the bull of Pius V. (see A.D. 1570) which gave a political rather than a religious character to their enterprise.

expresses a desire for a public disputation<sup>p</sup>.

The erection of new buildings in London forbidden by proclamation<sup>q</sup>, July 7.

A fresh body of Italians and Spaniards joins those already in Ireland. They are soon after compelled to surrender<sup>r</sup>, Nov. 9.

A.D. 1581.

The parliament meets, Jan. 16, and sits till March 18.

A severe act passed against the Romanists, entitled "An act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience," [23 Eliz. c. 1]. It provided that any person reconciling another to the see of Rome should be punished as a traitor, and the person reconciled incur misprision of treason; saying mass was to be punished by a fine of 200 marks; hearing it, by a fine of 100 marks, with, in each case, a year's imprisonment; absence from church was to be punished by a fine of £20 a month; and if continued a year two sureties of £200 each were to be given for future good behaviour. All schoolmasters were to be licensed by the ordinary, or suffer a year's imprisonment, and persons employing them to be fined £10 a month.

Seditious words and slanderous tales forbidden [c. 2], under penalty of pillory and imprisonment for the first offence, and death for the second. Death was also the punishment for casting nativities, or wishing the queen's death, [c. 3].

A more reasonable act [c. 4] appoints commissioners to fortify the border towards Scotland. It states that the inhabitants of the northern parts, though

exempted from subsidies, have neglected to keep their houses fortified; they are to be compelled to do so, having "favourable sets and forms of tenure" for the purpose.

Morton, the former regent of Scotland, is tried and convicted of participation in the murder of Darnley. He is executed, June 1.

Campion is seized at Lyfford, in Berkshire, July 17. He is brought to London, with two other priests, and lodged in the Tower, July 22.

Edward (or Everard) Hance, a priest, is executed for denying the queen's supremacy, July 31.

Campion is racked in the Tower, and reveals the names of the persons who had sheltered him; many of them are in consequence fined and imprisoned.

Six Protestant divines<sup>s</sup> are sent on different days to dispute with him; he is afterwards questioned as to the pope's deposing power. His answers being deemed unsatisfactory, he is again racked, with greater severity; and at length is tried for high treason, and condemned, Nov. 26. He is executed, with two other ecclesiastics, Dec. 1<sup>t</sup>.

A.D. 1582.

The States of the Netherlands choose the duke of Anjou for their governor, February. He takes the field against the Spaniards, but excites jealousy by placing French garrisons in the towns.

The earl of Gowrie (Alexander Ruthven) and several other nobles, seize James of Scotland, and oblige him to dismiss his favourites, Arran and Lenox<sup>u</sup>. This affair is known as the Raid of Ruthven.

<sup>p</sup> He was visited when in prison, and reminded of this challenge. He accordingly disputed with his opponents, but the meetings, as might have been foreseen, had no satisfactory result.

<sup>q</sup> Various reasons are assigned why the growth of the city was esteemed an evil. Lack of room to walk and sport, increase of beggars, increased danger of plague and fire, but especially the difficulty of governing so great a multitude, are among them.

<sup>r</sup> The Irish who had joined them, both men and women, were hanged; the foreigners, about 400 in number, were put to the sword, their leader, San Giuseppe, and a few others only being spared. Allen, the Jesuit, had been killed shortly before in a skirmish, and the fate of Saunders is uncertain; Camden says he survived until 1583, when he was found starved to death; Dod asserts that he died of disease in 1580.

<sup>s</sup> Nowell and Day, deans of St. Paul's and Windsor, Drs. Fulke, Goad, and Walker, and Mr. Charke.

<sup>t</sup> Six other priests and a layman were convicted with him, and five more on the following day. The charge against them was, that they had vowed allegiance to the pope, who had in various ways compassed and imagined the death of the queen. The lives of three (Bosgrave a Jesuit, Rishton a secular priest, and Orton the layman), who formally renounced the pope's deposing power, were spared; the rest were executed at different periods: Campion, Sherwin, and Briant, Dec. 1, 1581; Ford, Johnson, and Short, May 28; and Cottam, Filby, Kirby, and Richardson, May 30, 1582. Parsons escaped from England, revisited it at the time of Babington's conspiracy, and, after living several years as a political writer and plotter in the service of Spain, retired to Rome, where he died in 1610.

<sup>u</sup> Lenox retired to France, and shortly after died there; Arran regained his influence for awhile, but ultimately died in poverty.

A.D. 1583.

The duke of Anjou attempts to seize Antwerp by treachery, Jan. 7. He is foiled by the citizens<sup>a</sup>, and is soon obliged to retire to France, being strongly withstood by the English and Scottish troops in the pay of the States.

James of Scotland regains his authority, and exiles the parties to the Raid of Ruthven. Gowrie, however, is pardoned, on his submission, and the others soon return.

Elias Thacker and John Coping are hanged, June 4 and 6, for dispersing books (termed "seditious libels") written by Robert Browne<sup>b</sup> against the Book of Common Prayer.

Archbishop Grindal dies, July 6. He is succeeded by John Whitgift<sup>c</sup>, bishop of Worcester.

John Lewis, who denied the Divinity

of our Lord, is burnt at Norwich, Sept. 17.

The earl of Desmond is surprised and killed<sup>d</sup>, Nov. 11.

Edward Arden, a Warwickshire gentleman, is executed, Dec. 20, on a charge of having conspired with John Somerville and others to assassinate the queen<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 1584.

Sir John Perrott is appointed lord deputy of Ireland<sup>f</sup>, Jan. 7.

William Carter, a printer, is executed for reprinting a "Treatise on Schism," in which the murder of the queen was thought to be recommended<sup>g</sup>, Jan. 10.

John Fen and four other seminary priests executed at Tyburn<sup>h</sup>, Feb. 12.

The earl of Gowrie is executed, and

<sup>a</sup> Upwards of 1,500 of the French were killed, and 2,000 taken prisoners. The people defended themselves with equal skill and courage; they drew chains across the streets, and fired from the windows and housetops. "When they wanted bullets," says Stow, "they very advisedly and readily melted their pewter dishes and platters to make shot; and some, for more speed, took money out of their purses, and bent it with their teeth, and sent it singing out of their muskets and calivers."

<sup>b</sup> Browne was a kinsman of the minister Cecil, and had been chaplain to the duke of Norfolk. He quarrelled alike with the discipline of the Established Church and with that of the Puritans, was censured by the Court of High Commission, and withdrew to Holland, where he wrote a book advocating the principles of self-government in each congregation, since known as *Independency*. At length he returned, and though he gave only a feigned conformity, (he never preached,) received the living of Achurch, in Northamptonshire. He was of a quarrelsome, imperious disposition, suffered numerous imprisonments in consequence, and he died at last in Northampton gaol, about the year 1631, at a very advanced age, being confined there, not for any alleged religious or political principle, but for an assault on a constable.

<sup>c</sup> He was born at Grimsby, about 1530, was educated at Cambridge under John Bradford, resided in the university for many years, and shewed himself a strenuous opponent of the Puritans; he answered their "Admonition to the Parliament," and in his capacity of vice-chancellor expelled Cartwright, who was esteemed their most able preacher, from his fellowship. In 1577 he became bishop of Worcester; and, being associated with Sir Henry Sidney in the government of the Marches of Wales, he shewed much aptitude for secular business. In his administration of the primacy Archbishop Whitgift acted with vigour and determination; he maintained the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, procured the imposition of severe restrictions on the press, which had fallen extensively under Puritan influence, and in all his proceedings with that party dealt with a high hand. His efforts were, however, but indifferently seconded by the government, and he was often thwarted in his designs. He attended, with other prelates, at the conferences held at Hampton Court, in the presence of James I., when the great bulk of the Puritan objections were dismissed as unfounded, but died very soon after, Feb. 29, 1604.

<sup>d</sup> He had already been attainted, and his vast estates, estimated at near 600,000 acres, were partitioned among the English soldiers and adventurers. Sir Walter Raleigh and the poet Spenser being in the number.

<sup>e</sup> Somerville, who was the son-in-law of Arden, was a madman. Some of his incoherent expressions were detailed by Hall, a Romish priest, who declared that Arden, his wife and daughter, approved of them; this was sufficient to procure Arden's condemnation, though it was generally believed that his real offence was, that he was personally obnoxious to Leicester, whose retainer he had refused to become, and who obtained the grant of his estate for one of his followers. Somerville was condemned, but committed suicide; the priest and the females were pardoned.

<sup>f</sup> He is said to have been a natural son of Henry VIII., and to have borne great resemblance to him both in person and in his imperious nature. We see, by the Council book of Queen Mary, that he was committed to the Fleet, Jan. 18, 1554, with Lord Ormond and Lord Garrett, for violently assaulting the servants of the earl of Worcester, but he was released two days after. His government of Ireland was displeasing to the queen, and he was removed in 1587.

<sup>g</sup> The book was written by Gregory Martin, a Jesuit, and was first printed at Douay in 1578. The passage objected to, which exhorted "our Catholic gentlemen to destroy Holofernes, the master heretic," Carter endeavoured to explain as an allegory, but the judges overruled this, and he was executed as a traitor.

<sup>h</sup> The government thought it necessary to publish a justification of these proceedings, which, together with the usage of prisoners in the Tower, were severely commented upon in foreign countries. There accordingly appeared "A Declaration of the Favourable Dealings of Her Majesty's Commissioners," in which the use of the rack was defended; and a "Declaration of the Traitorous Affection borne against Her Majesty by Edmund Campion, Jesuit, and other condemned Priests." Allen replied by a book "On the English Persecution;" the government then brought forward another, entitled, "The Execution of Justice in England not for Religion, but for Treason," which was also published in Italian; Allen again replied, in his "British Justice," and there the controversy ceased.



the other parties to the Raid of Ruthven again banished.

Francis Throckmorton is executed on charges of treasonable correspondence with the Spanish ambassador and others<sup>f</sup>, July 10.

Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, is captured at sea, in September. He endeavours to destroy a paper which proves to be the heads of a plan for a Spanish invasion, and the deposition or death of the queen, to which Mary of Scotland was said to have consented.

The parliament meets, Nov. 23, and sits till March 29, 1585. Its first act was one "for provision to be made for the surety of the queen's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace," [27 Eliz. c. 1]. This act legalized an Association which had been formed shortly before to protect the queen from assassination, or to revenge her death. The subscribers (headed by Leicester) promised to punish with death any attempt on her life, and also to exclude from the throne all who should authorize such an attempt or be meant to profit by it<sup>g</sup>.

Another act was "Against Jesuits, seminary priests, and other such-like disobedient persons," [c. 2]. Jesuits

and seminary priests were to leave the kingdom within forty days, under the penalty of treason; to aid or receive them was made felony; all students in the seminaries were to return within six months and take the oath of supremacy, or be considered as traitors, and if they returned they were not to come within twelve miles of the court for ten years. Persons sending children to the seminaries were to forfeit £100, and to incur the penalties of præmunire if they sent money to any already there; the parties sent were rendered incapable of inheriting from the sender<sup>h</sup>. This bill was vehemently opposed by Dr. William Parry, member for Queenborough; he was placed in arrest, by the House of Commons, Dec. 17, but released by order of the queen the next day<sup>i</sup>.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, founded by Sir Walter Mildmay<sup>k</sup>.

A settlement founded in America, and named, in honour of the queen, Virginia<sup>l</sup>.

A.D. 1585.

Twenty Romish priests and one layman are banished by virtue of the recent act [27 Eliz. c. 2], Jan. 15<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> He confessed, on the rack, that a plan was in agitation for the invasion of England by the Spaniards. The Spanish ambassador, when taxed with this, retorted with charges of piracy, and of interference in the Netherlands, but soon after withdrew to Paris.

<sup>g</sup> This clause was evidently directed against Mary of Scotland, yet she offered her own signature, but it was declined.

<sup>h</sup> The Romanists presented a petition to the queen, protesting their loyalty, and praying her not to consent to this bill. Its only effect was to cause the imprisonment for life of the gentleman who offered it to her (Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove, in Sussex).

<sup>i</sup> Parry, who had been bred a lawyer, had but recently returned to England, having been employed for some years on the continent by the English government as a spy. He was a man of vile character, and had treacherously discussed the question of assassinating the queen with several priests and others on purpose to betray them. He was admitted to interviews with the queen, but not being rewarded as he expected, he resumed his practices, was informed against by one of his intended victims (Edmund Neville, the heir of the last earl of Westmoreland), condemned, and executed.

<sup>k</sup> He was for many years Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was a firm supporter of the Puritans. His college was speedily filled with them, and it was commonly known among the party as "the house of pure Emmanuel."

<sup>l</sup> Its chief promoter was Walter Raleigh, one of the most distinguished men of his time. He was born in Devonshire in 1552, came early to court, where he soon became a favourite, and was a formidable rival to Essex. His great passion, how-

ever, was for arms and maritime discovery, and he eventually lost his life in the pursuit. Raleigh served with signal bravery, both by sea and land, and he received the grant of large estates in Ireland; but he sought for still greater fortune from the discovery of gold mines in America. His schemes failed, and he became a ruined man, though still holding high appointments. As the queen's reign drew to a close, he, like so many of her courtiers, attempted to pay his court to James of Scotland, but in this he was forestalled by Cecil, who inspired the king with a deep distrust of him. Soon after James' accession Raleigh was charged, perhaps unjustly, with treasonable designs; he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. His life was spared, and after thirteen years' imprisonment he was released, and fitted out an expedition for the occupation of Guiana, where he asserted that mines richer than those of Mexico or Peru were to be found. He was unable to effect his object, but he had given mortal offence to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who possessed unbounded influence with the king, and had also engaged in piracy. On his return he was, for a reason that has only of late years come to light (see A.D. 1618), executed on his former sentence, dying with firmness and resignation, Oct. 29, 1618.

<sup>m</sup> A commission was issued on this day empowering any six of certain commissioners to banish so many as to them should seem fitting of Jesuits, seminary priests, and lay persons, who were seducers of the queen's loving subjects. This party, which was landed in Normandy, comprised three priests and one layman who had been attainted, ten who had been indicted, and seven who were suspected of treason. In the following September thirty-two more, collected from the Tower, the Mar-

Dr. Parry is apprehended, and sent to the Tower, Feb. 8. He is tried at Westminster, Feb. 25, and pleads guilty to the charge of conspiring with Edmund Neville to kill the queen. He is executed, March 2.

The earl of Arundel (Philip Howard) is sent to the Tower, on a charge of attempting to leave the realm clandestinely<sup>a</sup>, April 14.

The banished lords return to Scotland, and procure the degradation of Arran<sup>b</sup>.

The earl of Northumberland (Henry Percy) is found dead in the Tower<sup>c</sup>, June 21.

The queen accepts the protection of the Netherlands, in July. She agreed to supply them with 1000 horse and 5000 foot, for which they were to pay at the end of the war, and they were to put in her hands Flushing, Briel, and Rammekins, in the isle of Walcheren, as security. She was to name a governor-general, who, with two English councillors, was to be admitted to a share of their government. Neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other, and a fleet was to be furnished by both parties in equal numbers, but to be commanded by an English admiral.

A seminary priest and a layman hanged for dispersing slanderous books, July 6.

Drake is dispatched against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and does them vast damage. He takes the cities St. Domingo and Carthage, ravages the coast of Florida, and returns with a large amount of treasure and 240 pieces of cannon<sup>d</sup>.

The earl of Leicester is sent to the

Netherlands, as commander of the English forces. He lands at Flushing, Dec. 10.

The western part of Ireland is reduced to subjection by Sir Richard Bingham.

A.D. 1586.

Two seminary priests (Barber and Devereux) executed, Jan. 19 and 21; and two more (Thomson and Lea) April 20.

William Shelley is convicted of conspiring to slay the queen, and deliver the queen of Scots, Feb. 12; he is executed.

The Netherlands grant "the highest and supreme commandment, and absolute authority," to "His Excellency" the earl of Leicester, Feb. 6; at which the queen is greatly displeased.

Leicester takes the field in April. He is at first successful, through the courage and conduct of Sir John Norris, Sir Francis Vere, and others of his lieutenants, but fails in an attempt on Zutphen<sup>e</sup>.

A "league of stricter amity," entered into with James of Scotland, providing for mutual assistance in case of invasion by any of "the neighbour princes, who will needs be called Catholics," July 1.

Five English merchant vessels beat off thirteen galleys of Spain and Malta, at Pantellaria, July 13.

John Savage, a soldier of Philip's forces, forms a design to kill the queen. His intention is approved by William Gifford, a priest at Reims, and also by John Ballard, a missionary priest in England. Anthony Ba-

shalsea, and other prisons, were banished, but being attacked at sea by a Dutch pirate, they were, at their own request, set on shore at Boulogne.

<sup>a</sup> He was the son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, executed in 1572. In 1584 he was imprisoned on suspicion of corresponding with Mary of Scotland, but was soon released; in the same year, according to the indictment afterwards found against him, he received two seminary priests (Weston and Bridges), was reconciled to Rome, and offered his services to Cardinal Allen and the other refugees. Soon after his committal to the Tower he was fined £10,000 by the Star-chamber, and sentenced to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure. He was at length, after a four years' imprisonment, brought to trial before his peers, April 14, 1589, and found guilty of treason, one charge being that he had procured a mass to be said by one William Benner, and had himself written a prayer, for the success of the Armada. For some unknown reason Arundel was not executed, but he lived in daily ex-

pectation of the scaffold, until his death, Oct. 19, 1595. Several interesting memorials remain of him on the walls of the Beauchamp tower; one consists of four lines of Latin expressive of faith and hope, signed "ARUNDELL, JUNE 22, 1587."

<sup>b</sup> He was proclaimed a public enemy, reduced to his original name of James Stuart, and suffered to die in obscurity.

<sup>c</sup> He was brother of the earl beheaded in 1572, and was imprisoned on suspicion of being in confederacy with Throckmorton (see A.D. 1584). Whether he committed suicide, or was murdered, as is sometimes affirmed, is uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> In passing the American coast he came to Raleigh's settlement, Virginia (see A.D. 1584). The colonists were in such distress that they solicited Drake to bring them to England, which he did. These men brought the use of tobacco to this country.

<sup>e</sup> In a skirmish before this town, on Sept. 22, his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, was mortally wounded.

byngton, and several other gentlemen of fortune\*, are induced to join the scheme. They are betrayed by a spy (Pooley), and brought to trial, Sept. 13, 14, when Babyngton, Ballard, Savage, and four others plead guilty; seven more are convicted, Sept. 15. The whole fourteen are executed, Sept. 20, 21.

The indictment against these parties charged them not only with intending to kill the queen, but also to rise in arms to favour an invasion from Spain, and to release the queen of Scots; this last was probably the chief object with most of them, but the project terminated as fatally for her as for themselves. Babyngton had been recently in France, and had brought letters for Mary, and in return she is stated in his indictment to have written letters to him, "in which she not only signified that she allowed and approved of such intended treasons, but therein also urged and solicited Babyngton and his confederates, by promises of great reward, to fulfil the same." The truth of this assertion, at least as far as regards any design on the life of Elizabeth, is very doubtful, but it answered the purpose of the framers of the Association†, and it was forthwith resolved to proceed to the judicial murder of the unhappy prisoner. Her secretaries (Nau and Curle) and her papers were seized, and both subjected to rigid examination, and Mary was removed to Fotheringhay Castle preparatory to her so-called trial.

Three Romish priests are hanged at Tyburn, Oct. 8.

A majority of a board of forty-seven commissioners assembles at Fotheringhay, Sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor, and the earls of Kent (Henry Grey) and Shrewsbury (George Talbot) being the leading members, for the trial of Mary, Oct. 12. She at

first refuses to plead, then acknowledges negotiating with foreign powers to obtain her freedom, but earnestly disclaims any intention against the life of Elizabeth. She also charges Walsingham with forging letters (which he denies), and desires to be confronted with her secretaries, one of whom (Nau) she accuses of treachery. Her demand is refused, and the commissioners adjourn, Oct. 15.

The commissioners re-assemble in the Starchamber, Oct. 25, and pronounce a sentence, "that Babyngton's conspiracy was with the privy (*cum scientia*) of Mary;" as also "that she had herself compassed and imagined within this realm of England divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our sovereign lady the queen."

The parliament meets, Oct. 28, and sits till December 2. Their principal business was the attainder of Babyngton and his associates, and applications to the queen to consent to the execution of Mary. She desired them to re-consider their request; they again urged it, and then she dismissed them with an ambiguous speech, which she herself termed "an answer without an answer."

The sentence against Mary is confirmed by the queen and her council at Richmond, Dec. 4. It is published in London‡, Dec. 6, and shortly after communicated to the prisoner.

Mary writes to Elizabeth, Dec. 19. She prays that she may not be privately put to death; that she may be buried in France, as the Scottish sepulchres have been profaned; and that her servants may be allowed to go free, and enjoy her legacies.

The Netherlanders complain loudly of the exactions and mismanagement of Leicester, and he returns to England in December.

\* Their names are thus given in their indictment:—Edward Abyngton, of Henlip, co. Worcester; Anthony Babyngton, of Dethycke, co. Derby; Robert Barnewell, of London; Jerome Bellamy, of London; John Charnock, of London; Henry Dunne, of London; Robert Gage, of London; Edward Jones, of Cadogan, co. Denbigh; Thomas Salysburye, of Llewenny, co. Denbigh; John Traves, of Prescot, co. Lancaster; Chidiok Tychborne, of Porchester, co. Hants; Charles Tynley, of London. Sir Thomas Gerrard, and Elizabeth and Katherine Bellamy, had also indictments found against them, but do not appear to

have been brought to trial; Gerrard, however, was a prisoner in the Tower July 24, 1588, as we learn from the record of the trial of the earl of Arundel. Edward Wyndesore, brother of the baron of that title, was also one of the party, but he made his escape.

† See A.D. 1584.

‡ The proclamation was made in seven different places, "to the great and wonderful rejoicing of the people of all sorts," says Stow, "as manifestly appeared by ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalms in every one of the streets and lanes of the city."

A.D. 1587.

James of Scotland and Henry III. of France intercede for Mary's life<sup>\*</sup>; the queen gives ambiguous answers. At length she signs the warrant for execution, Feb. 1, and gives it into the care of William Davison, the secretary, who, by direction of the council, dispatches it to Fotheringhay<sup>†</sup>.

The earls of Kent and Shrewsbury wait on Mary, Feb. 7, and warn her for death.

On the following day (Feb. 8) the queen was brought into the great hall of the castle of Fotheringhay, several of the commissioners, the sheriff of the county (Thomas Andrews), and a few spectators, being present, beside her own servants. The sentence was read, and, says Camden, "she heard it attentively, yet as if her thoughts were taken up with somewhat else." Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, offered his services, but she declined them, and prayed in Latin with her servants (from the Office of the Blessed Virgin); she also prayed in English for the Church, for her son, and for Queen Elizabeth, and forgave the executioner; then, having kissed her women and signed the men with the sign of the cross, she prepared for death,

and had sufficient command of herself to comfort her weeping attendants. "Having covered her face with a linen handkerchief, and laying herself down to the block, she recited that psalm, 'In Thee, O Lord, do I trust, let me never be confounded.' Then stretching forth her body, and repeating many times, 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,' her head was stricken off at two strokes, the dean [Fletcher] crying out, 'So let Queen Elizabeth's enemies perish!' the earl of Kent answering, 'Amen,' and the multitude sighing and sorrowing<sup>‡</sup>."

Sir Christopher Hatton, captain of the queen's guard, is made lord chancellor<sup>§</sup>, April 29.

Sir Francis Drake is sent with a fleet against the Spaniards. He burns or captures many ships of war in the harbour of Cadiz, April 19, and in the summer takes above 100 merchant ships, beside destroying much of the naval stores collected for the invasion of England.

Leicester goes again to the Netherlands, in June, but soon returns<sup>||</sup>.

Sir William Stanley gives up his post at Deventer, and joins the Spaniards, with 1300 of his men<sup>¶</sup>.

## THE SPANISH ARMADA.

ABOUT the time that Pope Gregory XIII. sent Campion and others into England<sup>‡</sup> preparations were begun by

Philip II. of Spain, in concert with the Guises (the actual rulers of France), for the conquest of the country. The

<sup>\*</sup> The Scottish ambassador is said to have abused his trust, and urged Mary's execution; and the French ambassador's representations were not attended to, as his master's sincerity was doubted.

<sup>†</sup> Elizabeth either felt or affected extreme reluctance to take the life of Mary, but her courtiers (according to Camden) argued "that the life of one Scottish and titular queen ought not to weigh down the safety of all England;" and "some preachers more tartly than was fit, and some of the vulgar sort more sanely than became them, either out of hope or fear," held the same language; and there can be no doubt that her council conceived they were carrying her wishes into effect by acting on the warrant. Yet they had the meanness and cruelty to sacrifice their tool, Davison, who was tried in the Starchamber, sentenced to a fine of £10,000, and imprisoned for years.

<sup>‡</sup> Camden. The character drawn by this able historian of the unhappy queen has all the appearance of truth:—"She was a lady, fixed and constant in her religion, of singular piety towards God, invincible magnanimity of mind, wisdom above her sex, and admirable beauty; a lady to be reckoned in the list of those princesses who have changed their felicity for misery and calamity. . . . By Murray, her base brother, and other her ungrateful and ambitious subjects, she was much tossed and disquieted, deposed from her throne, and driven into

England. By some Englishmen who were careful for preserving their religion, and providing for the queen's safety, she was, as indifferent censurers have thought, circumvented; and by others, that were desirous to restore the Romish religion, thrust forward to dangerous undertakings; and overborne by the testimonies of her secretaries, who seemed to be bribed and corrupted with money." Her body was buried at Peterborough, but removed by her son James to Henry VII.'s chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>§</sup> He succeeded Sir Thomas Bromley, who died April 26, 1587, and held the seals until his own death, Nov. 21, 1591, discharging the duties of his office more satisfactorily than could have been expected.

<sup>||</sup> He had conceived the idea of acquiring the sovereignty of the provinces, but this was distasteful alike to Elizabeth and to the Netherlanders, and he was obliged to abandon it. He had, however, by presents and promises, gained a strong party, which gave much trouble to his successor, Prince Maurice.

<sup>¶</sup> He was a Romanist, and a connexion of Baynington; fear of being, in consequence, charged as an accomplice in his plot, induced his desertion, which greatly alarmed and irritated the Netherlanders.

<sup>‡</sup> See A.D. 1580.

work, however, proceeded but slowly\*, owing, in part, to the magnitude of the armament that was thought necessary; and, although every step was closely watched by Walsingham and others, it was not until 1586 that any serious apprehension was felt that the threatened attack would be made. Energetic steps were then taken to meet the danger, and were heartily responded to by the great body of the people; even the Romanists bore their part in them<sup>f</sup>, but the Puritans are accused of a suspicious lukewarmness; and it is certain that no sense of common danger could induce them to desist from their virulent attacks on the Church<sup>g</sup>.

In 1587 it was ascertained that the expedition would sail in the following year. Accordingly, early in the spring of 1588, a fleet of about 140 ships<sup>h</sup> was got together, of which a large proportion was stationed on the western coast; and the Netherlands prepared a succour of 60 vessels. Three armies were formed; one of 30,000 was in attendance on the queen, and to move with her as occasion might require; another of 20,000 was distributed along the southern coast; and a third, of about the same strength, was placed at Tilbury, where a camp<sup>i</sup> was formed, and a bridge of boats established, both as a means of commu-

nication, and also, if necessary, to block up the river.

Meanwhile Philip's fleet had rendezvoused at Lisbon. It was a mighty force of at least 130 ships of war<sup>k</sup>, many of them of unusual bulk, and far exceeding in size any of the English vessels; it was manned by 11,000 seamen and galley-slaves, carried above 3,000 pieces of cannon, and had on board 22,000 troops officered from the first families in Spain, and accompanied by many noble volunteers, and 180 priests and monks. Philip visited the fleet at Lisbon in May, and thought himself justified in styling it "the Invincible Armada<sup>l</sup>;" a consecrated banner and his benediction were received from the pope (Sixtus V.), and the fleet sailed on the 1st of June, under the command of Alfonso Perez, duke of Medina Sidonia, a man unused to the sea, but assisted by Don Martinez de Ricaldi, a Biscayan mariner of great experience. The duke was directed to make his way as soon as possible to France and Flanders, without attacking the English fleet, the design being to commence the war by landing three different bodies of troops in England. A force, which the duke of Guise had collected in Normandy, was to be thrown on the western coast; the great body of the duke of Parma's veteran

\* Vessels were built, and naval stores and seamen procured for Philip, even from the Hanse towns and Denmark, but Elizabeth's ministers more than once damaged his credit with the Venetians and Genoese, the great money-lenders of the age. Walsingham, through Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, once brought his armament to a stand-still by shewing them the danger his treasure-ships ran of capture, when they refused to advance money, as they had long been accustomed to do.

<sup>f</sup> When the Armada approached, however, it was thought prudent to imprison many of their number, and it is certain that the Spaniards expected their co-operation. This, perhaps, occasioned the large number of executions of Romanists this year (thirty-six); one was a gentlewoman (Margaret Ward), who had conveyed a rope to a priest in Bridewell, and thus enabled him to escape.

<sup>g</sup> The "scandalous books," as Camden justly terms them, which commonly go by the name of the *Mar-Prelate Tracts*, were printed about this very period. Their abuse of the hierarchy was so gross that Cartwright and other Puritans of note publicly disclaimed any concern in their production: it is believed that many of them were written by Henry Perrey, who was executed in 1593.

<sup>h</sup> Less than twenty of these belonged to the royal navy: the rest were furnished by the cities of London, Bristol, and other seaports, by the merchant adventurers and private individuals; the vessels were very much smaller than those of the Spaniards, and the crews less than 15,000 in number; Charles

Lord Howard of Effingham was the admiral, and he had Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher under him. A squadron of about twenty ships, under Lord Henry Seymour, in conjunction with the Netherlands, watched the coast of Flanders.

<sup>i</sup> To this camp, where her favourite Leicester commanded, the queen paid a visit, when she made a speech to her troops. "I am come among you," she said, "not as for my recreation and sport, but as being resolved, in the middle and heat of the battle, to live or die among you all; to lay down, for my God and my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and a king of England too."

<sup>k</sup> There was, beside, a large fleet of transports laden with many thousand stand of arms for those who were expected to join them; horses, mules, trenching tools; and, lastly, fetters, whips, thumb-screws, and other instruments of torture. Some of these vessels were taken by the English in their first day's skirmish, and the sight of such a cargo raised their courage almost to madness.

<sup>l</sup> He had a pompous account of his "most happy Armada" printed in Latin and several other languages; and Cardinal Allen wrote, in English, an "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland," exhorting them to rise in aid of the Spaniards, and denouncing the queen as the most infamous of human beings. On the failure of the expedition, every effort was made to suppress this pamphlet.

forces in the Netherlands, consisting of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse, was to be landed in Kent or Essex, in order to march on London; and a part was to be disembarked in Yorkshire<sup>m</sup>, where it was expected that the Romanists would join them.

These plans were, however, all confounded by a storm which arose shortly after the Armada left Lisbon, and compelled the fleet to take shelter at the Groyne (near Ferrol), in so disordered a state that a report was at once spread that the expedition was abandoned for that year. In consequence, the duke of Guise withdrew his troops, Parma relaxed his preparations, and the English fleet, which had been cruising between Ushant and the Scilly Isles, retired to Plymouth. The English admiral, however, prudently retained some ships that he had been ordered to dismiss, and, putting to sea with a few vessels, visited the coast of Spain; he found the damage not so great as had been reported, and returning to port (July 12), re-victualled his fleet, which amounted to about sixty sail, and received on board many noble volunteers. On the 19th July he was warned that the Armada was off the Cornish coast<sup>n</sup>; in spite of contrary winds he got to sea, hung on their rear in their passage up the Channel, and captured three large and many smaller vessels; and being daily joined by ships from the various English ports, had 140 vessels under his command, when the Spaniards anchored in the Calais-roads, on the 27th July.

Though the Spaniards had shewn themselves very deficient in seamanship<sup>o</sup>, and had seemed to retreat from their adversaries, when they were anchored in a solid body they presented too formidable an appearance for the admiral to hope to engage them with

success; but a stratagem enabled him to ruin them. On the night of July 28, he converted eight old vessels into fire-ships, and, favoured by wind and tide, sent them among them. Though none of the Spanish vessels appear to have been burnt, a panic seized their commanders; they cut their cables, and endeavoured to make for the Flemish coast; several, however, went ashore, some close to Calais, others on the sand-banks, and many surrendered almost without resistance to the English. The great body steered in disorder for Gravelines and Dunkirk, but they were so perpetually harassed by the Netherlands, as well as the English, that the duke of Parma refused to embark his troops, and the enterprise was abandoned, early in August.

The duke of Medina Sidonia's fleet was still greatly superior in strength to that of the English, but his men had little inclination to fight their way through their enemies; heavy westerly winds also made the passage of the Straits of Dover difficult, if not impossible; and it was resolved to return to Spain by passing round the north of Scotland. The English pursued their flight as far as the Orkneys, making many captures every day<sup>p</sup>, but were then obliged to withdraw for want of ammunition. The Spaniards held on their course, but suffered many further losses in the stormy and, by them, little-known seas around Scotland and Ireland<sup>q</sup>, and not more than one-third of the original armament ever reached Spain<sup>r</sup>.

Great rejoicings very naturally followed this overthrow of England's most potent enemy. Many of the Spanish flags and other spoils were displayed at Paul's-cross and elsewhere at sermons, and the queen attended a solemn thanksgiving at the cathedral, Nov. 24.

<sup>m</sup> These were Sir William Stanley and his band, whose traitorous desertion has been already noticed. See A.D. 1537.

<sup>n</sup> It had left the Groyne, July 11, so that the admiral had a narrow escape from capture.

<sup>o</sup> Three of their large vessels were captured mainly in consequence of being disabled by running foul of some of their own fleet.

<sup>p</sup> Of the prisoners taken, some were ransomed by the duke of Parma; the rest, after a brief confinement in various gaols, were sent on board hulks at the Nore, it not being considered safe to leave them on shore, in consequence of the popular hatred. Some who had been landed in Cornwall it was found had been sold for slaves to the Moors, and others were in danger of being starved to death.

<sup>q</sup> Upwards of thirty ships were driven on the western coast of Ireland in a storm, September 2, and most of the crews who escaped drowning were murdered on shore. Those who were driven among the Hebrides fared the same, but others who were wrecked on the mainland of Scotland were humanely succoured and sent to Spain, a circumstance which facilitated the conclusion of a peace when James ascended the throne of England.

<sup>r</sup> Eighty large vessels, and at least 20,000 men, perished in the course of the four months (June to September) occupied in this disastrous expedition. Philip is related to have borne the loss with much apparent equanimity; and he certainly at once set about preparing a new fleet.

A.D. 1588.

Nine priests and nine other Romanists are executed in and near London, Aug. 28, 30, Sept. 23, and Oct. 5.

Francis Kett, a heretic, is burnt at Norwich, Nov. or Dec.

A.D. 1589.

The parliament meets, Feb. 4, and sits till March 29.

An act passed against building cottages, [31 Eliz. c. 7]. By this statute, framed in the same spirit as the proclamation against buildings in London<sup>s</sup>, no cottages were to be erected unless four acres of land were perpetually annexed thereto; and but one family was to inhabit the same. The act, however, was not to apply to towns, nor to places near the sea-shore, nor to hinder the erection of cottages for workmen in mines, and for keepers in parks, woods, and chases.

Drake and Norris sail in April to destroy the new Armada, and to attempt to place Dom Antonio on the throne of Portugal<sup>1</sup>. Norris lands at Peniche, and marches to Lisbon, but not being assisted by the fleet is obliged to retire. The generals return in July, accusing each other; the soldiers and sailors being left without

pay, some go into other services, others take to robbery, and several are hanged in and near London.

The earl of Cumberland (George Clifford) and Sir William Monson ravage the Spanish coasts, but their crews suffer much from sickness.

Henry III. of France is mortally wounded<sup>a</sup> by Jaques Clement, a monk, Aug. 9. He dies the next day, and is succeeded by Henry of Navarre, as Henry IV.

Lord Willoughby is sent with 6000 men to the assistance of the new king.

A.D. 1590.

Christopher Bales, a priest, and two laymen who had concealed him, executed, March 4.

Hawkins and Frobisher are despatched to intercept the Spanish treasure-fleet; it is detained in America, by order from Philip.

A.D. 1591.

Sir John Norris is sent with 3,000 men to the aid of Henry IV., April. A larger body, under the earl of Essex<sup>x</sup>, is sent in July.

William Hacket, a madman, who styled himself the Messiah, is hanged as a traitor<sup>y</sup>, July 28.

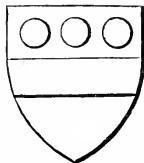
<sup>s</sup> See A.D. 1580.

<sup>1</sup> To this expedition the queen contributed six ships and £60,000; private individuals supplied the rest of the ships, and much of the money was raised by collections in churches. The troops marched some distance inland, fought successfully against superior numbers, and did a great deal of damage to the Spaniards. They besieged the Groyne for some time, destroyed a vast quantity of naval stores, and burnt Vigo. They also gained much plunder, but this was so unfairly dealt with when brought to England, that the common men received but 5s. each, and they had no wages. Dom Antonio accompanied the expedition, but the Portuguese shewed no wish to receive him, and he retired to France, where he died.

<sup>a</sup> He had, in the December of the preceding year, caused the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal to be assassinated. Clement, who was cut down by the king's guard, was looked on by the Leaguers as a martyr.

<sup>x</sup> Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, was the son of Walter, the first earl of that family, and was born in 1567. He was educated at Cambridge under Whitgift, served in the Netherlands with the earl of Leicester (his stepfather), and, though still very young, was appointed general of the horse, on the approach of the Spanish Armada. Leicester died soon after, and Essex succeeded to his place in the favour of Elizabeth. He, however, did not remain at court; he went on several expeditions to France, to Portugal, and to Spain, in one of which he captured Cadiz, and rendered himself exceedingly popular for his gallantry; he was also created earl marshal. He had many rivals, and more than once fell into disgrace with the queen. At length he was sent into Ireland, against O'Neal, but con-

ducted himself in a manner which caused doubts of either his courage or his fidelity. He suddenly re-



Arms of Devereux, earl of Essex.

turned to England, and, irritated at his reception by the queen, at length attempted to raise an insurrection in London. He was tried and found guilty of treason, and was beheaded Feb. 25, 1601. Essex married the widow of Sir Philip Sidney (Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham), and left, beside several other children, a son, also named Robert, who was restored in blood in 1613, and who commanded the parliamentary army against Charles I.

<sup>y</sup> His treason consisted in defacing the royal arms and a portrait of the queen. Two vehement Puritans (Coppinger and Arthington) had associated with him, and styled themselves the prophets of Mercy and of Judgment. They were both imprisoned, when Coppinger starved himself to death; but Arthington was released after a time, on making his submission.

Commissioners appointed to put the laws more strictly in force against Romanists, Oct.

Sir Bryan O'Rurke executed at Tyburn for treason<sup>2</sup>, Nov. 3.

Three priests, and four laymen who had relieved them, executed, Dec. 10.

Trinity College, Dublin, founded<sup>3</sup>.

A.D. 1592.

Thomas Pormorte, a priest, executed<sup>4</sup>, Feb. 20.

A further aid of 2,000 soldiers sent to the French king, under Sir Edmund York, February.

Sir John Perrott, late lord-deputy of Ireland, is convicted of treasonable correspondence with Spain<sup>5</sup>, April 27.

A.D. 1593.

The parliament meets February 19, and sits till April 12.

An act passed "to restrain the queen's subjects in obedience," [35 Eliz. c. 1], directed against the Puritans. Persons disputing the queen's ecclesiastical authority, abstaining from church, or attending "any assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion," were to be imprisoned until they conformed; if they did not do so in three months, they were to abjure the realm;

if they refused to do so, or returned after abjuration, they were to be hanged.

Another act, of similar severity, was passed against "popish recusants," [c. 2]. Such were to repair to their own homes, and not to travel five miles therefrom; if they had not goods to satisfy the monthly fine of £20 for non-attendance at church, they were to abjure the realm; and if they refused to do so, to suffer as felons. Both Puritans and Romanists, however, might relieve themselves from the penalties of these acts, by reading a formal submission in the open church<sup>6</sup>.

An act passed for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers, [c. 4]. A weekly collection was to be made in every parish, to furnish quarterly pensions to persons "hurt, or maimed, or grievously sick;" but such recipients were forbidden to beg, on pain of forfeiting their pensions.

Henry Barrow, a lawyer, and John Greenwood, a clergyman, are convicted of writing "sundry seditious books, tending to the slander of the queen and state," March 23<sup>c</sup>. They are carried to Tyburn, but reprieved, March 31; they are executed, April 6.

Henry Penry, another Brownist, is tried for "seditious words and rumours against the queen," [23 Eliz. c. 2—see p. 353], May 25. He is executed,

<sup>2</sup> He had long been in arms in Ireland, and had recruited his forces from the Spaniards shipwrecked on his lands in 1588. At length he was defeated, and fled to Scotland, but was given up on the demand of the English ministers. When brought to the bar he refused to plead, and was in consequence condemned without trial.

<sup>3</sup> Attempts had been made in the time of Edward II. and Edward IV. to establish universities for Ireland at Dublin and Drogheda, but they failed. A suppressed monastery (Allhallows), which had been granted to the citizens of Dublin, was by them appropriated to the foundation of Trinity College.

<sup>4</sup> He had reconciled one John Barwys, a haberdasher, who was also condemned, but his life seems to have been spared.

<sup>5</sup> His indictment states that he had had correspondence with Romish refugees as early as 1584 for an invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards; that he was in confederacy with Sir Bryan O'Rurke; and that Sir William Stanley (see A.D. 1587) was his agent with the duke of Parma. These charges are believed to have been unfounded; but his impetuosity of temper led him into some offensive remarks about the queen's interference with his government of Ireland, which were reported to her, and highly resented, though his life was spared. He did not receive sentence of death until June 16, and it was not executed; he died in the Tower Nov. 3 following.

<sup>6</sup> The Nonconformists' submission was to be thus worded: "I, A.B., do humbly confess and

acknowledge that I have grievously offended God in contemning her Majesty's godly and lawful government and authority, by absenting myself from church, and from hearing divine service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm, and in using and frequenting disordered and unlawful conventicles and assemblies, under pretence and colour of exercise of religion; and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my conscience, that no other person hath, or ought to have, any power or authority over her Majesty; and I do promise and protest, without any dissimulation, or any colour or means of any dispensation, that from henceforth I will, from time to time, obey and perform her Majesty's laws and statutes, in repairing to the church and hearing divine service, and do my uttermost endeavour to maintain and defend the same." The Romanists' submission was the same, except omitting the mention of "unlawful conventicles and assemblies," and substituting for "no other person," "the bishop or see of Rome hath not, nor ought to have, any power or authority over her Majesty, or within any her Majesty's realms or dominions."

<sup>c</sup> They belonged to the class of ultra-Puritans called Brownists (afterwards Barrowists). Their books contained attacks on the Liturgy, and this, according to the judges of that day was to deny the royal supremacy, and consequently treason. Two of their party had already suffered for this offence, (see A.D. 1583). Three of their associates, who had dispersed the books, were also convicted, of whom one was banished, and the other two died in prison.



under circumstances of great haste and cruelty<sup>f</sup>, May 29.

Henry IV. formally abjures Protestantism<sup>g</sup>, July 25.

The isles of Scilly fortified<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1594.

Harrington, a seminary priest, executed<sup>i</sup>, Feb. 18.

Roger Lopez<sup>j</sup>, physician to the queen, is convicted of conspiring with the Count de Fuentes and other ministers of King Philip to poison her, Feb. 28. Two of his confederates (Stephen Ferrara da Gama and Emanuel Louis Tynoco, Portuguese refugees) are convicted, March 14.

Lopez was a Portuguese Jew, who had been captured in one of the ships of the Armada; his presumed skill in medicine had recommended him to the queen. According to his indictment, he entered into correspondence with the ministers of Philip as a spy in May, 1590; and in November, 1591, he received a jewel of gold and gems worth £100 for his services. In September, 1593, he made an offer to poison the queen for the sum of 50,000 crowns, to which Fuentes consented, and urged Lopez to hasten the matter, "that the king may have a merry

Easter." Some of the letters are preserved in the indictments, and are most enigmatically worded. The payment for poisoning of the queen is spoken of as "the price of pearls" which Lopez has to sell; and the sum for procuring the burning of the fleet, which he had undertaken, is called "your determination about a little musk and amber which I am determined to buy."

Patrick O'Collun, a fencing-master, is convicted of having received a bribe of £30 to kill the queen, March 1. He is executed.

Lopez and his associates are executed<sup>k</sup>, June 7.

The citizens of London provide six ships and two pinnaces, and 450 foot-soldiers, for the queen's service<sup>l</sup>.

The earl of Tyrone<sup>m</sup> assumes the title of O'Neal, and foils various attempts made to reduce him to submission.

Brest is taken from the Spaniards by the troops of Henry IV., assisted by English ships, commanded by Sir Martin Frobisher, who is mortally wounded, in November.

A.D. 1595.

Robert Southwell, a Jesuit<sup>n</sup>, is executed, Feb. 21.

<sup>f</sup> He was suddenly hurried from dinner to an unusual place of execution, (St. Thomas of Waterings, in the Kent-road,) and put to death without being allowed the ordinary time for declaration of his faith, or his allegiance to the queen, although he earnestly desired it. This unfortunate young man (he was but 34, and left a widow and young family) was a native of Wales, and had studied at both universities; he was the presumed chief author of the Mar-Prelate tracts, and had evinced extreme bitterness against both the rulers and the endowments of the Church, describing both as limbs of Antichrist. Penry led a wandering life for years, preaching in woods and fields, particularly in Wales, but was seized at Stepney, near London, and was convicted, not for his published writings, but for some loose memorandums found on him, the heads of a petition to the queen.

<sup>g</sup> Elizabeth herself wrote him a letter, severely reproving his unfaithfulness, and threatening to withdraw all assistance from him. She afterwards changed her mind, and continued his ally, until he made peace with the Spaniards in 1598.

<sup>h</sup> This was rendered necessary by a design of the Spaniards to seize on them being discovered. The Spaniards were at this time in possession of part of Brittany, and their galleys paid plundering visits to Cornwall and Devon.

<sup>i</sup> Stow records that "he was cut down alive, and struggled with the hangman, but was bowelled and quartered."

<sup>j</sup> His name is thus spelt in his indictment, which is preserved in the Baga de Secretis, in the Public Record Office.

<sup>k</sup> Their execution had been thus long delayed, in the hope of full information as to the designs of the Spaniards. They disappointed the expecta-

tion, and were, probably in consequence, treated even more cruelly than usual, as the whole summer's day was occupied with their execution. They were brought from the Tower to London-bridge, apparently on foot, then taken by water to Westminster, where, though called on to say what they could for themselves, they were soon silenced. Then they were delivered to the marshal of the queen's bench, who took them by water to Southwark-stairs, and thence to the Marshalsea; at London-bridge foot he gave them over to the sheriffs of London, who laid them on hurdles, and conveyed them over the bridge to Leadenhall (where Lopez had resided), and thence to Tyburn; and "there," says Stow, "they were hanged, cut down alive, holden down by strength of men, dismembered, bowelled, headed, and quartered, and their quarters set on the gates of the city."

<sup>l</sup> This was done in consequence of a precept from the queen, and was an open violation of the privileges of the citizens; but no objection seems to have been made. It afforded one of several precedents for the writ of ship-money in the time of Charles I.

<sup>m</sup> He was the illegitimate grandson of the first earl (see A.D. 1542), and received a royal charter of confirmation, May 10, 1587. He had gained this by his services against the last earl of Desmond.

<sup>n</sup> He was of a gentleman's family in Norfolk, and was born about 1560; was educated at Douay, and came to England as a missionary in 1584. He was residing in the house of the countess of Arundel, when he was seized in May, 1592, was thrown into a dungeon in the Tower, and several times put to the torture. After three years' imprisonment, he was, on his own application, brought to trial, and was executed the next day, Lord Burghley, whom

Some apprentices, and other unruly youths, raise a tumult on Tower-hill, Sunday evening, June 29. A proclamation is issued against such assemblies, July 4, and a provost-marshal (Sir Thomas Wilford) appointed for the city, with powers to punish by martial law<sup>o</sup>.

Penzance burnt by the Spaniards, July.

Drake and Hawkins sent against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. The expedition fails, and both commanders die of disease.

The queen demands repayment of her expenses from the Hollanders; they pay a small part only.

The Lambeth Articles, which teach ultra-Calvinism, attempted to be imposed on the Church by Archbishop Whitgift, but withdrawn on the manifestation of the queen's displeasure<sup>p</sup>.

A.D. 1596.

Calais is taken from the French by the Spaniards, April. While the siege was going on, offers of relief were sent from England, but declined<sup>q</sup>.

A large English and Dutch fleet sails from Plymouth early in June, captures Cadiz, ravages the coast of Spain, and returns with a vast booty in August<sup>r</sup>.

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, founded by Lady Frances Sidney,

he had addressed, brutally remarking, that "if he was in such haste to be hanged, he should have his desire." Southwell was a writer of considerable powers, and has left several pieces, both in prose and verse, that deserve to be better known than they are. Two stanzas, from a poem written during his imprisonment, "Upon the Picture of Death," are subjoined:—

"Before my face the picture hangs,

That daily should put me in mind  
Of those cold names and bitter pangs

That shortly I am like to find:

But yet, alas I full little I

Do think thereon, that I must die.

\* \* \* \* \*

If none can 'scape Death's dreadful dart,

If rich and poor his beck obey,

If strong, if wise, if all do smart,

Then I to 'scape shall have no way.

Oh I grant me grace, O God, that I

My life may mend sith I must die."

<sup>o</sup> The whole affair was a mere street broil between the youths and the wardens of the Tower; but as a discharged soldier had mixed in the fray, sounding a trumpet, it was treated as "levying war against the queen's highness;" and five apprentices were executed as traitors on Tower-hill, July 24.

<sup>p</sup> They were brought forward at the Hampton Court conferences in 1604, and rejected, but were adopted by the Irish Church in 1615.

widow of Thomas Ratcliff, earl of Sussex.

The London merchants dispatch three ships to open a trade with the East Indies and China.

A.D. 1597.

A fleet sails in May, under the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, against the Azores; they fail to capture them<sup>s</sup>.

The parliament meets October 24, and sits till Feb. 9, 1598.

An act passed for the punishment of "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars;" [40 Eliz. c. 4].

The queen's general pardon granted [c. 28], from which are excepted "all offences committed or done against the ecclesiastical estate or government established in this realm, or any heresy or schism in religion whatsoever."

A.D. 1598.

Henry IV. grants toleration to the Protestants, by the Edict of Nantes, which is declared "perpetual and irrevocable," April. He shortly after makes peace with the Spaniards.

Jones, or Buckley, a seminary priest, executed, July 12.

The earl of Cumberland (George Clifford) fits out an expedition to the West Indies, and plunders Porto Rico.

<sup>q</sup> On Good-Friday and Easter-day (April 9, 11) men were pressed in the churches, and sent towards Dover to embark, but were shortly set at liberty.

<sup>r</sup> The chief commanders were Lord Howard of Effingham (created earl of Nottingham soon after) and the earl of Essex. The mischief done to the Spaniards was very great, but would probably have been much greater if the proposal of Essex to remain in Cadiz with the land forces had been adopted. He had set at liberty some Moorish galley-slaves, and through them had opened a communication with the revolted Moors of the south of Spain, who were as grievously oppressed by the bigoted Philip on account of their religion as the Netherlands had been, and were ready to join the invaders.

<sup>s</sup> They ravaged some of the islands, but missed the Indian fleet. Disputes arose between the commanders, and they were enemies ever after.

<sup>t</sup> These appellations are given in the statute to all able-bodied persons who refuse to work for ordinary wages: any such was to be whipped and passed on to his native place, "there to put himself to labour as a true subject ought to do." In connexion with the subject of vagrancy and pauperism it may be mentioned that overseers of the poor were appointed by statute in 1601, [43 Eliz. c. 1].

<sup>u</sup> This pardon, as was usual, was to be "construed most beneficially for the subjects," but the list of matters excepted is so long as hardly to leave any offender to profit by it.

Philip II. of Spain dies, Sept. 13.

Edward Squyer<sup>2</sup>, convicted of attempting to poison the queen, is executed, Nov. 13.

The queen's declining health gives rise to speculations as to her successor. The secretary Cecil<sup>3</sup> endeavours to come to an understanding with James of Scotland; others bring forward the pretensions of Arabella Stuart<sup>2</sup>.

A.D. 1599.

Great preparations made against a threatened invasion from Spain; the earl of Nottingham is made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, as well by sea as land.

O'Neal having foiled various commanders<sup>4</sup> sent against him, the earl of Essex is, at his own request, appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, March 12. He lands at Dublin April 15.

Essex wastes his army with fruitless marches, but without fighting; holds a suspicious secret conference with O'Neal, and then suddenly leaves Ireland, Sept. 24. He abruptly presents himself before the queen at Nonsuch, Sept. 28.

The earl is committed to the custody of the lord keeper (Sir Thomas Egerton), October 2; and Lord Mountjoy (Charles Blount) is sent as his successor into Ireland.

A.D. 1600.

Sixteen priests and four Romish laymen removed from the prisons about London to Wisbech castle.

Negotiations for peace with Spain entered into at Boulogne, in May, but without success.

The earl of Essex is examined before the council, and ordered to keep himself to his own house, June 5.

Five priests and two laymen executed in London, Durham, and Lincoln, June and July; one layman for being reconciled, the other for relieving a priest, who was hanged with him.

Ambassadors received from the king of Barbary, who profess to desire a commercial treaty, but are looked on as spies.

James of Scotland is seized by Lord Gowrie and his brother Alexander Ruthven<sup>5</sup>, Tuesday, Aug. 5, but rescued by his attendants.

Essex makes attempts to regain the queen's favour, and being repulsed, enters into negotiations with James of Scotland. He also leagues with Romanists as well as Puritans, and at length conceals a scheme for driving Cecil, Raleigh, and other opponents from the court.

A charter for exclusive trade to the East Indies and China is granted to certain merchants of London<sup>6</sup>, Dec. 31.

<sup>2</sup> He was a soldier on board Essex's fleet against the Azores in the preceding year, and being taken prisoner, was, according to his indictment, induced to undertake the task of killing the queen, by the persuasion of one Walpole, an English priest, in the service of Philip of Spain. Walpole is recorded to have administered the Eucharist to him, and assured him that if he succeeded "he should be a glorious saint in heaven." Then he embraced him, "throwing his left arm about his neck, and making the sign of a cross on his head, saying, 'God bless thee, and give thee strength, my son, and be of good courage; I will pawn my soul for thine, and thou shalt have my prayers both dead and alive, and full pardon of all thy sins.'"

<sup>3</sup> Robert Cecil, a younger son of the minister Burghley, was born about 1565, and, though weakly and deformed, yet served in the fleet against the Spanish Armada. He kept about the court, and on the death of Walsingham (1590) succeeded to his office. On the arrival of James in England, Cecil became his chief adviser, was made earl of Salisbury in 1605, and died May 24, 1612. The younger Cecil is usually esteemed more subtle and more implacable than his father; and the ruin of both Essex and Raleigh is generally ascribed to him.

<sup>4</sup> She was cousin to James, and was believed to incline to Romanism. Raleigh, who was governor of Jersey, supported her claim, as did lord Cob-

ham, warden of the Cinque Ports, and the majority of the Romanists.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Norris, famous for his services in Flanders, France, Portugal, and elsewhere, was censured for ill success against him, and died of vexation soon after, and Sir Henry Bagnal received a total defeat at Blackwater, Aug. 14, 1598. Pope Clement VIII. sent O'Neal a consecrated plume (said to be of phoenix feathers), and declared his followers to be entitled to all the indulgences granted to the ancient crusaders.

<sup>6</sup> They were the sons of the earl of Gowrie executed in 1584 (see p. 354). According to the king's own account, he was decoyed while hunting to their castle, when an armed man threatened him with a dagger, but his guards forced their way in, and the Ruthvens were killed. The transaction, usually called the Gowrie plot, is one of the most obscure in Scottish history. James, in remembrance of his deliverance, went to church every Tuesday during the rest of his life; and an annual thanksgiving was held in Scotland, as was also done in England after his accession.

<sup>7</sup> This was the origin of the English East India Company. They dispatched five ships in the following year, under the command of James Lancaster; a very profitable trade was the result, and the vessels, after visiting Sumatra and Java, reached the Downs in safety, Sept. 11, 1603.

A.D. 1601.

The earl of Essex<sup>d</sup> imprisons the councillors<sup>e</sup> sent to warn him to desist from an alleged attempt to seize the queen's person, Sunday, Feb. 8. He then marches into the city, accompanied by the earls of Rutland and Southampton (Roger Manners and Henry Wriothesley) and William, lord Sandys, and "a multitude of armed men," but not being joined by the citizens, returns by water to Essex house, and at ten at night surrenders to the earl of Nottingham. He is tried (Lord Buckhurst being lord steward) on a charge, among other things, of endeavouring to "raise himself to the royal dignity," Feb. 19, and is found guilty. He is executed Feb. 25<sup>e</sup>.

John Pybush, a seminarist, is executed, after seven years' imprisonment, Feb. 18. Two others, and a widow lady who had assisted a priest, are executed Feb. 27.

Cecil enters into a correspondence in cipher with James of Scotland, March 10<sup>f</sup>.

A body of Spaniards land in Ireland, and fortify Kinsale, Sept.

The parliament meets October 27, and sits till Dec. 19.

Payment of black mail (stated to be common in the northern parts) forbidden [43 Eliz. c. 13].

A.D. 1602.

Sir Richard Levison and Sir Richard Monson are sent with a fleet against the Spaniards. They fail in capturing the Indian ships, but burn a fleet of galleys at Coimbra.

Sir Robert Mansel destroys a squadron of Spanish galleys in the English Channel.

A proclamation issued for pulling down newly-built houses in and within three miles of London and Westminster<sup>g</sup>.

The Spaniards in Kinsale are obliged to capitulate, June. Tyrone soon after makes his submission, and is pardoned.

A.D. 1603.

Anderson, a seminary priest, is executed, Feb. 17.

The queen dies at Richmond, Thursday, March 24, at two in the morning. She is buried in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, April 28.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
The religious wars in France commenced . . . . .	1561	The Catholic League formed . . . . .	1576
Siege of Malta by the Turks . . . . .	1565	The Union of Utrecht . . . . .	1579
The Netherlands take up arms against Spain . . . . .	1566	Portugal annexed to Spain . . . . .	1580
Rebellion of the Moors in Spain . . . . .	1568	The Spanish Armada defeated . . . . .	1588
The Turks defeated at the battle of Lepanto . . . . .	1571	Henry IV. of France abjures Protestantism . . . . .	1593
The St. Bartholomew massacres in France . . . . .	1572	The Dutch begin their trade with India . . . . .	1595
		The Edict of Nantes . . . . .	1598

<sup>d</sup> They were Sir Thomas Egerton, Henry Somerset earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, and Sir John Popham. When he went into the city he left them in the care of Sir John Dayes, Francis Tresham and Owen Salysburye, "many of the rebels then assembled, crying aloud, Kill them! kill them!" but they were released after a confinement of a few hours, and before his return.

<sup>e</sup> The earl of Southampton was tried with him and was found guilty, but his life was spared. Indictments were also found against William lord Sandys, and Edward lord Cromwell, Sir Edmund Bayneham, and 30 other knights and gentlemen, among whose names appear those of several who afterwards joined in the Gunpowder plot, as Catesby, Tresham, and Christopher and John Wright, but comparatively few of them were brought to trial; they were instead imprisoned, and paid heavy fines. On Feb. 28, a young man, named Woodcock, was hanged for speaking in condemnation of the arrest of Essex. On Feb. 20, Sir Edmund Bayneham and two others were found guilty,

and on March 5, Sir Christopher Blunt and four others were condemned, of whom Sir Gelly Merrick and Henry Cuffe were executed March 13, and Sir Christopher Blunt and Sir Charles Danvers, March 18.

<sup>f</sup> This is the date of the first letter now known to exist; the prior communications had apparently been verbal, through trusted messengers.

<sup>g</sup> "Little was done," says Stow, "and small effect followed, more than of other the like proclamations beforetime made, and even an act of parliament to that purpose" [35 Eliz. c. 6, "against new buildings," passed in 1593]. In spite of legislation, he complains, "these cities are still increased in building of cottages and pestered with inmates, to the great infection and other annoyances of them both." The law, however, was not suffered entirely to remain a dead letter, commissions of inquiry being frequently issued, particularly in the time of Charles I., which raised large sums by composition with the offenders; and this practice was revived under the Commonwealth.

## THE STUARTS.



Badges of the Stuarts.

THE House of Stuart, though it was comparatively late in attaining the royal dignity, was, equally with the Plantagenets, descended from our Anglo-Saxon kings, and in the person of James VI. it succeeded in 1603 to the throne of England. From Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, was descended Robert Bruce<sup>a</sup>, whose daughter Margery married Robert the Steward, and their son became king of Scotland, as Robert II., in 1371. Seven kings and one queen of the House reigned in Scotland alone, and five more in Great Britain, their rule extending over a period of 343 years (A.D. 1371—1714), of which the last twenty-six years are, as embracing the reigns of the limited monarchs, William and Mary, and Anne, strikingly distinguished from the long preceding period. This, in Scotland, was harassed during much of the time by contests with England, often caused by the intrigues of France, whose unequal alliance was more disastrous to the weaker state than her hostility could have been. In Great Britain it was, throughout, of a stormy character, from the conflict of regal rights and popular claims, both of them pushed, by designing men, to unwise extremes.

The Stuarts, coming to the English throne in succession to the Tudors, unhappily received from them a "heritage of woe," and had to bear the bitter

consequences of their predecessors' misgovernment. Though in spirit the same as ever, the Tudor rule had become sensibly weakened before the close of Elizabeth's reign, and the Puritans in particular were unalterably resolved to obtain something like the freedom which every one happily enjoys at the present day, but they desired it only for themselves, and had no idea of true liberty<sup>b</sup>. The first Stuart king was of a character particularly ill fitted to deal with the difficult circumstances that surrounded him, and his reign was passed in quarrels with his parliaments, which grew every day more serious, though their ultimate result was hardly anticipated.

The reign of Charles I. is especially memorable for a fierce outbreak ostensibly in the cause of civil and religious liberty, in the course of which the whole fabric of government, in Church and State, both in England and in Scotland, suffered a total, though happily but temporary, subversion. This struggle between the Church and its Puritan opponents was, like preceding convulsions, providentially overruled for good, but the character of the parties to it is too often entirely misrepresented. The State Papers of the period, which are now being rendered, in substance at least, accessible to all, afford the means for a more satisfactory judgment. The reverence for authority, which was the

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1290.

<sup>b</sup> How little inclined the Puritans were to grant to others the liberty of conscience which they had

so loudly demanded for themselves, was shewn by innumerable instances during the period of their unhappy ascendancy. See Note, p. 388.

great actuating motive of the royal party, has been unjustly described as a love of slavery, and the Puritans have been held up as the champions of liberty while they were in reality bent on destroying all reasonable government, without which true freedom is impossible, and the whole course of their conduct shews that the maxim of "No bishop, no king," ascribed to James I., is perfectly just. As the event shewed, it was absolutely necessary to curb them if either Church or State was to be preserved, whilst their stubbornness rendered mild measures unavailing; those taken would probably not have been so severely condemned as they have been, had they succeeded. Though harsh in themselves, they were far less so than the government of the Tudors, and they were justified in the consciences of those who employed them by the duty of upholding insulted authority; hence they cannot fairly be said to have sprung from any purpose of persecution.

Several of the Stuart rulers were remarkable for their talents and their literary acquirements<sup>c</sup>, but they are still better known for the uninterrupted series of calamities which befel them. Robert II. was a prince of mild character, whose authority was entirely disregarded by his nobles; his son, Robert III., was a mere tool in the hands of his brother, the duke of Albany, and through his machinations he lost both of his sons, dying himself of grief; James I. passed many years in an English prison, and was at last murdered by his nobles; James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh;

James III. was slain when fleeing from a field where he had been defeated by his own son; that son (James IV.) fell at Flodden-field; James V. was foiled in an invasion of England, and died soon after; his daughter Mary ended her unhappy life on the scaffold; the death of James VI. (or I.) was popularly supposed to be accelerated by grief at the misfortunes of his daughter and son-in-law (the Elector Palatine); Charles I., after a long civil war, was publicly put to death by his subjects, and his sons fared little better; Charles II. regained the throne after years of exile, but by his ill government prepared the way for the expulsion of his brother, James II., who died a pensioner of France. Mary II. and Anne can hardly be regarded as more fortunate, as they only obtained the throne through the exile of their father. James's son (James Edward) and grandson (Charles Edward) attempted to recover their kingdoms, but their efforts were unsuccessful, and Henry, the last of their House, who was an ecclesiastic, and known as Cardinal York, lived a recipient of the bounty of the House of Brunswick<sup>d</sup>.

From the time that England and Scotland came under the same ruler by the succession of James VI. to the throne lately occupied by Elizabeth, the arms of the two countries were borne on the same shield, with the addition of the harp for Ireland<sup>e</sup>. The roses, both red and white, the fleur-de-lis, the thistle, and the harp (all crowned), appear as badges, and the royal supporters have usually been the lion and the unicorn<sup>f</sup>, as seen at the present day.

<sup>c</sup> James I., James V., and Mary were poets, and their works are yet read with pleasure; James VI. wrote on many subjects, both in prose and verse, but with very considerable difference of merit. If the claim of the authorship of "Eikon Basilike" put forward for Charles I. could be satisfactorily established, he also would rank among distinguished writers.

<sup>d</sup> He died in 1808.

<sup>e</sup> The accession of the House of Brunswick, the Union with Ireland, and the succession of the duke of Cumberland to the throne of Hanover, have caused further changes.

<sup>f</sup> Charles I. occasionally employed an antelope and a stag, both ducally collared and chained.



Great Seal of James I.

## JAMES I.

JAMES VI. of Scotland and I. of Great Britain, was the only child of Mary, queen of Scots, by Henry, Lord Darnley, and was born in the castle of Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. Early in the following year his father was murdered; in a few months more his mother was obliged to resign her crown, and James was proclaimed king when an infant of little more than a twelve-month old, July 24, 1567.

His infancy had a rapid succession of governors<sup>a</sup>, three of whom perished by violence, and in his 14th year he assumed the reins of power, but it was only to give them into the hands of worthless favourites, who quarrelled among themselves<sup>b</sup>, yet kept such a correspondence with the English court as obliged their young and needy king to witness the judicial murder of his

mother without an effort either to save or to avenge her. His own liberty was abridged, and his life apparently endangered, through hatred caused by their misconduct, as at the Raid of Ruthven, in 1582, and by the Gowrie Plot, in 1600.

Though Elizabeth deferred the indication of her successor to the latest hour of her life, her courtiers felt assured that it could be no other than James of Scotland, and they paid their court to him so assiduously in her declining years as to cause her abundant anxiety; at length she died, and James, in his thirty-seventh year, became king of England, without the shadow of opposition.

He was scarcely established in his new kingdom, however, when discontents began to appear. He had, while

<sup>a</sup> The earl of Murray, his uncle, was the first; Matthew earl of Lenox (the king's grandfather), succeeded him; then came Erskine earl of Mar, who was followed by James Douglas earl of Mor-

ton, a mere tool of the English ministers; Mar alone of the four died a natural death

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1580, 1582.

in poverty in Scotland, made promises both to the Romanists and to the Puritans of something like toleration; but he at once joined himself to the Established Church, which gave them occasion to charge him with insincerity, and, apparently, to unite for the purpose of dethroning him<sup>c</sup>. This scheme failed, as did the revolting Gunpowder Plot, and the rest of his reign was passed in coercing his Scottish subjects into a temporary re-acceptance of episcopal government, and in quarrels with his English parliaments; the latter were often hastily dissolved, and their members imprisoned, but they remonstrated freely on matters both of Church and State, impeached his ministers, controlled his foreign policy, and exhibited unmistakable tokens of that puritanical and republican spirit which led his unhappy successor to the scaffold. Commerce, however, flourished; the newly opened trade with India was steadily pursued, and many attempts were made by Hudson, Baffin, and others, to discover a north-western passage; America, too, began to be systematically settled by the English.

James's conduct towards foreign states was weak and discreditable. There is no reason to doubt that he was personally a sincere Protestant; but his exalted notions of the kingly

dignity<sup>d</sup> led him to side with the Romanists rather than the Protestants, from dislike to the republican form of government<sup>e</sup>. On the same ground he eagerly sought alliances for his sons with the royal families of France and Spain, regardless of the apprehensions of his people on the score of religion; and to attain his ends he did not hesitate to sign treaties promising a toleration of Romanism, which was directly contrary to the statutes of his kingdom, and could only have been carried out by his exercising the power he was so unwise as sometimes to claim, of being superior to all law. His project failed as regarded Spain, and he was involved in a war against that power (reluctantly undertaken, though the dominions of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, were at stake<sup>f</sup>), at the time of his death, which occurred at his hunting-seat of Theobalds, near Cheshunt, March 27, 1625. He was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster.

James married, in 1590, Anne of Denmark, daughter of Frederic II. She was born in 1574, was handsome, active, and intriguing, but seems to have had far less influence over her husband than his unworthy favourites, Carr<sup>g</sup> and Villiers<sup>h</sup>, exercised. She was fond of pomp and pageantry, in-

<sup>c</sup> Some writers have supposed that the alleged conspiracy was really a base contrivance of Cecil to get rid of Raleigh and others, who had courted the friendship of James as eagerly as he himself had done, and were likely to prove successful rivals in the distribution of honours and rewards. Such a supposition ought not to be lightly entertained, but still it is difficult to conceive what objects could be common to Romish priests, Puritans and professed free-thinkers, or atheists as they were then termed; yet such men were found among the conspirators, and James's lenity has been taken as a presumption of their innocence; only the priests and one gentleman suffered death.

<sup>d</sup> He told his parliament, that as it was blasphemy to question what the Almighty could do by His power, so it was sedition to inquire what a king could do by virtue of his prerogative.

<sup>e</sup> He was easily persuaded that the Hollanders, as successful rebels, were "an ill example for a monarch to cherish."

<sup>f</sup> A quarrel concerning Church property in Bohemia, between the Romanists and the Protestants, induced the latter to attempt to throw off the rule of the house of Austria; the Elector Palatine was chosen king by the insurgents, but the attempt miscarried, and in the end he lost even his paternal states, dying broken-hearted in the year 1620.

<sup>g</sup> Robert Carr, a younger son of a family on the Scottish border that had suffered in the cause of Mary of Scotland, was early received as the king's page, and was knighted at his coronation in England. The high offices of lord-treasurer and lord-chamberlain were soon bestowed on him, he was

made a knight of the Garter, and created viscount Rochester and earl of Somerset. He at length contracted an infamous marriage with Frances, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, the divorced wife of the earl of Essex, and from this circumstance his ruin may be dated. He and his wife were convicted in 1616 of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had opposed their union, though it seems probable that she only was guilty. Somerset was imprisoned until 1621, and being then released, lived in comparative poverty to the time of his death, in 1645, his wretched wife, who had confessed herself a murderess, having died in 1632.

<sup>h</sup> George Villiers, the son of a Leicestershire knight, was born in 1592. He was early sent abroad, and on his return in 1615, he attracted James's notice, was made a gentleman of the chamber, and so grew in favour, that in less than three years he was appointed master of the horse, knight of the Garter, chief justice in eyre north of Trent, Lord Whaddon, Viscount Villiers, and earl of Buckingham. He afterwards attained the higher dignities of marquis and duke, and was as great a favourite with Charles I. as he had been with his father. His conduct, however, had a very unhappy influence on the relations between Charles and his people; he was impeached, and, though screened from parliamentary vengeance by his master, fell a victim to assassination, Aug. 23, 1628. He had married the daughter of the earl of Rutland, a rich heiress, and he left two sons, one killed in the civil war, and the other the profligate minister of Charles II., condemned to an odious immortality as the Zimri of Dryden.



volved James in difficulties through her extravagant expenses, and was suspected of carrying on a secret correspondence with Rome<sup>i</sup>. She died March 1, 1619, and was buried at Westminster, May 13.

Their children were,—

Henry, born Feb. 19, 1593, to whom Queen Elizabeth was godmother. He was created prince of Wales, and made a knight in 1610, on which occasion a feudal aid was demanded, and reluctantly paid, though the young prince was himself popular, being looked on as likely to prove an enterprising king. He died, greatly regretted, Nov. 5, 1612.

CHARLES became king.

Elizabeth, born Aug. 19, 1596, was married Feb. 14, 1613, to the Elector Palatine; she became for a short time queen of Bohemia, and, after a life of great vicissitudes, died in London, Feb. 13, 1662. The princes Rupert and Maurice, who bore a conspicuous part in the civil wars, were her sons; and her daughter Sophia was the mother of the first king of the House of Brunswick, George I.

Robert, Mary, Margaret and Sophia died young.

A material alteration in the royal arms marked the reign of this king.



Arms of James I.

France and England appear in the first and fourth quarters, counter-quartered; Scotland in the second; Ireland in the third; all within the garter, and crowned. The Scottish unicorn

became the sinister supporter, Elizabeth's motto was soon replaced by "BEATI PACIFICI;" and the thistle, sometimes dimidiated with the rose, appeared in addition to her royal badges.

In judging of the character of James, it is necessary to make ample allowance for the unfavourable circumstances under which he grew up. He never experienced a parent's care, and he fell early into the hands of worthless favourites. His poverty rendered him a mere tool in the hands of the unprincipled English ministers, and he was obliged to submit to many mortifications at the hands of his native subjects, which gave him a fixed dislike to Presbyterianism. When he came to England, the clergy of the Church offered, by their deferential manner, and their expressed admiration of his learning, a gratifying contrast to the stern, if not rude behaviour of the Scots; he resolved at once to identify himself with episcopacy, and was easily persuaded that its enemies were also enemies to monarchy. Events have proved that this conclusion was perfectly just, but James did not possess the firmness to curb his parliaments as his predecessor had done, and his imprudent measures only prepared the way for the ruin of the state.

James had been carefully educated by the celebrated George Buchanan, and he was the author of several works, both in prose and poetry, which, though now censured as pedantic, shew him to have possessed a cultivated mind, and a style quite equal to the generality of writers of his time; he also aspired to theological learning, and he founded a seminary for champions in the Romish controversy<sup>j</sup>. His amusements, however, were of the coarsest description: cock-fighting, bull, bear, and lion-baiting<sup>k</sup>, and the more ordinary field sports occupied his time to the utter neglect of public affairs<sup>l</sup>, which his ministers managed

<sup>i</sup> She is said to have received large sums from the Romish nobility and gentry, to procure them relief from the various penal laws; in consequence, their enactments were, in general, only enforced against the poor recusants, with whom the prisons were crowded.

<sup>j</sup> It was founded May 8, 1610, for a provost and 20 fellows, Dr. Sutcliff, dean of Exeter, being the originator of the design: the plan failed, and the buildings were never completed. After long serving as a prison they were pulled down in the time

of Charles II. and the well-known Chelsea Hospital for invalided soldiers erected on the site.

<sup>k</sup> Stow, in his Chronicle, records the care taken for the accommodation of the wild beasts in the Tower, and the frequent combats between them and fierce dogs in the presence of the court, in as grave a style as if he were dealing with the most important public affairs.

<sup>l</sup> In answer to remonstrances on the subject, he declared "he would rather go back to Scotland than sit at a desk for a day."

almost at their own pleasure. Though his jealous fears brought his unhappy cousin, Arabella Stuart<sup>m</sup>, to destruction, and his wish for the Spanish alliance led him to sacrifice Raleigh, he was, on principle, averse to bloodshed, and habitually merciful in his dealings with offenders. He was a patron of learning<sup>n</sup>, and promoted the present translation of the Holy Scriptures; and, though weak and vain, he must be considered a kindly-disposed, well-meaning man, although unfortunately a very indifferent king.

A.D. 1603.

James of Scotland is proclaimed king by the council in London, March 24. Messengers are dispatched to him<sup>o</sup>, and he commences his journey

for England, reaching Berwick April 6, and London May 7. He is crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, July 25.

Attempts are made to re-establish the Romish worship in Ireland, but they are checked by the deputy (Lord Mountjoy).

A conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne is discovered. Sir Walter Raleigh, the lords Cobham and Grey, are seized, in July, together with several partisans.

Many new peers created, as also knights of the Bath, and knights bachelor<sup>p</sup>.

Sir Walter Raleigh and the other prisoners are removed early in November to Winchester<sup>q</sup>, and there tried and convicted; but three only are executed<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> She was the daughter of Charles, earl of Lenox, his father's brother, and was by some lawyers considered to have a better title to the crown than the king himself. One of the objects attributed to Raleigh and others was to raise her to the throne, and she was in consequence held in a kind of honourable custody to prevent her marriage. She was, however, clandestinely united to William Seymour, Lord Beauchamp (afterwards duke of Somerset, like herself a descendant of Henry VII.) in 1611, attempted to escape with him to the continent, but was retaken, and died a lunatic in the Tower in 1615. She was buried beside Mary, queen of Scots, and Prince Henry, but without funeral pomp, "lest," says Camden, "it should seem to reflect on the king's justice."

<sup>n</sup> Two eminent men of his era may be mentioned, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Francis Bacon. The first was born in Norfolk in 1554, and was a member of Trinity College, Cambridge. He became eminent as a lawyer, was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1593, and long held the office of attorney-general, in which post he shewed much zeal in prosecuting to conviction the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, as well as the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, overwhelming all alike with the coarsest language. In 1606 Coke was made a judge, but he fell into disgrace after the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, and was removed from the bench. He endeavoured to gain the protection of the favourite, Buckingham, but failing in this, from a vehement defender of prerogative he became conspicuous for his opposition to the measures of the court. He was in consequence imprisoned at one time, and at another made sheriff, in order to disqualify him from a seat in parliament; and on his death, which happened in the year 1634, his papers were seized, though without finding anything to justify the levy of a fine on his heir. He was the author of works which are of authority in the courts of law to the present day, but his conduct as a judge has been censured, and as a member of parliament was clearly the result of faction.

Francis Bacon was born in 1561, and was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and nephew of Lord Burghley. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and when only sixteen was sent abroad in the suite of Sir Amias Paulet, ambassador to France. On his return he studied the law, attained in succession the offices of attorney-general, lord keeper, and lord chancellor, and was made a peer, as viscount St. Alban's. But this seeming

prosperity proved his ruin. Though a profound philosopher, and worthy of the highest honour for his scientific researches and writings, he was a weak, vain, ostentatious man, and involved himself in debts, to relieve which he was said to receive bribes from suitors in his court; the charge was believed, and, after a brief tenure of office, he was impeached, condemned, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, though it does not appear that any of his judgments were reversed as unjust. Bacon descended to the most abject supplications to the king, and was soon set at liberty, his fine also being remitted. He lived in retirement for a few years, and then died rather suddenly, April 9, 1626.

<sup>o</sup> Thomas Nevil, dean of Canterbury, dispatched by Archbishop Whitgift, was one of the earliest of these, and was gratified by the king's declaration of his firm intention to maintain the Church in the state his predecessor had left it. The Puritans met him on the road with what they termed the Millenary Petition, from the thousand ministers, "all groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies," who were expected to, but did not sign it; the actual number was but about 750. The Universities issued formal replies to its allegations, which were also discussed at the Hampton Court conferences.

<sup>p</sup> The knights bachelor alone, according to Stow, amounted to "three or four hundred." This profusion in the bestowal of honours contrasted strangely with the conduct of the deceased queen, and was made the occasion of popular satire, a new "Art of Memory" being said to be necessary if a man would keep in mind the names and titles now first heard of.

<sup>q</sup> The courts were then held there, in consequence of the plague prevailing in London.

<sup>r</sup> George Brooke, Bartholomew Brookesby, Anthony Copley, Sir Griffin Markham, and two priests, William Clarke and William Watson, were convicted, and Sir Edward Parham acquitted, Nov. 15; Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned Nov. 17; Lord Cobham, Nov. 25; Lord Grey, Nov. 26. Brooke (brother to Lord Cobham) was beheaded Dec. 5; Clarke and Watson were hanged Nov. 29; Cobham, Grey, and Markham were reprieved on the scaffold, Dec. 9. Lord Grey died in the Tower in 1616, and Raleigh was temporarily set at liberty about the same time; Cobham was, after a long imprisonment, released, and died in poverty in 1619; Sir Griffin Markham, Copley, and Brookesby were banished.

A.D. 1604.

Conferences held before the king at Hampton Court, between the archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), eight bishops, five deans, and two doctors, and Dr. Reynolds and three more of the Puritan party, Jan. 14, 15, 16. Some slight alterations in the Book of Common Prayer are agreed on, and a new version of the Holy Scriptures ordered.

Jesuits and seminary priests ordered, by proclamation dated Feb. 22, to quit the realm before March 19.

Archbishop Whitgift dies, Feb. 29. He is succeeded (Dec. 10) by Richard Bancroft<sup>5</sup>, bishop of London.

The parliament meets March 19, and sits until July 7. The king addresses a speech to them, in which he recommends the union of England and Scotland; professes himself a member of the Church of England; and censures the doubtful loyalty of the Romanists, and "the sect rather than religion of the Puritans and Novellists."

The first act of the parliament was "a most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, lawful, and undoubted succession, descent, and right of the crown," [1 Jac. I. c. 1]. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Scots for the union of the two countries

[c. 2]; the statutes of Elizabeth against Jesuits, seminary priests, and recusants in general, were confirmed [c. 4]; and, to correct an abuse that had prevailed in her days, bishops were disabled to alienate any of the possessions of their sees [c. 3]; tunnage and poundage<sup>1</sup> were granted to the king [c. 33]; and as the plague raged at the time, provision was made for a rate for the support of the infected [c. 31], who were not to leave their houses, "having any infectious sores uncured," under the penalty of death. Another act [c. 12] declared witchcraft felony without benefit of clergy.

The convocation meets, under the presidency of Bancroft, bishop of London. A book of Canons, prepared by him, is accepted by the convocation, and assented to by the king<sup>2</sup>.

A treaty of peace and commerce concluded with the king of Spain and the archdukes<sup>3</sup> of Austria, Aug. 18. The king bound himself thereby to give no further aid to the "Hollanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the archdukes," and to endeavour to procure a peace between them and the restoration of the cautionary towns<sup>4</sup>. In return, commercial privileges were granted<sup>5</sup>, and "moderation to be had in the proceedings of the Inquisition"

\* He was a Lancashire man, born in 1544. He had been chaplain to Whitgift, having gained his notice by his active opposition to the Puritans at Cambridge, while he was college tutor. He preached a celebrated sermon at Paul's cross, in 1589, which gave great offence to many of the courtiers, as he truly remarked that the main cause of the complaints daily made against the governors of the Church was the desire to possess their revenues; he was, however, favourably noticed by the queen, was in 1597 made bishop of London, and attended her at her death. Bishop Bancroft bore a leading part in the Hampton Court conferences, and, shortly after becoming primate, he held the Puritanical party in check; the well-known canons of 1604 were prepared under his direction, and he laboured to re-establish episcopacy in Scotland. He died Nov. 2, 1610, and was buried at Lambeth.

<sup>1</sup> These, the original of our present customs duties, consisted, beside some less important matters, of a duty of 3s. on each tun of wine imported, and of 1s. in the pound on the value of other goods; aliens generally paid double. The preamble states that these duties had been enjoyed, time out of mind, by the king's predecessors, "by authority of parliament, for defence of the realm and keeping and safeguard of the seas." Tunnage had been granted to Edward III. in 1372, and poundage to Henry V. in 1415. Both had been granted, in similar terms to those now used, ever since the time of Edward IV., but only for the life of each monarch. Charles I., when they were refused by the Parliament, levied them as on his own authority, a step which had the most fatal consequences.

<sup>2</sup> These canons, 141 in number, are mainly a republication of older ones, but some new ones were introduced, which authoritatively condemn the dogmas of the Puritans; hence they have been represented, though unjustly, as merely designed to augment the power of the Church. They have never received parliamentary sanction, and therefore are considered by the courts of common law to be obligatory on the clergy only.

<sup>3</sup> Albert, brother of the emperor Rudolph, and his wife Isabella, sister of the king of Spain. As in the instance of Philip and Mary, they were both styled archdukes.

<sup>4</sup> See A.D. 1585. The king was bound by treaty not to give up these towns to the Spaniards; but he declared that if the States refused to enter into a pacification, he should consider himself at liberty to act as he should judge just and honourable regarding them; meanwhile his garrisons were forbidden to take any further part in the war.

<sup>5</sup> Among these was the liberty of carrying goods from Germany to Spain; but as it was to be apprehended that the English merchants would allow the use of their names and ships to the Hollanders, this was strictly forbidden, as was any connivance of English magistrates, "upon peril of the king's majesty's indignation, loss of their offices, and other more grievous punishments to be inflicted at the king's pleasure." The Hollanders regarded themselves as abandoned; and a dislike grew up between the two nations, which resulted in the massacre of Amboyna, and the naval wars of the time of the Commonwealth.

against the king's subjects repairing for trade to Spain.

The king is proclaimed "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland<sup>a</sup>," Oct. 20.

A.D. 1605.

Richard Haydock, a physician (of New College, Oxford), who professed

to preach in his sleep against certain points of Church discipline<sup>b</sup>, is convicted of imposture, and makes a public recantation.

Several Scottish ministers hold a synod, without licence, at Aberdeen, July 2, and when questioned by the privy council of Scotland, deny the king's supremacy<sup>c</sup>.

## THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

A PLOT to blow up the king and the parliament with gunpowder is disclosed about the end of October.

This atrocious scheme of a few fanatical Romanists<sup>d</sup> seems to have originated with Robert Catesby, a gentleman of Northamptonshire<sup>e</sup>, who had suffered severely in the last reign for recusancy, and in revenge had been long engaged in endeavouring to bring about an invasion of England by the Spaniards. He appeared likely to succeed in this, an army, to land at Milford haven, and a large sum of money, being promised him, when the death of the queen caused an alteration in the policy of the Spaniards; they wished to detach King James from the cause of the Hollanders, and having succeeded in this, they refused to listen any longer to the solicitations of Catesby and his associates. There being now no prospect of succour from foreign princes, Catesby ventured to suggest to a few chosen associates, and under an oath of secrecy, that they should strike a blow them-

selves. This was agreed to, though they had much difference of opinion as to what it should be; some proposed to seize the king when hunting, and force a toleration from him; others urged his assassination; but Catesby was not satisfied with either, and he at length induced them to attempt the destruction of both king and parliament by gunpowder<sup>f</sup>, madly expecting to receive such aid from the Low Countries as would enable them to seize the government and re-establish Romanism<sup>g</sup>.

Catesby's confidants at first were only Thomas Percy, a relative of the earl of Northumberland, and one of the band of pensioners; Thomas Winter, a Worcestershire gentleman, who had managed the negotiations with Spain; John Wright and Robert Keys, gentlemen, of London; and Thomas Bates, a trusted servant of Catesby; to these was afterwards added Guy Fawkes, a soldier from the Netherlands. They proposed to effect their horrible purpose when the parliament

<sup>a</sup> Up to this period the title of "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland" had been used.

<sup>b</sup> Like other Puritans he inveighed against the pope, but his discourses were chiefly in condemnation of the use of the cross in baptism, and of the newly-enacted canons. The king had him brought to court, listened to his declamation, and detected the cheat.

<sup>c</sup> Six of them were tried and condemned as traitors, but they were only banished.

<sup>d</sup> Several of them were recent converts. Such was Catesby; he had been engaged in Essex's insurrection, as had Tresham and some of the others, who were all gentlemen of property. Fawkes, though quite as fanatical as the rest, was their paid servant, and had been fetched from the Netherlands by Winter for the purpose, about Easter, 1604. He was a Yorkshireman, born about 1569, and had once been a menial in the household of Lord Montague, but latterly he had served in the Spanish army. He is described by one of the witnesses against him as being a tall man, with black hair and an auburn beard, and was usually taken for a priest.

<sup>e</sup> Of the same family as the Catesby of the time of Richard III.

<sup>f</sup> This plot is usually spoken of as unprecedented in its nature, but such is not the case; Swedish history furnishes two instances of gunpowder plots, real or pretended. Christiern II. made such a plot the pretext for his barbarous executions at Stockholm, in 1520; and in 1533 the regency of Lubec engaged some Germans to blow up Gustavus Vasa, while holding the diet, but the plan was discovered on the very eve of its execution.

<sup>g</sup> He reconciled to this horrible project those whose fanaticism was less fierce than his own by saying that it would appear like a heavenly judgment when even the very building was destroyed where laws had been passed against their faith. It seems probable that it was intended to warn, in ambiguous terms, members of their own creed not to attend the house at its opening, as was done to lord Montague, and perhaps to others. Whether this was done is unknown, but the earl of Northumberland absented himself from the parliament, as did the lords Montague, Mordaunt, and Stourton, a circumstance considered so suspicious, that they were prosecuted in the Star-chamber. They were all heavily fined, and Northumberland was imprisoned in the Tower till July 18, 1621. See A.D. 1611.

met in February, 1605; and, accordingly, Percy hired a house close adjoining, where, in December, 1604, they shut themselves in, with twenty days' store of provisions, and laboured until Christmas in digging through the wall, Fawkes, on whose vigilance, as the only military man among them, they greatly relied, keeping watch. They resumed their labours after Christmas, but, finding themselves unequal to the task, they soon associated Christopher Wright and Robert Winter with them, the whole taking an oath of secrecy, and an engagement not to desist from their purpose, at the hands of Henry Garnett, John Gerard, and Oswald Tesmond, Jesuits, who, indeed, have been charged with being the originators of the design; but this has not been satisfactorily proved<sup>h</sup>.

The conspirators found the foundation wall three yards thick; but when they had worked half through it they were enabled to hire the adjoining cellar, which ran under the Parliament-house, and in this they speedily placed twenty barrels of powder, which had been stored in Percy's house, and afterwards ten more, which they covered with billets and fagots, adding, from time to time, more powder, together with iron bars and stones. Meanwhile the meeting of the parliament was postponed, and Catesby, who had hitherto borne the chief part of the expense<sup>i</sup>, found his funds exhausted. He therefore obtained permission from the rest to divulge their scheme to such as he thought willing to help them, and, in consequence, they were soon joined by John Grant, of Warwickshire, Ambrose Rookwood, of Suffolk, and Francis Tresham, of Northamptonshire, who gave money and their personal help in conveying the gunpowder into the vault, and promised to provide arms and horses for a rising as soon as the plot had taken effect;

some months later the scheme was divulged to Sir Everard Digby, of Gotherst, in Buckinghamshire. He also joined in it, and engaged to make an assembly near Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, under pretence of a hunting match, but, in reality, to carry off the princess Elizabeth, who resided at Combe, the house of lord Harrington, in that neighbourhood, and whom the conspirators intended to proclaim queen, if Percy should not succeed in seizing the duke of York<sup>j</sup> (afterwards Charles I.) on the day of the explosion.

As the time finally appointed for the meeting of the parliament drew near, Catesby and the rest prepared to leave London, entrusting the task of firing the train to Guy Fawkes, who had assumed the name of John Johnson, and professed to be Percy's servant left in charge of his master's house. Their plot had been carried on, as they imagined, with profound secrecy; but there can now be no reasonable doubt that the government had long had a sufficiently accurate idea of their design. Both the French and the Spanish governments had apprized Cecil, the secretary, that some desperate enterprise was in meditation among the Romish refugees in Flanders, and a visit which Fawkes had made to them in the preceding summer had not escaped his notice<sup>k</sup>; still they were allowed to remain in fancied security.

On October 26, 1605, an anonymous letter was delivered to Lord Monteagle, (William Parker, brother-in-law of Tresham,) urging him to absent himself from the meeting of parliament, and was by him submitted to the council. The matter was suffered to stand over, until the king returned from a hunting excursion, when the letter was laid before him, (Nov. 1,) and he professed at once to discover the full meaning of its enigmatical warning<sup>l</sup>; still no open step was taken. At length, early in the morn-

<sup>h</sup> It cannot be doubted, however, that they were cordial participators in it. Garnett long maintained that he knew nothing of the conspiracy; then he said he had knowledge of it only under the seal of confession; but he allowed that he held it lawful to equivocate rather than confess anything to his own injury. As a natural consequence his denials were disbelieved, and he was tried, condemned, and executed; Tesmond and Gerrard escaped to the continent.

<sup>i</sup> He sold, among other property, a fine estate

at Chastleton, in Oxfordshire, to Walter Jones, a lawyer, who built the present manor-house.

<sup>j</sup> His elder brother, Henry, it was expected would accompany the king and be destroyed with him.

<sup>k</sup> Fawkes confessed that when on this visit he made two pilgrimages to pray for the success of the plot.

<sup>l</sup> The passage said to have suggested the idea of gunpowder was, "Though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible

ing of Tuesday, November 5, Fawkes was seized in the vault, carried before the council, examined, and committed to the Tower. His associates at once fled to Dunchurch, taking some few friends and their servants with them, to the number of about forty horse. They found there a well-armed party assembled, but all but three of them declined to cast in their fortunes with those of the baffled conspirators. The sheriffs of Warwick and Worcester (Sir Richard Verney and Sir Richard Walsh) arrayed the power of their counties, and Catesby and his party retired in haste to Holbeach house, near Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, the residence of Stephen Lyt-

telton, (one who had joined them,) where they had resolved to maintain themselves, in the hope of an insurrection of the neighbouring Romanists in their favour. No one stirred, however; their powder blew up, desperately wounding Grant, Keys, and Rookwood; and when the sheriff (Sir Richard Walsh) approached, (Nov. 8,) Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights, purposely exposed themselves to their assailants, and were shot dead. Thomas Winter, Bates, and the wounded men, were made prisoners; Sir Everard Digby cut his way through, but was soon after captured, as were Robert Winter and Stephen Lyttelton, a few days after.

## NOTE.

### THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

THREE letters preserved in the Public Record Office seem to shew that not only Cecil, but King James, Chief Justice Popham and Sir Thomas Chaloner, if not others, knew of the existence of the plot at least as early as the end of the year 1603. It appears to have been made known to them by one Joseph Davies, through the means of a person named Henry Wright, who on March 26, 1606, wrote from Clerkenwell, to Cecil (then earl of Salisbury) asking for some place on account of his services in "discovering villanous practices." That the allusion is to the Gunpowder Plot is rendered certain by another letter, from Wright to Sir Thomas Chaloner, which runs thus:—

"Good Sir Thomas, I am as eager for setting of the lodgings as you can be, and in truth whereas we desired but twenty, the discoverer had set <sup>m</sup> and (if we accept of it.) can set above three score, but I told him that the State would take it for good service if he set twenty of the most principal Jesuits and seminary priests, and therewithal I gave him 13 or 14 names picked out of his own notes, among the which five of them were sworn to the secrecy. He saith absolutely that by God's grace he will do it ere long, but he stayeth some few days purposely for the coming to town of Tesmond and Kempe, two principals; their lodgings are prepared, and they will be here, as he saith, for certain within these two days. For the treason, Davies neither hath nor will unfold himself for the discovery of it till he hath his pardon for it under seal, as I old you, which is now in great forwardness, and

ready to be sealed, so that ere long you shall have all. . . . .

"Your worship's most devoted,  
HEN. WRIGHT."

The letter has no date, but this is approximately supplied by the fact that a pardon for all treasons, &c., to Joseph Davies, granted April 25, 1604, appears on the Pardon Roll, 2 Jac. I.

The third letter, also without date, is apparently a memorial addressed to the king. It is entitled "Touching Wright and his services performed in the damnable plot of the Powder treason," and reads thus:—

"If it may please your Majesty, can you remember that the Lord Chief Justice Popham and Sir Thomas Chaloner, Kt., had a hand in the discovery of the practises of the Jesuits in the Powder plot, and did from time to time [*reveal the same* (?) ] to your Majesty, for two years' space almost before the said treason burst forth by an obscure letter sent to the Lord Montague, which your Majesty, like an angel of God, interpreted, touching the blow, then intended to be given by powder. The man that informed Sir Thomas Chaloner and the Lord Popham of the said Jesuitical practises, their meetings and traitorous designs in that matter, whereof from time to time they informed your Majesty, was one Wright, who hath your Majesty's hand for his so doing, and never received any reward for his pains and charges laid out concerning the same. This Wright, if occasion serve, can do more service."

The document is addressed to "Mr. Secretary Conway," and its date is thus fixed as not earlier than 1616.

blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them." It seems probable that the letter, which is preserved in the Public Record Office, was written, in a feigned hand, by Tresham, who repented of his participation in the plot. He was

apprehended soon after its failure, and died in the Tower before he could be brought to trial.

<sup>m</sup> What would now be termed detectives or spies, were called "setters" or "trepanners" in the seventeenth century.

A.D. 1606.

The parliament meets Jan. 21, and sits till May 27.

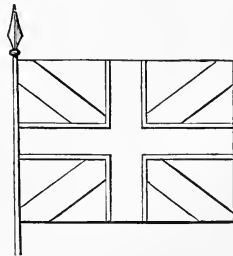
The king, in his opening speech, declared that he did not impute the guilt of the gunpowder plot to any but the actual perpetrators. His parliament, however, passed acts in consequence, which greatly added to the burden of the penal laws affecting the whole body of Romish recusants. Beside the statutes 3 Jac. I. c. 1, which appointed an annual thanksgiving on the 5th of November, and c. 2, which attained "divers offenders in the late most barbarous, monstrous, detestable, and damnable treasons," it passed "an act for the better discovering and repressing of popish recusants," [c. 4.] by which such of them as conformed were required to take the sacrament once a-year at least; their absence from church was punishable by heavy fines, and two-thirds of their lands might be taken instead; an oath of allegiance, renouncing the pope's authority in the most offensive terms, was imposed; to refuse it incurred a præmunire; to go into the service of any foreign prince without having taken it was felony, and the same penalty attached to persons, professedly Protestant, going abroad and declining or avoiding a bond, in £20 at least, not to be reconciled to the Romish Church; persons harbouring recusants, (except parents or wards,) or keeping servants who did not attend church, were to forfeit £10 per month, and houses might be broken open in search of offenders. Another statute [c. 5] banished all recusants from court, London tradesmen and *bond fide* residents excepted; persons convicted of recusancy were disabled to hold any public office, be executors or guardians, or practise any of the liberal professions; their widows forfeited two-thirds of their dower; mar-

riage, christening, or burial, otherwise than according to the order of the Church of England, was forbidden under heavy penalties, as was sending children abroad for education without licence; their service-books, and missals, and relics, were to be destroyed; their arms were to be taken out of their hands, but kept in repair at their expense; and lastly, they were left to the process of the High Commission Court, as persons excommunicate, notwithstanding any penalties that they might suffer from this act.

The gunpowder conspirators are tried before a special commission, at the head of which is the earl of Nottingham (Charles Howard,) Jan. 27. Sir Everard Digby pleads guilty; Bates, Fawkes, Grant, Keys, Rookwood, and the two Winters, plead not guilty, "to the admiration of all the hearers," says Stow. Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, are executed Jan. 30, in St. Paul's Church-yard; Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keys, and Fawkes, at Westminster, Jan. 31.

Henry Garnett<sup>p</sup>, the Jesuit, is tried as an accomplice in the gunpowder plot, and found guilty, March 28. He is executed, May 3.

A national flag for Great Britain



National Flag of Great Britain.

<sup>n</sup> It attains by name not only the eight who had been executed, and the four killed at Holbeach House, but also Tresham, who died before trial, and Hugh Owen, who had not been taken; he was an officer in the archduke's service in Flanders, and had been manifestly in league with the rest, but the archduke refused to give him up.

<sup>o</sup> "And I do further swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicate or deprived by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their

subjects or any other whosoever." This oath gave rise to a schism among the Romanists, some taking the oath, others refusing it; the matter was also a subject of controversy between King James and Cardinal Bellarmine.

<sup>p</sup> In the indictment against him he is described as "Henry Garnett, late of London, clerk, a Jesuit, otherwise Henry Whalley, otherwise Henry Darcy, otherwise Henry Roberts, otherwise Henry Fermour, otherwise Henry Philips." The other Jesuits are described as Oswald Tesmond, otherwise Oswald Greneway, otherwise Oswald Fermour; and

announced by royal proclamation<sup>9</sup>, April 12.

Episcopacy restored in Scotland, by act of parliament there. The General Assembly acknowledge the bishops as moderators in their synods, and the king confers on them like powers with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in England. Severe laws are passed in the Scottish parliament against the Romanists.

The earls of Tyrone (Hugh O'Neal), Tyrconnel (Roderic O'Donnell), and several of their followers, escape from Ireland, and join the Spaniards in the Low Countries<sup>7</sup>.

The parliament meets Nov. 18, and sits until July 4, 1607.

A.D. 1607.

The king recommends the union of England and Scotland to the English parliament<sup>8</sup>, but the proposition is received with coldness, and the matter is dropped. One act, however, is passed, [4 Jac. I. c. 1,] by which various acts hostile to Scotland are repealed<sup>1</sup>.

Drunkenness made punishable by a fine of 5s., or six hours in the stocks, [c. 5].

Great numbers of people assemble in Northamptonshire and other midland counties<sup>2</sup>, in May, and throw down inclosures. They are headed by one John Reynolds, who takes the name of Captain Pouch, and are not suppressed without difficulty.

John Gerrard, otherwise John Brooke. This multiplicity of surnames, whilst retaining the same baptismal name, is an incidental evidence of the strict search that was usually made for Romish priests, and of one means by which they attempted to evade the pursuivants and other officers.

<sup>9</sup> This, as will be seen from the engraving, is a combination of the cross of St. George and the saltire of St. Andrew; the saltire of St. Patrick was added on the union of Great Britain and Ireland, Jan. 1, 1801.

<sup>7</sup> They apprehended that the king had a design to extinguish Romanism in Ireland, and had projected a rising against the government, but it was discovered before their plans were ripe. The vast forfeitures of their lands gave occasion to the new plantations in Ulster, a few years later.

<sup>8</sup> In 1605 an attempt was made to establish peace in the "debateable land" between the two kingdoms. A mixed commission of English and Scottish gentlemen was appointed, and upwards of 100 of the most "noted murderers, outlaws, and thieves,"—especially of the name of Graham—were seized, and sent to serve as soldiers in the cautionary towns of Briel and Flushing; but they soon returned. The minute-book of the commissioners contains a list of no less than 26 clans then standing in feud with others.

<sup>1</sup> They extended from the 7th of Richard II. (1383) to the time of Elizabeth.

The first permanent settlement of the English in North America; James Town, in Virginia, founded<sup>2</sup>.

A.D. 1608.

O'Dogherty, an Irish chieftain in Ulster, rises in arms, kills Paulet, the governor of Derry, and defeats several parties sent against him. He is himself killed in battle in August; when nearly the whole of Ulster becomes an escheat of the crown<sup>3</sup>, and measures are resolved on for its colonization by British settlers.

A.D. 1609.

A twelve years' truce concluded between the Spaniards and the Hollanders, by the mediation of the king<sup>2</sup>, March 29.

The charter of the East India company renewed for an unlimited period<sup>4</sup>.

A.D. 1610.

The parliament meets Feb. 9, and sits till July 23.

Naturalized persons directed to take the sacrament as well as the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, [7 Jac. I. c. 2].

A charter granted for the colonization of Newfoundland, May 2.

The king's eldest son is created prince of Wales, June 4. To meet the expense a feudal aid is levied on the people<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Large estates belonging to Tresham and others of the gunpowder-plot traitors, in these parts, had been granted to the royal favourites, who sought to increase them by seizing adjoining common lands. This robbery provoked the neighbouring gentry, and they declined to act against the insurgents, who were only put down by a regular military force.

<sup>3</sup> This was by virtue of a royal charter to a body of merchants called the London Company; the colony attempted by Raleigh had failed many years before. See A.D. 1585.

<sup>4</sup> A very large part had already been forfeited by O'Neal and O'Donnell.

<sup>5</sup> This event had some unexpected consequences. Many of the seamen, both English and Dutch, who had heretofore preyed on the Spaniards, retired to the West Indies, where they were afterwards well known as the Buccaneers; while some joined the Algerines and the other Barbary states, became renegades, and induced their new companions to extend their ravages, hitherto confined to the Mediterranean, to the British Channel, and even the Thames. An attempt made to chastise them in the year 1620-21 was unsuccessful, and their continued depredations gave occasion to the first levy of ship-money in 1635.

<sup>6</sup> It would otherwise have expired Dec. 31, 1615.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 83. Its amount was £21,800, which was very unwillingly paid, as being an obsolete exac-



Dr. Cowell's book, called "The Interpreter," is censured by the commons, and steps taken to bring him to punishment, which is frustrated by the king proroguing and afterwards dissolving the parliament.

Three prelates are consecrated for Scottish sees, at Lambeth, Oct. 21. They were John Spottiswood, Gawin Hamilton, and Andrew Lambe, appointed to Glasgow, Galloway, and Brechin.

The parliament re-assembles October 16, and sits till Dec. 6.

Archbishop Bancroft dies, Nov. 2. He is succeeded by George Abbot<sup>4</sup>.

Wadham College, Oxford, founded.



Arms of Wadham College.

A.D. 1611.

The parliament is dissolved, Feb. 9. A new translation of the Bible

(the present authorized version) completed.

The British plantation or colonization of Ulster is commenced. The plan laid down<sup>e</sup> is but imperfectly carried out.

The order of Baronets of Great Britain established<sup>f</sup>. The first patent,



The Baronets' Badge.

to Sir Nicholas Bacon, of Redgrave, Suffolk, is dated May 22.

Sir Thomas Sherley, an English adventurer, arrives in England, as ambassador from the shah of Persia. He is very honourably received, and concludes a commercial treaty.

The king's cousin, Arabella Stuart, is committed to the Tower for contracting marriage without the royal licence<sup>g</sup>, June 5.

A fresh examination instituted as to

tion. The minister Salisbury took the opportunity to negotiate with the Commons for the redemption of all similar feudal burdens, but could not effect his object.

<sup>e</sup> The author, who was a civilian, ascribed to the kings of England the absolute power of the Roman emperors, a doctrine very agreeable to James.

<sup>d</sup> He was born at Guildford in 1562, was educated at the free-school there, and then went to Balliol College, Oxford. He became eminent as a preacher, was made master of University College, and thrice held the office of vice-chancellor. He was one of the translators of the Bible, and, though a doctrinal Calvinist, laboured, under the direction of King James, to re-establish episcopacy in Scotland. His services were rewarded with the sees of Lichfield, London, and Canterbury, bestowed in quick succession, but his primacy especially had an unfortunate effect, as he gave free scope to the puritanical spirit which his immediate predecessors (Whitgift and Bancroft) had kept within bounds, at the same time that he rendered the Church unpopular with many, by pushing the proceedings of the High Commission Court to a degree of severity that they had not before reached, and which was usually ascribed to his morose temper. In 1621 he had the misfortune to kill accidentally a park-keeper, named Peter Hawkins; and though he survived this event many years, his influence was extinct. Several bishops elect declined to receive ordination at his hands, (Laud was one,) he was formally suspended from office, under the plea of ill-health, but, in reality, for his opposition to the doctrine of absolute power, which some of the clergy began to

preach, and at last he died, worn out with infirmities, Aug. 4, 1633, and was buried at his native place. His brother, Robert, became bishop of Salisbury, and died in 1617.

<sup>e</sup> The lands were to be divided into lots of 1,000, 1,500, and 2,000 acres; buildings in proportion were to be erected on each, and none but British settlers admitted. Much of the land, however, was not taken possession of by the "undertakers," as they were styled, but was allowed to remain in the hands of the natives; on the other hand, some parties fraudulently obtained ten times as much land as they paid for, and the towns that they were bound to build were never erected. The citizens of London received a vast allotment, but did not fulfil all the legal conditions, for which they were prosecuted in the Star-chamber in the next reign. See A.D. 1633.

<sup>f</sup> Its avowed intention was to provide a fund for the defence of the English settlement in Ulster, each knight or esquire who received it engaging to pay a sum sufficient to support thirty foot-soldiers for two years; but this, as well as the original limitation of number to two hundred, was soon abandoned. Baronets of Ireland were established in 1619, and baronets of Scotland and Nova Scotia in 1625. The badge is the red hand of Ulster.

<sup>g</sup> She married William Seymour, the grandson of Edward, earl of Hertford, whose unhappy marriage with lady Katherine Grey has been already noticed, (see p. 341.) Seymour escaped to the continent, and returning after many years of exile, took part in the civil war, and eventually became duke of Somerset.

parties concerned in, or privy to the gunpowder plot <sup>b</sup>.

The English merchants are allowed to establish a factory at Surat; they are attacked by the Portuguese, but beat them off. In the following year they extend their trade to Java and Sumatra.

A.D. 1612.

Bartholomew Legate, an Arian, is burnt in Smithfield, March 18; as is another heretic, Edmund (or Edward) Wightman, at Lichfield, April 11.

The minister Cecil dies, May 24. He is succeeded in power by Robert Carr, viscount Rochester.

Prince Henry dies, Nov. 5. He is buried at Westminster, Dec. 7.

A.D. 1613.

The Princess Elizabeth is married to the Elector Palatine<sup>1</sup>, Feb. 14.

A.D. 1614.

The parliament meets April 5, and is dissolved June 1, without passing a single act<sup>1</sup>.

Both houses of parliament take the sacrament for the discovery of concealed Romanists, but none refuse, April 7.

<sup>b</sup> One Timothy Elks, who had been in the service of the earl of Northumberland, charged him with a knowledge of the designs of the conspirators; his statements also implicated Sir Dudley Carleton, a well-known diplomatist. They seem, however, not to have been substantiated, and Elks went abroad in 1613, declaring that his life was in danger from the enmity of the earl, who, however, was a prisoner in the Tower, and remained there until 1621.

<sup>1</sup> A feudal aid was levied on this occasion also, which was conformable to the practice of earlier kings, but this could not reconcile the people to it. It produced but £20,500, while the expenses were above £50,000, exclusive of the marriage portion, which was £40,000 more.

<sup>2</sup> It was in consequence nicknamed the "addled parliament." The Speaker was Randal Crewe, afterwards chief justice of the King's Bench. They complained of interference by the court in elections, declined to grant any supplies until various grievances were redressed, questioned the king's right to levy arbitrary impositions and grant monopolies, and clamoured loudly against Neile, bishop of Lincoln, who was said to have justified the exactions, and to have charged the commons with disloyalty. They were dismissed in anger by the king, and several of their members imprisoned.

<sup>3</sup> The clergy freely contributed, but no other class. A Wiltshire gentleman (Oliver St. John) was fined £5,000 in the Star-chamber for condemning such a mode of raising money as contrary to law, reason, and religion. Coke, the chief justice, expressed the same opinion, and this was one cause of his subsequent disgrace.

<sup>4</sup> She had lost her reason through the severity of her confinement, and her unhappy fate is a deep blemish on the memory of James.

<sup>5</sup> He sailed in March, 1617, on an expedition to

A large sum of money is raised by a benevolence<sup>k</sup>.

A.D. 1615.

Sir Thomas Roe sent on an embassy to the Great Mogul, Jan.

The lady Arabella Stuart dies in the Tower<sup>1</sup>, Sept. 27.

A.D. 1616.

Sir Walter Raleigh is released from the Tower, March 19<sup>m</sup>.

The earl and countess of Somerset are tried before their peers, and convicted of procuring the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, May 24, 25<sup>n</sup>.

Briel and the other cautionary towns are delivered up to the Hollanders<sup>2</sup>, May 27.

Coke, the chief justice, is deprived of his office, Nov. <sup>p</sup>

A.D. 1617.

Sir Francis Bacon is made lord keeper<sup>3</sup>, March 7.

The king visits Scotland, and re-establishes the bishops there in their former rightful supremacy.

The archbishop of Spalatro, (Mark Antony de Dominis, a Jesuit,) conforms to the English Church<sup>4</sup>.

Guiana, which miscarried, and soon after his return he was, on the complaint of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whose brother had been killed in resisting the adventurers, committed to the Tower.

<sup>b</sup> Overbury was a courtier of bad character, who attached himself to the rising fortunes of the favourite, but offended him by endeavouring to dissuade him from marrying the divorced countess of Essex, who lay under suspicion of having attempted to poison her husband. To get rid of him, he was ordered to proceed on a foreign embassy, was committed to the Tower for refusing, and died there after a six months' rigorous confinement, Sept. 15, 1613. Weston, a warder of the Tower, and other agents, were executed for poisoning him, but the earl and countess escaped condign punishment. In 1622 they were set at liberty, and the earl survived till 1645.

<sup>c</sup> The States gave pensions to Lord Lisle, Sir Horace Vere, Sir Edward Conway, and the other English officers, and also paid £200,000 in ready money to the king, but the whole amounted to less than one-third of what had been lent them by Elizabeth.

<sup>d</sup> He had been remarkable for his servility to the court. Now, on his disgrace, which he mainly owed to his overbearing and corrupt conduct on the bench (he was, among other matters, charged with illegally allowing bail to pirates), he joined the popular party, and became a vehement denouncer of the prerogative.

<sup>e</sup> He was made lord chancellor the next year.

<sup>f</sup> He received the living of West Ilsley, in Berkshire, and was made dean of Windsor, May 13, 1618, but was disappointed in his hope of further promotion. He returned to the Roman communion in 1622, and died in Italy in the following year, when his body was burnt by the Inquisition.

A.D. 1618.

The king publishes a proclamation, allowing of various sports on Sundays after the hours of divine service<sup>a</sup>, May 24.

The Articles of Perth are agreed to by the General Assembly<sup>b</sup>, Aug. 25.

The Protestants in Bohemia offer the crown to the Elector Palatine, (the son-in-law of the king). His cause is warmly espoused by the English, but the king declines to assist him.

Sir Walter Raleigh is beheaded, Oct. 29<sup>c</sup>.

The synod of Dort held, in which English divines are present<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 1619.

The trade of the English and the Dutch in the East India Islands regulated by treaty<sup>e</sup>, July 7.

A.D. 1620.

The parliament meets Jan. 30.

Many preachers in Scotland inveigh against episcopal government. They are deprived of their cures, but soon restored.

The king orders Romish recusants to be released from prison<sup>f</sup>.

A fleet is sent against the Barbary

pirates<sup>g</sup>, in October, but effects nothing of consequence.

Great numbers of volunteers quit England to support the Elector Palatine. He is, however, defeated by the Imperialists at Prague, Nov. 7, and loses his hereditary dominions.

The Puritans make a settlement in North America, styling the district New England.

The king issues a proclamation (Dec. 24) prohibiting "lavish discourse and bold censure in matters of state."

A.D. 1621.

The parliament meets Jan. 30, and sits till June 4.

The commons proceed with severity against numerous offenders. One member (Shepherd) is expelled for reflecting on the Puritans; Floyd, a Romish barrister, and a prisoner in the Fleet, is condemned to heavy punishment for indecorous language regarding the Elector Palatine and his wife<sup>h</sup>; Lord Chancellor Bacon is impeached<sup>i</sup>, and several monopolists and patentees are prosecuted<sup>j</sup>.

The great seal is bestowed on John Williams, dean of Salisbury and Westminster<sup>k</sup>, July 10.

\* This was commonly known as the "Book of Sports." It was very offensive to the Puritans, and Archbishop Abbot would not allow it to be read in churches, as directed; James suffered the matter to drop, but his successor revived it.

<sup>b</sup> They had been proposed when the king was in Scotland, and rejected, and were now, as the Presbyterians alleged, carried by corrupt influences. The articles were five in number; they ordered the Lord's supper to be received kneeling; allowed of private baptism, the communion of the sick, and confirmation; and directed Christmas and the other holy seasons to be observed as in England.

<sup>c</sup> Papers recently brought to light shew that he had, in his return from America, engaged in a piratical enterprise against the republic of Genoa, but as it was not thought convenient to have a public investigation of the matter, he was executed on the sentence passed in 1603. This, after so many years' respite, was very displeasing to the people in general, as, from ignorance of the facts, he was considered as sacrificed to forward the alliance with Spain; they preferred war with that power, as ultimately came to pass.

<sup>d</sup> The extreme Calvinistic doctrines prevailed here, and the Arminians were condemned without a hearing. The English divines were Carleton, bishop of Llandaff; Davenant and Hall, afterwards bishops of Salisbury and Exeter; Ward, master of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge; and Balcanqual, a Scottish episcopalian.

<sup>e</sup> The conditions of this treaty were badly observed on both sides. In February, 1623, the Dutch tortured to death several of the English factors in Amboyna, under pretence of their having intrigued with the natives; and reparation for this barbarous act was not obtained until the time of the Commonwealth. See A.D. 1654.

\* The reason assigned was, that Protestants might thereby receive better treatment in foreign countries; but in England the measure was looked on as only intended to conciliate the Spaniards, with whom the king was anxious to form an alliance.

<sup>h</sup> An attack was made on Algiers in May, 1621, and two or three vessels burnt, but the rovers (among whom were many renegades—see A.D. 1609) captured above thirty English ships in the same year, and they first received effectual chastisement from Blake, more than thirty years after.

<sup>i</sup> He had rejoiced over the ill-success of "goodman Palgrave and goody Palgrave." The king, however, refused to allow the house to punish him, angrily enquiring, "Are they a court of judicature?" and had him prosecuted in the Star-chamber.

<sup>j</sup> The great seal was taken from him, May 1.

<sup>k</sup> Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, two flagrant offenders, who had obtained, and abused, exclusive powers for licensing alehouses and inspecting inns, and manufacturing gold and silver thread, were degraded from knighthood, fined, imprisoned, and eventually banished.

<sup>l</sup> He was soon after raised to the see of Lincoln. He was born in 1582 at Aberconway, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Whilst proctor of the University he attracted the attention of George, duke of Wurtemberg, and was by him recommended to the king. He shewed a great aptitude for secular business, became a favourite of King James, and in consequence received from him the great seal. From this office he was driven in 1625 by the enmity of Buckingham, to whom he was not sufficiently subservient. He afterwards opposed himself to the proceedings of Archbishop Laud, was, on light grounds, very harshly treated, and suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower. He was released by the Long Parliament, and, in

The earl of Northumberland is released from the Tower, July 18.

The archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbot) accidentally kills a gamekeeper, (Peter Hawkins), in Lord Zouch's Park, at Bramzill, July 24<sup>f</sup>.

A second proclamation issued, forbidding "licentious and bold speaking or writing" on state affairs, July 26.

The parliament re-assembles Nov. 20, and sits till Dec. 19.

They grant no supplies, but instead, draw up a petition to the king, praying that the laws against the Romanists may be enforced, that he will make war upon Spain in support of the Elector Palatine, and marry his son Charles to a Protestant princess<sup>g</sup>.

The king censures their petition as the work of "fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits;" they reply by a protestation, in which they claim the right of discussing all subjects "in such order as they think proper," and maintain that their members are responsible to the House only for their conduct. The king sends for the journal, tears out the protest with his own hand, and adjourns the Houses, Dec. 19.

A.D. 1622.

The parliament is dissolved, Jan. 6.

Sir Edward Coke and Mr. Pym are imprisoned, and Sir Dudley Digges, and other obnoxious members of the late parliament, are forced to repair to Ireland against their will, under pretence of the king's service<sup>h</sup>.

An attempt made to found a Romish university in Dublin<sup>i</sup>.

A.D. 1623.

The treaty for the Spanish marriage is all but concluded by the earl of Bristol (John Digby), when Prince Charles and Buckingham arrive in Madrid<sup>k</sup>, March 7. The negotiations are opened afresh, and at length a public and private treaty<sup>l</sup> are agreed to, which King James swears to observe, July 20.

The prince and Buckingham return to England, arriving Oct. 5<sup>m</sup>.

The marriage treaty is broken off, and the earl of Bristol recalled to England<sup>n</sup>, December.

A.D. 1624.

The parliament meets Feb. 19, and sits till May 29. The king endeavours to prevent the earl of Bristol appearing in his place, but on the remonstrance of the Peers he gives way. The earl then charges Buckingham with causing the rupture with Spain. Buckingham explains his conduct to the expressed satisfaction of the parliament.

Monopolies declared contrary to law, and all such grants void<sup>o</sup>, [21 Jac. I. c. 3].

War is declared against Spain, March 10.

The earl of Middlesex (Lionel Cranfeild), lord treasurer, is impeached by the Commons, at the instigation of Buckingham, April. He is convicted

Dec. 1641, was translated to York; but in the same month he was again imprisoned on account of the bishops' protestation, which he had drawn up. When the civil war commenced he withdrew to Aberconway Castle, which he fortified, and held for a time for the king, but he ultimately made his peace with the parliament, became active in their cause, and, dying at Glothaeth, in Caernarvonshire, March 25, 1650, he was buried at Llandegay, near Bangor.

<sup>f</sup> He obtained the king's pardon, Nov. 22, James observing that "an angel might have miscarried in such sort." But people in general were not so lenient in their judgment. Many candidates for the ministry refused to receive ordination from "hands polluted by blood," and he was virtually suspended from his function.

<sup>g</sup> A treaty had been already concluded (April 27, 1620) for his marriage with the Infanta Maria of Spain; and a toleration of Romanism was one of its provisions.

<sup>h</sup> They were commissioned to inquire, among other things, into abuses said to have been committed in the recent plantation of Ulster.

<sup>i</sup> The establishment, which was on a very limited scale, was allowed to exist for about ten years, but was then closed by the lord-deputy, and the building granted to Trinity College, Dublin.

<sup>k</sup> They left England in disguise, Feb. 18, and taking the names of James and Thomas Smith, travelled with but three attendants, but were soon joined by a large train. The journey is thought to have been suggested by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador.

<sup>l</sup> There was a material difference between the two. The public treaty only conceded freedom of worship to the Infanta and her household; the private treaty engaged the king to procure, if possible, the repeal of the penal statutes, and if not, to suspend their execution.

<sup>m</sup> This was made the occasion of great rejoicing, a memorial of which still remains in the chapel of Groombridge, in Kent, which, as an inscription over the door states, was built in gratitude to God for the safe return of the prince. The expense of the journey was £50,027, as appears from a state paper of the year 1631.

<sup>n</sup> The rupture of the treaty was generally ascribed to Buckingham, and he in consequence became popular for a while; but the earl of Bristol eventually exposed the course of his proceedings in Spain, and made it evident that he had consulted his own pride and anger, rather than the honour of his masters.

<sup>o</sup> Patents of invention, giving a monopoly for not more than 14 years, were excepted.

of bribery and neglect of duty by the Peers, May 13, is fined £50,000, and declared incapable of sitting in parliament<sup>p</sup>.

The lord keeper (John Williams, bishop of Lincoln) is also complained of by Buckingham, but the Commons decline to impeach him.

A complaint of false doctrine is made to the Commons against Dr. Richard Montague, one of the king's chaplains<sup>q</sup>.

A proclamation issued, forbidding the sale of books on religion, or on government in Church or State, unless licensed by the archbishops and other commissioners, Aug. 15.

Count Mansfeldt is allowed to raise 12,000 men in England for the support of the Elector Palatine. They are hastily embarked in crowded ships, lose nearly half their number from

sickness<sup>r</sup>, and fail to be of any service.

A marriage treaty for the prince of Wales is concluded with France, Nov. 12.

Pembroke College, Oxford, founded.



Arms of Pembroke College.

A.D. 1625.

The king dies of an ague at Theobalds, March 27, and is buried at Westminster.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Ostend taken after a three years' siege by the Spaniards . . . . .	1604	The Huguenots take up arms in France . . . . .	1618
The independence of the Dutch recognised by Philip III. . . . .	1609	The Remonstrants expelled from Holland . . . . .	1619
The Moors expelled from Spain . . . . .	1609	War renewed between Holland and Spain . . . . .	1621
Quarrels begin between the Dutch and English in India . . . . .	1610	New Amsterdam (now New York) founded . . . . .	1624
The Thirty Years' War commences . . . . .	1618		

<sup>p</sup> He was sent to the Tower the next day, and formally deprived of office May 16. Cranfield was originally a merchant of London, and had been brought forward by Buckingham, but had offended him by hesitating to sanction his lavish expenditure in the Spanish journey. He defended himself with spirit on his trial, and is believed to have been unjustly condemned. His fine was reduced to £20,000, and he was soon released from prison by Charles I., who granted him a special pardon, Aug. 20, 1626. He lived in retirement until his death, which occurred in the year 1645.

<sup>q</sup> In a tract against the Romanists, entitled, "A Gag for the New Gospel," he had denied that the Calvinistic tenets were agreeable to the faith of the Church of England. This gave great offence to the Puritan party; he was summoned before the House, and condemned to silence by the archbishop

of Canterbury (Abbot), to whom they remitted the cause. He, however, appealed to the king, and he was saved from any present consequences by the dissolution of the parliament, which soon occurred, but his prosecution was revived in the next reign. See A.D. 1625.

Montague was born in 1578, and was educated at Cambridge. In spite of the anger of the parliament, he was in 1628 made bishop of Chichester (one William Jones, a London tradesman, publicly objecting to the election, but without effect), and in 1638 was translated to Norwich. He died April 13, 1641.

<sup>r</sup> This calamitous event made a great impression on the king, who bitterly lamented having yielded to the persuasion of evil counsellors, and plunged into a war in his old age.



Great Seal of Charles I.

## CHARLES I.

CHARLES, the second son of James VI. of Scotland and Anne of Denmark, was born at Dunfermline, Nov. 19, 1600, was brought to England shortly after his father's accession to the throne, and was, while yet very young, created duke of York and knight of the Garter; on the death of his brother Henry, in 1612, he became prince of Wales. In 1623 he engaged in a journey to Spain, in company with the marquis of Buckingham, in order to conclude a marriage that had long been pending with the Infanta Maria, the daughter of Philip IV., but the project failed, and shortly after his return he succeeded to the throne by the death of his father, March 27, 1625; he was crowned Feb. 2, 1626.

The first great unhappiness of Charles's reign was the evil influence of his favourite Buckingham. The

young king had imbibed principles of arbitrary power, which made him regard parliaments only as instruments of taxation; hence his indignation was extreme when his first parliament brought charges of the gravest nature against the favourite, and declined to vote taxes, although the nation was, by its own urgent desire, at war with Spain, until these and other matters of grievance were redressed. By Buckingham's advice they were speedily dismissed, as was a second parliament, which pursued a like course, and the fatal step was then taken of attempting to govern without one. Clergymen were found to enlarge on the doctrine of passive obedience, and to declare in express terms that the king had an absolute right to such part of his subjects' property as he chose to take<sup>a</sup>; judges perverted the law in the

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Sibthorp preached a sermon of this nature, ("Apostolical Obedience,") at Northampton, Feb. 22, 1627, from Rom. xiii. 7, "Render therefore to all their dues;" and Dr. Roger Manwaring, preach-

ing before the king at Whitehall, maintained that "those who refused to pay the loan offended against the law of God, and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and re-

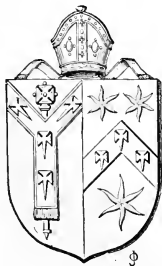
same spirit, and tunnage and poundage were levied, although they had only been granted for the late king's life. Forced loans were raised, those who refused to pay being imprisoned, or made to serve as soldiers or sailors, whilst the troops became mutinous for want of pay, and thus compelled a resort to martial law, which was misrepresented as if meant as a threat to the nation in general. In the midst of these difficulties a war was entered on with France, which was generally ascribed to some personal resentments of Buckingham, and in which, though he shewed headlong courage as a mere soldier, he discharged the office of general in a way calculated to expose the nation to contempt.

The expenses of the war obliged the king to call a third parliament in 1628. Their temper was in no manner changed, and, after a sharp struggle, they extorted the famous Petition of Right, in which the exactions and violences of former years were distinctly condemned; but the royal assent was given with such evident marks of reluctance, that a doubt of the king's sincerity was reasonably entertained. Shortly after, Buckingham was assassinated by a man who gave as his chief reason, the complaints of the parliament against him. Charles was thus more prejudiced than ever against parliaments, and he found two fitting instruments to his design of absolute monarchy in Bishop Laud<sup>b</sup> and Sir

bellion;" he also affirmed that the authority of parliament was not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies, and that the slow proceedings of such assemblies were prejudicial to the just designs of princes. His sermons were published under the title, "Religion and Allegiance;" but they occasioned so much discontent that the king was obliged to suppress them by proclamation, June 24, 1628.

<sup>b</sup> William Laud, the son of a Berkshire clothier, was born at Reading, Oct. 7, 1573, and was educated at the free-school of that town. He afterwards went to St. John's College, Oxford, and even when a student ventured to question the views of the Puritans, which drew upon him the censure of the vice-chancellor, Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He at length became chaplain to Bishop Neile, of Rochester, and was by

systematic disregard of holy places and seasons in which the Puritans indulged, which had reduced many churches to a condition of ruin, and had in too many places banished all decent order from the public service. Soon after, on the death of the duke of Buckingham, Laud was called to the king's council, and he had thenceforth a much larger share in the direction of public affairs than was suitable to his function; but, according to his own statement, this was against his will. It is certain, however, that he entered zealously on his new duties, and he bore the odium of devising many unwarrantable schemes for the improvement of the revenue, which he assisted to execute. He no doubt sincerely believed in the divine right of kings, and all its consequences of absolute lordship over the person and property of the subject; and finding these questioned, an unhappy infirmity of temper induced him to concur in any means, however arbitrary, which seemed likely to crush opposition, and render his master independent of parliaments. These expedients were successful for a while, but at length they utterly failed, when the king was compelled to call his last parliament, which met Nov. 3, 1640. Early in the following year the archbishop was impeached of treason by the Commons, and sent to the Tower, where he remained, exposed to many hardships, until his death. In March, 1643, charges were exhibited against him, accusing him of designs of overthrowing parliaments, and bringing about union with Rome. Prynne, a barrister, who had suffered from the Star-chamber, and was his personal enemy, had with malignant industry collected all the evidence of these designs that was procurable, seizing his private papers, and even his Prayer-book, and tampering with them to suit the views of his party; but after all, the proofs were so weak, though repeatedly brought forward, that the House of Peers were disinclined to convict him. The Commons, however, were resolved on his destruction, and at last, in November, 1644, with a degree of illegality and cruelty very far exceeding anything with which they charged him, he was attainted by an ordinance, and, in contempt of a pardon which the king had granted him, was beheaded Jan. 10, 1645, his last words being a solemn denial of the charge of affection for Rome. His body was buried in the church of Allhallows Barking, near the Tower, but in 1663 was removed to his college at Oxford. He had been for several years chancellor of that University, to which he gave many valuable MSS., where he also founded the Greek press, and where many other proofs of his munificent patronage of learning yet remain.



Arms of Archbishop Laud.

him introduced to the court of James I. Laud accompanied the king into Scotland in 1617, was active in promoting his views as to the restoration of episcopacy there, and was himself raised to the see of St. David's in 1621. In 1626 he was translated to Bath and Wells, and two years later to London, when he became virtually primate, his ancient opponent Abbot having fallen into disgrace, though he did not receive the title till 1633. Laud had ever had the cause of the Church at heart, and when he became a bishop, he set himself to work, with more zeal and good intentions than success, to remedy various evils which had sprung up, particularly the

Thomas Wentworth<sup>c</sup>, who had succeeded to much of Buckingham's influence, and who soon earned even greater unpopularity.

The parliament was dissolved early in 1629, and the king announced his intention of governing without one, a resolution which he kept, unhappily for himself and for his subjects, for more than eleven years. He, however, was not most to blame. The Commons, by their persevering refusal to grant supplies, had in reality commenced the contest, and reduced the king and his ministers to the necessity of attempting to raise a revenue in an unconstitutional manner. Some of the measures resorted to were odious and oppressive<sup>d</sup>; the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were seen to levy fines that were excessive, as if to replenish the Exchequer, and the common law courts affirmed the legality of notoriously unlawful demands. At length, having, as they too hastily conceived, crushed all opposition in England, Charles and his councillors attempted to complete the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland commenced by James I.; this was resisted by force

of arms, and the illegal means that had been so long practised being inadequate to maintain an army, the king was obliged, in 1639, to meet the representatives of his justly offended people. Unwarned by experience, however, the ill-advised king<sup>e</sup> speedily dissolved his fourth parliament, as he had its predecessors, before any funds had been granted. Urgent want of means, however, compelled him very soon to assemble another, the memorable Long Parliament, which met Nov. 3, 1640. Mindful of the fate of former assemblies, they procured an act [16 Car. I. c. 7], which deprived the king of power to prorogue or dissolve them without their own consent, and they soon became the paramount power in the state. They had before this seized on Archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford; they displaced and otherwise punished the judges and others who were charged with having acted illegally; obtained the suppression of the three obnoxious courts of Star Chamber, High Commission, and the Earl Marshal, and expelled the bishops from parliament, neither king nor lords venturing openly to resist

<sup>c</sup> He belonged to a wealthy Yorkshire family, but was born in London in 1593. After an education at Cambridge, and foreign travel, he was knighted by James I., and sat in several parliaments for Yorkshire. He made himself conspicuous by his opposition to the measures of the court, was on one occasion chosen sheriff to prevent his having a seat in the House of Commons, and at another was imprisoned for refusing to contribute to a forced loan. Ambition, however, was his ruling passion, and he was induced to forsake his party by the offer of a peerage. On July 22, 1628, he was created baron Wentworth, afterwards viscount Wentworth (Dec. 10, 1628), and was made lord president of the Council of the North. This had been an arbitrary court from the first, but his instructions went beyond those of all former presidents, and, according to Clarendon, were opposed to every principle of law, yet they did not appear to give him power enough. In 1633 he was removed, by his own wish, to Ireland, where he established a perfect despotism, and also raised an army which was generally supposed to be intended to crush that resistance that it was expected would sooner or later be made to the king's illegal measures in England. When the Scottish troubles commenced, Wentworth dealt with a high hand with such of that nation as had settled in Ulster, and was afterwards summoned to England to take the field against them. He was now created earl of Strafford (Jan. 12, 1640), but he was unpopular with his own army, and unable to effect anything. The Scots manifested extreme hatred against him, and they were eagerly seconded by Pym and others, whom he had forsaken so many years before. He wished to remain at a distance from the parliament; but the king insisted on his attendance, and gave a promise of protection which he was unable to keep. Strafford had hardly taken his seat in the House of Lords, when he was impeached as "that great fire-

brand." (Nov. 18, 1640), and sent to the Tower. In the April of the next year he was convicted of treason, not according to the course of law, but by an attainder to which the peers were forced to agree by popular violence. The king was with great difficulty brought to consent to his execution, chiefly, it is alleged, through the sopistry of Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who drew an odious distinction between his private conscience as a man and his public conscience as a king. Strafford had himself offered his life as a means of peace between the king and his subjects, but apparently did not expect to be taken at his word, as when told that the warrant was signed he exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation!" but soon calmed himself. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, May 12, 1641, and he died, as a contemporary, who had conducted the process against him (Whitelock), says, "with charity, courage, and general lamentation." He left a son, William, who was restored to his title by Charles II., and lived till 1695, but took no part in public affairs.

<sup>d</sup> In defiance of the act of the last reign (see A.D. 1624), there were created, "monopolies of soap, salt, wine, leather, sea-coal, and, in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use." "Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws . . . obsolete laws were revived and rigorously executed, wherein the subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to inquire what was his own." Such is the only palliation which even Clarendon can offer for the system pursued; how that system was viewed by the nation in general is but too manifest in the unhappy result.

<sup>e</sup> Clarendon remarks that the great misfortune of Archbishop Laud was the want of a true friend; the same remark applies with still greater force to his royal master.



them, though the former listened to proposals for employing force against them; but his measures were foiled by the activity and address of the popular leaders. He next attempted to seize on Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hampden, and others, but failed, and then thought it advisable to quit London. At length the parliament demanded that the power of raising the militia should be placed in their hands, but as this would have rendered them absolute, the king refused his consent; and then, most fatally for himself and his people, he appealed to the sword, setting up his royal standard at Nottingham, Aug. 25, 1642.

In the lamentable civil war that followed, the parliament had great advantages, both in men and money. The king was supported by the Church, by the Universities, and by the great body of the nobility and gentry, and their tenants in the rural districts; while the adherents of the parliament were the Puritans of every grade, including several gentlemen of moderate estates, and many small freeholders, and the chief part of the population of larger towns; money was readily obtained "on the public faith," and their levies, in which the London apprentices formed a conspicuous part, were, by the able management of Skippon<sup>f</sup> and other soldiers of fortune trained in the German wars, soon rendered more than a match for the undisciplined valour of the cavaliers.

Through the whole course of the contest, the parliamentary leaders acted with promptitude and decision, whilst vacillation and weakness too commonly marked the course of the king and his advisers. He had no sooner withdrawn from London than they openly assumed all the powers of government, the details of which were carried out by numerous Committees,

which usually met in the city<sup>g</sup>. Each House by its votes regulated a variety of matters independently of the other, but the more important affairs were settled by Ordinances, which began, "The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, taking into their consideration . . . do hereby ordain."

By such instruments the new rulers seized on the power of the sword (Feb. and Mar. 1642<sup>h</sup>), levied heavy weekly assessments for the support of their army and the relief of the wounded, the widows and orphans (March 4, 6, 1643), and a rate for fortifying the city of London<sup>i</sup> (March 7, 1643); imposed an excise (July, Sept. 1643), and established courts-martial (Aug. 17, 1644). They confiscated the estates of "all persons ecclesiastical or temporal" who appeared in arms against them, or voluntarily contributed to the king's service (Mar. 31, 1643), treated those who attempted to stand neuter as enemies (May 7, 1643), forbade quarter being given to Irishmen taken in England (Oct. 24, 1644), and when the war was closed, ordered all "papists, officers, and soldiers of fortune, and other delinquents," to remove from London, under the pains of treason (May 6, 1646; July 9, 1647; June 16, 1648).

Their government, which spread every year more widely over the country, not merely retained, but aggravated, all the worst features of that which they had cast off. In direct violation of the Bill of Right<sup>k</sup>, they made numberless forced levies of horses and arms (May 23, 1643, &c.); gave powers to their generals to press men into their service (June 10, 1645); passed a most tyrannical ordinance to "repress disorders in printing<sup>l</sup>;" and after imprisoning by mere arbitrary votes any who ventured to present addresses that were distasteful, they passed a rigid law (May 20, 1648)

<sup>f</sup> Philip Skippon had raised himself from the ranks in the wars of the Low Countries. He commanded the armed force which reinstated the five members (justly described by Lord Clarendon as the first scene of the civil war), enjoyed the confidence of the Londoners, and served throughout the struggle with courage and success. He was made one of Cromwell's peers, and died shortly before the Restoration.

<sup>g</sup> See Note, p. 388.

<sup>h</sup> These are the earliest dates relating to each step of their usurpation; but many other ordinances, which it is unnecessary to particularize, were subsequently passed to give effect to their designs.

<sup>i</sup> The rate was 2d. in the pound on large rents, and 6d. each on small houses. Similar ordinances were afterwards made for Exeter, Yarmouth, the Isle of Wight, and other places.

<sup>k</sup> See A.D. 1628.

<sup>l</sup> Parties were empowered to break open doors and locks, by day or by night, in order to discover unlicensed printing presses, and to apprehend authors, printers, binders, and others. This ordinance was not more effectual than the Star-chamber decree of 1637, and books, pamphlets, and newspapers were published daily, which condemned their illegal rule in language as little measured as their own.

against "tumultuous petitioning," the very means by which their own power had been first established.

To keep alive the interest in their cause they imposed a contribution of a meal a-week towards the support of their troops, and ordained a monthly fast<sup>m</sup> (March 26, 1644), beside numerous occasional ones; they also prohibited public amusements (Oct. 22, 1647), but were obliged, by the clamour of the London apprentices, to allow the second Tuesday in each month as a day of recreation, instead of the customary festivals and holydays, which had been suppressed as superstitious and vain (June 8, 1647).

The parliament had, long before the king's departure, shewn their irreconcilable hostility to the Church and its ministers<sup>n</sup>, and had done everything in their power to banish all decency and order from the public service of God. They now appointed an Assembly of Divines (June 12, 1643), ordered a systematic defacement of churches under

the pretext of "removing monuments of superstition or idolatry" (Aug. 28, 1643), "regulated" the University of Cambridge<sup>o</sup>, and removed "scandalous ministers" (Jan. 22, 1644). In forgetfulness of their professed regard for "tender consciences," they imposed the Covenant<sup>p</sup> on all classes, beginning with the judges and lawyers, and disabling all refusers to practise any liberal profession, or hold any public employment (Jan. 30, Feb. 2, 1644<sup>q</sup>); substituted the Directory for the Prayer-book (Jan. 3, Aug. 23, 1645); forbade any preaching, except by persons allowed by both Houses (April 26, 1645); set up the presbyterian form of Church government (June 5, 1646); formally abolished episcopacy (Oct. 9, 1646), and sold the bishops' lands (Nov. 16, 30, 1646), paying their most active instruments with the proceeds<sup>r</sup>, thus making the plunder of the Church directly contributory to the ruin of the State,—a lesson that should not be forgotten.

## NOTE.

### PURITAN ASCENDANCY.

It is proposed to give here some account of the manner in which the Puritans, whilst in the temporary possession of power, defaced the noblest edifices of the land, in effect closed the Universities and annihilated learning, and inflicted the most atrocious hardships on many thousands of families, among whom were to be found some of the wisest and best men that our country can boast of, both in Church and State.

#### I. COMMITTEES.

The Committees spoken of in the text were very numerous, and they were indeed, though acting in subordination to the Houses of Parliament, the recognised departments of the government. The halls of the Haberdashers, Goldsmiths, Grocers,

Saddlers, and others, were occupied by them, the committee of sequestrations sitting in the first, the committee of compositions in the second, a committee of accounts in the third, and a military committee in Derby House, on the site of the College of Arms<sup>s</sup>. But the most important was the Grand Committee of Religion, which was divided into numerous sub-committees, (as the Committee of Scandalous Ministers, for the coercion of the loyal clergy, and the Committee of Plundered Ministers, for the benefit of such of their own party as had been formerly deprived or silenced,) and these had branches spread all over the country, so that it was soon remarked that the Puritans had destroyed one Starchamber and one High Commission, only to establish infinitely

<sup>m</sup> This was apparently distasteful to some of their own party, as Whitelock remarks, under date March 31, 1647, "Very long prayers and sermons this monthly fast-day, as usual."

<sup>n</sup> See Note, pp. 389, 391.

<sup>o</sup> Oxford was then in the king's hands; when it came into theirs it was treated with the extremity of rigour by a committee of Visitors, appointed by ordinance May 1, 1647. See Note, p. 431.

<sup>p</sup> See A. D. 1638.

<sup>q</sup> They had imposed the Covenant in London before this (Aug. 17, 1643), as a kind of invitation to the Scots, and on Dec. 20 of the same year they

disabled all dissentients.

<sup>r</sup> Sir Arthur Haselrigge thus received so much of the Church property in the north, that he was familiarly known as the Bishop of Durham.

<sup>s</sup> This was the property of one of their most active opponents, the earl of Derby; the houses of other equally obnoxious parties were converted into gaols. The members of this committee were, the earls of Essex, Northumberland, Holland, and Pembroke, and Lord Saye, with 10 members of the House of Commons, namely, Fiennes, Glynne, Hampden, Holles, Marten, Meyrick, Pierrepont, Pym, Stapleton and Waller.

worse tribunals<sup>t</sup> in fifty different places. These local committees<sup>u</sup>, the members of which are charged in numerous publications of the time with enriching themselves both with plunder and with bribes, were the great engines of oppression, particularly to the clergy, and they were guilty of profanations and barbarities which might well seem incredible, were they not, unhappily, attested by indisputable evidence, both from the perpetrators and the sufferers.

## II. DESECRATION OF CHURCHES.

One of the earliest steps of the Long Parliament was, in effect, to denounce all the clergy as "scandalous," and to issue injunctions having no other end than the profanation of holy places<sup>v</sup>. The inquisitorial Committee of Scandalous Ministers was erected to deal with the clergy, and to deface the churches. Commissioners were appointed, concerning whose proceedings we have the unexceptionable testimony of one of their own number,

William Dowsing<sup>x</sup>, of Stratford, whose very curious Journal has been preserved, and gives us the heads of his dealing with the churches of about 150 parishes in the associated counties. He commenced his proceedings Jan. 9, 1644<sup>y</sup>, in the town of Sudbury, breaking the windows and the organs, taking down crosses, levelling chancels, and tearing up "brazen superstitious inscriptions;" which latter it is fair to conclude that he sold, as he tells us that 19 such at Wetherden weighed 65 lb; he also "rent hoods and surplices," and dug down the steps of the chancels, or left his orders for it to be done in a limited time. In general his proceedings were aided by the "godly men of the parish," and he received a fee of 6s. 8d., which in some cases was reduced to 4s. 6d. or 3s. 4d. He had been anticipated in some places, where he records "nothing to be done." But he sometimes met with opposition; five times he enters "no noble;" sometimes it was promised, but not paid, in

<sup>t</sup> The constitution of these committees appears from the instructions issued, Feb. and March, 1643, by the earl of Manchester to certain persons in each of the associated counties (*i.e.* the eastern counties, from Essex to Lincoln). The committees were to consist of not more than ten nor less than five persons, who were to have 5s. a-day for their attendance. They were to be "speedy and effectual" in the discharge of their office; were to call to their assistance some "well-affected men" in each hundred, and inquire into the lives, doctrine, and conversation of all ministers and schoolmasters, "the parishioners in general being not forward to complain of their ministers, though scandalous." They were to proceed against all ministers who were said to be scandalous in their lives or doctrines, non-resident, ignorant, idle, lazy, or ill affected to the Parliament. In conducting their inquiry, they were directed to take the depositions of witnesses without the accused being present, but if he desired it, they were to let him have a copy of the accusations, at his own charge, while the accusers were to be "encouraged" to come forward by being free from all charges and fees. The person accused might put in an answer, but without being confronted with the witnesses; and when condemned, as was reasonably expected to be the case, his name was to be returned to the earl with that of his proposed successor, "an able person, having a testimonial from the well-affected gentry and ministry."

<sup>u</sup> The following letter from the committee at Ashford, Kent, to Richard Fogge, esq., of Tilmanstone, shews one of the means resorted to, to raise funds for the cause: (the spelling is modernized).

"Sir, You cannot be ignorant of the great charges this country hath been at in the suppressing several rebellions, and in maintaining so many regiments of auxiliaries for their necessary defence upon all occasions, besides the taxes to the Parliament (amounting to £9,700 and upwards a month), which has contracted a great debt upon the country, and of the hazard of life and fortunes the well-affected have run all this while for the common good, of which you must needs partake as well as they. Of the advantage you have had of them in sitting still, and the countenance to rebellion within the country, and to all the malignant party abroad, which you and your party have given by your backwardness in the Parliament service; and there-

fore cannot but think it reasonable that you should extend yourselves as well towards the recompense of those public damages, also to some proportionable counterpoise of these disadvantages of the well-affected, yet we, being desirous rather to receive a pledge of your future better inclination than a forfeiture for your past malignity, do expect from you, by the 25th of this month, the sum of £30, to be paid in to the Treasurer at Ashford: and in default whereof we shall be enforced to make use of the authority given us by Ordinance of Parliament, for levy of a greater sum. Your friend, ANTHONY WELDON (signed in the name and by the command of the general Committee)."

<sup>v</sup> The curious MS. in the British Museum, called "The Journal of Nehemiah Wallington," a London citizen, may be taken as not unfairly representing the feeling of the Puritans in general in these matters. Speaking of his own immediate neighbourhood, he says,—

"On the beginning of October, 1641, at Leonard's Eastcheap, being our church, the idol in the wall was cut down, and the superstitious pictures in the glass were broke in pieces, and the superstitious things and prayers for the dead in brass were picked up and broke, and the picture of the Virgin Mary on the branch of candlesticks was broke. And some of those pieces of broken glass I have to keep for a remembrance, to shew to the generation to come what God hath done for us, to give us such a reformation that our forefathers never saw the like: His name ever have the praise!"

<sup>x</sup> Under the name of John Dowsing, he is mentioned as breaking the painted windows in the public schools, libraries, colleges, and halls at Cambridge, ("mistaking, perhaps, the liberal arts for saints," says the author of *Querela Cantabrigien-sis*;) and digging down and defacing the floors of the chapels, and then, by armed force, extorting a fee of 40s. from each society where he had committed these ravages.

<sup>y</sup> This date shews that the people in general were not inclined to destroy the ornaments of the churches, as all such had been condemned as "reliques of idolatry" as early as Jan. 23, 1641, by an order of the Commons. Yet we see that the majority of the churches remained uninjured three years later, and were only ruined by the exertions of such men as Dowsing and his associates.

other cases positively refused; and in one place (Cochie) he was obliged to leave divers pictures in the windows, as the people would not assist him to raise the ladders to reach them; in another (Ufford), he was kept out of the church for above two hours by churchwardens, sexton, and constable, whose names are duly recorded, manifestly for punishment, as he had already sent another person (John Pain, churchwarden of Cornearth) to the earl of Manchester, "for not paying, and doing his duty enjoined by the ordinance."

Dowsing's account of what he did at Ufford may give an idea of the general appearance of English churches up to this time:—

"We brake down thirty superstitious pictures\*, and gave direction to take down 37 more, and 40 cherubims to be taken down of wood, and the chancel levelled. There was a picture of Christ on the cross, and God the Father above it; and left 37 superstitious pictures to be taken down; and took up six superstitious inscriptions in brass."

This was at his first visit, Jan. 27; he returned Aug. 31, and found that the "superstitious pictures" had not been broken down; he continues:—

"Some of them we brake down now. In the chancel we brake down an angel, three '*Orate pro anima*' in the glass, and the Trinity in a triangle, and twelve cherubims on the roof of the chancel, and nigh a hundred JESUS—MARIA in capital letters, and the steps to be levelled. And we brake down the organ-cases, and gave them to the poor. In the church there was on the roof above a hundred JESUS and MARY in great capital letters, and a crossier-staff to be broke down in glass, and above twenty stars on the roof. There is a glorious cover over the font, like a pope's triple crown, with a pelican on the top picking its breast, all gilt over with gold."

Dowsing records with satisfaction the vast number of "superstitious pictures" that he destroyed—1,000 in Clare, 841 in Bramham, 150, 100, or less, in other places. He allows that at Ufford he was charged with "going about to pull down the church;" but we must turn to the narratives of some of the sufferers, if we would form a just idea of the barbarism and profanity which were exhibited by the "godly men" in each sacred edifice in succession, as it fell into their power.

Bishop Hall, in his "Hard Measure," thus describes the devastation of his cathedral at Norwich:

"The sheriff Toftes and Alderman Lindsay, attended with many zealous followers, came into my chapel to look for superstitious pictures and relics of idolatry, and sent for me to let me know they found those windows full of images, which were very offensive, and must be demolished. I told

them they were the pictures of some famous and worthy bishops, as St. Ambrose, Austin, &c. It was answered me, that they were popes; and one younger man among the rest (Townsend, as I perceived afterwards) would take upon him to defend that every diocesan bishop was pope. I answered him with some scorn, and obtained leave that I might, with the least loss and defacing of the windows, give order for taking off that offence, which I did by causing the heads of those pictures to be taken off, since I knew the bodies could not offend. There was not care and moderation used in reforming the cathedral church bordering upon my palace. It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Lindsay, Toftes the sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here, what clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what tearing up of monuments, what pulling down of seats, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves, what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only the cost of the founder and the skill of the mason; what tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ-pipes; and what a hideous triumph on the market-day before all the country, when, in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession, all the organ-pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross, which had been newly sawn down from over the Greenyard pulpit, and the service-books and singing-books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service-book in his hand, imitating, in an impious scorn, the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the church. Near the public cross all these instruments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire, not without much ostentation of a zealous joy in discharging ordinance, to the cost of some who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news, upon this guild-day, to have the cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the mayor's return, drinking and tobaccoing as freely as if it had turned alehouse."

To much the same effect is the letter of Dr. Paske, sub-dean of Canterbury, to the earl of Holland, dated Aug. 30, 1642, written not merely to describe the ravage that had been already made, but also to implore protection for the future:—

"Col. Sandys, arriving here with his troops on Friday night (Aug. 26), presently caused a strict watch and sentinels to be set both upon the church, and upon our (the clergy's) several houses. . . . The next morning we were excluded the church, and might not be permitted to enter, for the performance of our divine exercises, but about 8 of the clock Sir Michael Livesey, attended with many soldiers, came unto our officers, and commanded them to deliver up the keys of the church to one of their company, which they did, and thereupon he departed, when the soldiers entering the church and choir, giant-like began a fight with God Himself, overthrew the communion-table, tore the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the godly screen or tabernacle-work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, brake down the ancient rails and seats, with the brazen eagle which did support the Bible, forced open the cupboards of the singing men, rent some of their surplices, gowns, and Bibles, and carried away others, man-

\* We learn from his entry at Trembley, Aug. 21, how very comprehensive was this term:—"There was a friar with a shaven crown praying to God in

these words, *Miserere mei, Deus*, which we brake down;" in other cases, the "superstitious pictures" were those of the apostles.

gled all our service-books and books of Common Prayer, bestrewing the whole pavement with the leaves thereof, a miserable spectacle to all good eyes; but as if all this had been too little to satisfy the fury of some indiscreet zealots among them (for many did abhor what was done already), they further exercised their malice upon the arras-hanging in the choir, representing the whole story of our Saviour, wherein observing divers figures of Christ (I tremble to express their blasphemies), one said, Here is Christ, and swore that he would stab Him; another said, Here is Christ, and swore that he would rip up His bowels; which they did accordingly, so far as the figures were capable thereof, beside many other villanies: and not content therewith, finding another statue of Christ in the frontispiece of the south gate, they discharged against it forty shots at least, triumphing much when they did hit it in the head or face, as if they were resolved to crucify Him again in His figure, whom they could not hurt in truth; nor had their fury been thus stopped, threatening the ruin of the whole fabric, had not the Colonel, with some others, come to the relief and rescue: the tumult appeased, they presently departed for Dover, from whence we expect them this day."

These citations may give a faint idea of the wanton damage done to the noblest edifices of the country, and we may be thankful that it was not even worse; for we learn from Whitelock that the propriety of pulling down the whole of the cathedrals was discussed, while he was a member of the Council of State, and it is not clear what secondary cause prevented such an irreparable loss to the country.

Though belonging to a later period, it may be here noticed that the Journals of the House of Lords in Ireland bear witness that similar or even greater profanations of churches were practised in that country. On June 3, 1662, one Constantine Neale, a merchant of Wexford, was by the House ordered to restore the bell of Arklow church, then in his possession; and under the date of Sept. 26, 1662, we read,—

"The churchwardens of Tallaght, in the county of Dublin, exhibited their petition unto the Right Hon. the House of Peers, setting forth that the church of Tallaght, in the year 1651, was in good repair and decently ordained, with convenient pews, with a pulpit, font, and other necessities, and also paved with hewed stone, all which cost the parishioners £300 sterling; and that about the same time Capt. Henry Alland, coming to quarter there with his troops, pulled down or caused to be pulled down the roof of the said church, and converted the timber thereof for the building a house to dwell in, in the county of Kildare, and converted the slates of the said church to his own use, and caused the paving-stones thereof to be carried to Dublin, to pave his kitchen entry, and other rooms in his house; fed his horses in the font, and converted the same, with the seats and pews of said church, to his own use, to the great dishonour of God, the shame of religion, and the petitioners' damage of £300 sterling."

The House pronounced the offender guilty of sacrilege, and ordered him to pay £100 toward the reparation of the church.

### III. SUFFERINGS OF THE ROYALISTS, MORE PARTICULARLY OF THE CLERGY.

The nobility and gentry who supported the king were, when conquered, treated with the extremity of rigour. By an ordinance passed early in the war, (March 31, 1643,) the estates of all such were declared confiscated, and though this was not, for various reasons, fully carried out, the compositions that they were allowed to make for their "delinquency" were ruinously heavy, and beside, did not protect them from farther arbitrary impositions whenever the finances of their opponents required replenishing. The woods of the Cavaliers were felled whenever a supply of ship-timber was required; their houses were wantonly ruined; their titles were prohibited; but perhaps the most signal proof of the barbarity of their opponents is to be found in a vote of the Commons, after the surrender of the royal garrisons, and when the king was in the hands of the Scots: it bears date Dec. 8, 1646, and declares, "That all who shall raise forces against the Parliament or either House hereafter shall die without mercy, and have their estates confiscated." Yet this avowed government by the sword did not daunt the spirits of some brave men. They took up arms again and again, and a member of a peaceable profession is recorded by Whitelock to have told them unpardonable truths to their faces. He says, under date Feb. 21, 1647-8,—

"Judge Jenkins, brought to the bar of the House, refused to kneel, denied their authority, told them that they wronged the king, willing that the laws might be protected, that there could be no law without a king, and used high expressions against the parliament and their authority. The House fined him £1,000 for his contempt.

"At another time, when his charge was read against him at the bar, for giving judgment of death against men for assisting the parliament, and for being himself in arms against the parliament, and persuading others to do the like, and for denying the power of the parliament, &c., and asked what he had to say thereunto, he told them, that they had no power to try him, and he would give no other answer."

It is, however, of the sufferings of the clergy that we are best enabled to speak, as they have been collected, mainly from their immediate descendants, by the industry of the Rev. John Walker\*, and they

\* In his work entitled "An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, &c., who were Se-

questered, Harassed, &c., in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion," folio, published in 1714, in reply to Calamy's "Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, &c., ejected or silenced after the Restoration in

will be found to present examples of every imaginable hardship and cruelty.

As a preliminary to their systematic persecution, the most atrocious calumnies were circulated against the whole body, both high and low<sup>b</sup>, and they were thus exposed to the violence of mobs, which not unfrequently terminated in death. Many, justly alarmed, fled from their homes, when they were charged with deserting their cures, and, if taken, were treated as the worst of criminals. Hundreds thus perished in gaols, others were imprisoned in ships, and alarmed with threats of selling them as slaves either to the Barbary pirates or the American planters; yet the only matters that could be truly charged against the majority of them were, that they retained their loyalty to the king, and ventured to use the services of the Church, contrary to the commandment of their new rulers.

From the very beginning of the troubles the parliament had shewn an implacable hostility to the episcopal order, and the sufferings of the whole body were most severe. Of the two archbishops, one was put to death, and the other, as well as sixteen bishops, died in poverty, and nine only lived to see the Church and the monarchy restored<sup>c</sup>. As proof of the hardships to which they were subjected, it will be sufficient to cite the testimony of Bishop Hall (from his "Hard Measure"), for, agreeing as he did in theology with the Puritans, it is hardly to be supposed that he fared worse than his brethren; indeed, we know that he was, after being plundered, allowed to live in com-

parative peace, while Bishop Wren was long imprisoned, and Bishops Pierce and Prideaux<sup>d</sup> were so rigorously used by the sequestrators as to be reduced to absolute want.

"In the April following [1643], he says, "there came the sequestrators to the palace, and told me that by virtue of an ordinance of parliament, they must seize upon the palace, and all the estate I had, both real and personal, and accordingly sent certain men appointed by them (whereof one had been burned in the hand for the mark of his truth<sup>e</sup>), to appraise all the goods that were in the house; which they executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures, out of their curious inventory; yea, they would have appraised our wearing clothes, had not Alderman Tooley and Sheriff Rawley (to whom I sent to require their judgment concerning the ordinance in this point) declared their opinion to the contrary. These goods, both library and household stuff of all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to public sale."

Of the sufferings of another dignified clergyman, Dr. Richard Sterne, master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and afterwards archbishop of York, we have the following account in a letter of his from his prison in Ely House, Oct. 9, 1643:—

"This is now the fourteenth month of my imprisonment: nineteen weeks in the Tower, thirty weeks in the Lord Petre's house, ten days in the ships, and seven weeks here in Ely House. The very fees and rents of these several prisons have amounted to above £100, beside diet and all other charges, which have been various and excessive, as in prisons is usual. For the better enabling me to maintain myself in prison and my family at home, they have seized upon all my means which they can lay their hands on. . . . And all this while I have never been so much as spoken withal, or called either to give or receive an account why I am here. Nor is anything laid to my charge (not so much as the general crime of my being a

1660. An epitome of Walker's book, styled "The Sufferings of the Clergy during the Great Rebellion" was published in May, 1662, in anticipation of the proposed Bicentenary Commemoration of the "Bartholomew confessors" in that year.

<sup>b</sup> Many of these calumnies are collected in a book printed by authority of the Parliament in 1643; it is entitled, "The First Century of Scandalous Malignant Priests," and was drawn up by John White, a lawyer, who was chairman of the Grand Committee. Some of the charges are too odious to be credited, particularly as no steps were taken to punish the alleged criminals, except expulsion, which was also the lot of others against whom nothing worse was alleged than "following Bishop Wren's fancies;" yet all are indiscriminately styled "scandalous."

The language which the presbyterian preachers held regarding the clergy may be judged from the following passage from a discourse delivered by Thomas Case, in Milk-street, in 1643:—"Idol, idle shepherds, dumb dogs that cannot bark, unless it were at the flock of Christ; and so they learned of their masters both to bark and bite too; greedy dogs, that could never have enough, that did tear out the loins and bowels of their own people for gain; swearing, drunken, unclean priests, that taught nothing but rebellion in Israel, and caused people to abhor the sacrifice of the Lord; Arminian, popish, idolatrous, vile wretches, such as, had Job been alive, he would not have set with the dogs

of his flock; a generation of men they were, that had never a vote for Jesus Christ." Of the bishops he says,—"Look into their families, and they were for the most part the vilest of the diocese, a very nest of unclean birds. In their courts and consistories, you would have thought you had been in Caiaphas's hall, where no trade was driven but the crucifying Christ in His members." This Case is also known by a profane parody of the offertory sentences, which he employed to solicit supplies for the Parliament. He was connected with Love, in his intrigues, but escaped punishment by making a most abject submission, was one of the "Bartholomew confessors" ejected in 1662, and lived twenty years after.

<sup>c</sup> For some details on this subject, see Appendix, No. V.

<sup>d</sup> An anecdote of Bishop Prideaux, preserved by Walker, shews that he bore his poverty with Christian cheerfulness. "Towards the latter end of his life, a friend coming to see him, and saluting him in the common form of 'How doth your lordship do?' 'Never better in my life,' said he, 'only I have too great a stomach; for I have eaten that little plate which the sequestrators left me, I have eaten a great library of excellent books, I have eaten a great deal of linen, much of my brass, some of my pewter, and now I am come to eat iron, and what will come next I know not."

<sup>e</sup> That is, had been branded in court as a felon. See A.D. 1529.

malignant), no, not in the warrant of my commitment. What hath been wanting in human justice, hath been, I praise God, supplied by Divine mercy. Health of body, and patience, and cheerfulness of mind, I have not wanted, no, not on shipboard, where we lay, the first night, without anything under or over us but the bare decks and the clothes on our backs; and after we had some of us got beds, were not able, when it rained, to lie dry in them, and when it was fair weather, were sweltered with heat, and stifled with our own breaths, there being of us in that one small Ipswich coal-ship<sup>1</sup> (so low-built, too, that we could not walk or stand upright in it,) within one or two of three score; whereof six knights, and eight doctors in divinity, and divers gentlemen of very good worth, that would have been sorry to have seen their servants, nay, their dogs, no better accommodated. Yet among all that company, I do not remember that I saw one sad or dejected countenance all the while; so strong is God, when we are weakest."

Of Dr. Layfield, the nephew of Archbishop Laud, and archdeacon of Essex, a friend relates, apparently from his own statement, that—

"he had at one time or other been confined in most of the gaols about London; the longest time a prisoner in Ely House, and at last, in the company of others, clapt on shipboard under hatches, and not suffered to have the benefit of the air upon the decks without paying a certain price for it. They were threatened to be sold slaves to the Algerines, or to some of our own plantations; but whether this was pretence or real design, their liberty was offered them for £1,500 a man; but such a sum being above their poor fortunes, it was brought down at last to £5 each; which the doctor, with some others, whether not willing or not able to comply with, refused; and so, as no purchase could be got of them, after a year's confinement, and the worst indignities offered them, they were turned ashore for nothing."

Such was the condition of those who refused to sacrifice their consciences to preserve their benefices. Others did make this sacrifice, but, as might have been foreseen, it availed them little. The payment of their tithes was very generally refused, as an "old Jewish institution" unfitted for the children of "the new light," and thus they were deprived of the principal part of their maintenance. They were also perpetually harassed and exposed to danger from the wild fanaticism of the soldiers in particular, who often thrust them from their pulpits, and occupied them themselves; the Covenant was next imposed, which hundreds who had hitherto complied refused, and so were expelled. After the lapse of some years, the Engagement (acknowledging the Commonwealth) followed, which drove out almost to a man what yet remained of the episcopally ordained ministers, and being also refused by the great body of Presbyterians, nearly every pulpit in the land was at length delivered over to sectaries whose wild blasphemies threw into the shade even

the atrocious discourses of such men as Henderson and Love, and Marshall and Peters, which had been so greatly instrumental in bringing about the unhappy civil war.

The names and conditions of some of the men intruded into the benefices vacated are recorded in Walker. We find among them, soldiers, tinkers, cobblers, weavers, (one of whom appeared in the pulpit with a sword at his side,) stay-makers, glovers, nailors, saddlers; a ballad-singer, a lawyer's clerk, an apothecary's apprentice, a butler, two coachmen, and a ship-carpenter, who, when ejected, left behind him at the rectory of Sampford Peverell, a table of his own making. Most of them were as illiterate as might be expected, and "the mark of Arthur Okely, rector of West Mersea," testifies that one at least of them could not write his name.

With an affectation of humanity, the parliament by an ordinance of Aug. 19, 1643, gave power to its sequestering committees to allow one-fifth of the profits of the livings to the families of the ejected clergy, but this it appears remained a dead letter, though re-enacted Jan. 22, 1644, and Nov. 11, 1647; for it was clogged with so many conditions, that few ever received benefit from it. In the first place, the incumbent must peaceably deliver up possession, and an angry word even from his wife or children was held contrary to this, and fatal to their claim; next, he must remove out of the parish, and, if required, take an oath to obey all the orders of the committee as to his residence and conduct; then, the claim must be made by the wife in person, so that widowers, and men with sick wives, however large their families, were excluded. With so many means of evasion in the ordinances themselves, it is easy to see how hopeless the case of the clergy was. Add to this, that the committees, composed as they were of furious "anti-prelatists," seldom chose to exert their power, and when they did, the intruders usually refused to pay the pittance, often treating the applicants with scorn as well as cruelty. One of them refused the fifth on the plea that the incumbent was dead, and maintained the same to his face, telling him he was "dead in trespasses and sins." Another answered a child sent to supplicate him, and who told him that her parents would starve without he paid the pittance, that "starving was as near a way to heaven as any;" and Vavasour Powell, the chief sequestering commissioner in Wales, replied to

<sup>1</sup> It was called the Prosperous Sailor; the prisoners were nearly murdered by the rabble when sent on board it, at Wapping.

an application for relief for clergymen's children, that "they were Babylonish brats, whose heads should be dashed against the stones, and so should they have their fives."

An anecdote which Walker has preserved may serve to shew what an utter mockery these fives were allowed to be, even by the Puritans themselves. By a long course of violent usage, the Rev. William Hales, of Glaston, Rutlandshire, was at last forced to leave his cure, and retire with his wife and six children, and

"his books and household goods being seized on by several parties of horse, were again three times bought by his wife and friends. The last party of horse entered in their inventory the pot hanging over the fire, upon which the good gentlewoman asked them whether they intended to enter the beef and pudding boiling in it for the children's dinner? they said, No; for they intended to eat that themselves when their business was over. Then she said, 'Pray, gentlemen, be pleased to enter my children among the rest of the goods.' 'No,' said they, '*we intend to leave them to you in lieu of your fives*;' and they were as good as their words."

Of men thus driven from their churches and their homes, plundered of their property, exposed to every other imaginable hardship and cruelty, and their lives per-

petually endangered, it is not wonderful to find that very many forsook their sacred office, and either joined the king's forces even as soldiers, or endeavoured to gain a living by the most servile occupations. Several are mentioned as small farmers, one as a lime-burner, another as a hedger and ditcher, and another as a hawk of tobacco. Others felt themselves happy in obtaining less unsuitable employment. Many became physicians, and more school-masters; but even this last resource was barbarously denied to them under the Protectorate, and it seems certain that several then perished from absolute starvation. A case very nearly approaching it is related by the son of Dr. Higgins, archdeacon of Derby, who writes, that after his father's school was prohibited,

"had it not been for the benevolence of good people, who filled our hungry bellies when we knew not where to have a morsel of bread, I think we had been famished and starved: I myself, not having tasted a bit of bread two or three days, have been glad to satisfy my hunger by eating crabs and leeding on the fruits of the hedges, which I did as savourily as if they had been dainties, so extreme was my hunger; we distributing that little we had betwixt my father and the smaller children, they being not so well able to endure the sharp bitings of famine as we were."

To the firm and orderly, though illegal government of the Parliament, the king could only oppose divided, and in some cases certainly dishonest counsels. His courtiers, his generals, even his sons and nephews, made parties for themselves, and thwarted the most prudent measures by their mutual jealousies; and the various classes of his supporters were actuated by very different motives<sup>g</sup>. Though many of the House of Peers and some of the House of Commons repaired to him, he was unable to keep long on foot the semblance of a parliament<sup>h</sup>; his own solemn declarations prevented his attempting to levy taxes without this, and thus he was obliged to depend on the voluntary gifts of his adherents; they, however, answered to his call, and fought at their own cost, while the

Universities contributed their plate<sup>i</sup>, and the crown jewels were sold.

The first battle in the civil war (at Edgehill, Oct. 23, 1642) was indecisive, but the king soon after gained signal advantages, and it seemed likely that he would surmount his difficulties, as he repeatedly promised a legal course of government for the future, and many of those who fought against him had no intention of carrying matters to extremity. But they had raised a storm that they could not direct. The extreme party ("the root and branch men") called in the Scots, and after a time Cromwell and a few of his associates thrust themselves to the head of affairs, remodelled the army, totally defeated the royal forces, broke the power of the Parliament, and got the king into their own hands.

<sup>g</sup> Some (as Sir Edward Verney, his standard-bearer, killed at Edgehill) supported him from a feeling of loyal duty, though not approving of his measures. Others (as many Romanists) joined him for protection from the violence of the Parliament. A third party adhered to him but feebly, fearing that a decided overthrow of their adversaries would bring back all the oppressions of former years.

<sup>h</sup> His parliament at Oxford held two sessions,

and imposed taxes which in general could only be gathered as military contributions.

<sup>i</sup> The plate of the colleges at Oxford (amounting to at least £6,000), was granted by vote of convocation, Jan. 31, 1643, and £2,000 worth more was contributed by individual members of the university. Much of the plate of Cambridge was intercepted by the parliamentarians.



Various attempts had before been made at treaties between the king and the parliament<sup>k</sup>. The latter now renewed them, and, to gain the king's support against their own revolted instruments, were ready to accept terms which they had before declined; the Scots, and the chiefs of the army, also professed to negotiate with him, and he was led to believe that he could act as umpire; it may, however, reasonably be doubted whether either party was sincere, and it is certain that the king became the victim. After a time the negotiations were broken off, and the king fled to the Isle of Wight. Here they were resumed, and promised peace, when the military, confident in their strength, and unhappily not repugnant to any act of violence or cruelty, reduced the parliament to a mere assembly of their own creatures, terrified the peers from interfering, and then brought their king before a new-created tribunal, called a High Court of Justice, condemned, and executed him; he being beheaded in front of his own palace at Whitehall, on Tuesday, Jan. 30<sup>1</sup>, 1649. His body was carried to Windsor, and there buried in St. George's chapel, Feb. 8<sup>m</sup>.

Very shortly after his accession, Charles married the princess Henrietta Maria of France, a woman of beauty and spirit, but unfortunately the cause of many of the troubles of his reign. The marriage treaty had stipulated for such lenity towards the English Romanists as greatly offended the Puritans; the queen's gay disposition also was distasteful to them; some of her husband's most unwise steps were supposed to be taken in deference to her; and she became so unpopular that an impeachment was prepared against her by the Commons, and she judged it prudent to leave the

country. She greatly exerted herself to raise supplies abroad for her husband, and revisited England whilst the war raged, but in 1644 withdrew to France, where she remained in neglect and poverty until the restoration of Charles II. This event she survived several years, dying at Colombe, near Paris, Sept. 10, 1669.

Their issue were—

CHARLES and JAMES, who became kings.

Henry, born July 8, 1640. With his sister Elizabeth he fell into the hands of the Parliament, but was allowed to leave England in 1652, when he repaired to his brother Charles, by whom he was created duke of Gloucester. He returned at the Restoration, but died soon after, Sept. 13, 1660.

Mary, born Nov. 4, 1631, was, when but ten years old, married to Prince William of Nassau; their only child was William, prince of Orange (afterwards William III.) The princess visited England at the Restoration, and, like her brother Henry, died in the same year (Dec. 24, 1660).

Elizabeth, born Dec. 28, 1635, died in confinement at Carisbrooke Castle, Sept. 8, 1650. She was buried at Newport, in the new church of which a monument has been erected to her memory by her present Majesty.

Henrietta Maria, born June 16, 1644, at Exeter, was very shortly after carried abroad by her mother, and was educated as a Romanist. She married Philip, duke of Anjou (brother of Louis XIV.), managed political intrigues between the courts of England and France, and died very suddenly, not without suspicion of poison, shortly after her return from a journey on such business, June 30, 1670.

Charles, born 1629, and Anne, born 1637, died young.

Charles I. used the same arms and

<sup>k</sup> As at Oxford in 1643, and at Uxbridge in 1645.

<sup>1</sup> On the Restoration an act was passed [12 Car. II. c. 30.] for the solemn observance of this, as the day of his "martyrdom." A service was accordingly drawn up, and continued in use till the year 1859, in which it is to be regretted there were many expressions that gave just offence to religious persons, who yet heartily abhorred the deed of blood.

<sup>m</sup> The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindsay, obtained leave from "those who governed" to attend the funeral of their master. They brought with them Bishop Juxon, who had attended the

king on the scaffold, but he was not permitted to read the burial service, as he had intended. The king's body was laid in the grave, says Clarendon, "without any words or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders." Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed, with these words only, "KING CHARLES, 1648." When the coffin was placed in the grave, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and the earth filled in, which the governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church, which had long ceased to be used for divine service.

supporters<sup>a</sup> as his father, but he revived the ancient motto, DIEU ET MON DROIT.



Arms of Charles I.

The character of King Charles has been drawn by his zealous adherent, Lord Clarendon, as little short of perfection as a man, though with some blemishes as a king; blemishes, however, betokening tenderness rather than severity, and therefore not likely to give occasion to the calamities that befell him. According to him, the king's greatest fault was distrust of his own judgment, and hence he often changed his own opinion for a worse, and followed the advice of those who did not judge so well as himself; Whitelock, the Parliamentarian, says the same. This facility had doubtless much to do with his misfortunes, and he was also unhappy in the choice of his councillors<sup>o</sup>; but these causes are not in themselves sufficient to account for the strange and deplorable events that have made his reign so memorable. The concessions which circumstances at various times extorted from him he evidently considered derogatory to his royal dignity; and his conduct with regard to the Petition of Right proved that he did not consider himself bound to adhere to the most solemn engagement when he had the power to break it. His first parliament, however, shewed a distrust of him, before he had done anything to deserve

such treatment, which had the natural effect of causing him to distrust them. The breach grew wider with each successive meeting, and at length ill-judging friends persuaded him to attempt absolute rule; but the remedy proved worse than the disease, as it eventually laid him open to the violence of the army without any defence in the affections of the great body of his people.

A.D. 1625.

Charles succeeds to the throne, March 27. He marries the princess Henrietta of France, June 13.

The parliament meets May 17, but is soon after removed to Oxford, on account of the plague then raging in London. The king desires supplies for the war with Spain; instead of granting them, the Commons require an account of the last subsidies, and the redress of various grievances concerning religion.

An act passed "for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lord's Day, called Sunday<sup>p</sup>," [1 Car. I. c. 1].

Dr. Montague's book, "Appello Cæsarem," is censured by the Commons, as containing matters contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the author held to bail to answer any charges against him<sup>q</sup>.

Some English ships are lent to the French king, (July 28,) to be employed against the Protestants at La Rochelle<sup>r</sup>.

The king again urges the Commons for supplies. They instead complain of mismanagement of public affairs, and impute the war with Spain to the ill conduct of the duke of Buckingham. The king soon after dissolves them, Aug. 12.

The king raises money by a general loan, and dispatches a fleet, and troops,

<sup>a</sup> Except in the instance of the Exchequer seal already mentioned. See p. 368.

<sup>o</sup> Some were hateful to the people as Romanists, or favourers of Rome, as Weston, earl of Portland, the treasurer, Lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary; and some must have been scandalously dishonest, if Clarendon's statement is to be believed, that of £200,000, raised in a year by the illegal methods practised, scarce £1,500 came to the king's use or account.

<sup>p</sup> This statute was particularly directed against the Sunday sports allowed by King James (see A.D. 1618). Persons frequenting such assemblies

were to pay a penalty each time of 3s. 4d., or to be set in the stocks.

<sup>q</sup> The king expressed great resentment at this interference in a matter which he considered belonged only to himself and the clergy, and it was one cause of the dissolution of the parliament which speedily followed.

<sup>r</sup> The sailors, among whom puritanical opinions greatly prevailed, very generally deserted the vessels, which were thereby rendered almost useless. The Commons were much irritated against the duke of Buckingham, who was believed to be the author of the scheme, and resolved to prosecute him.

under Lord Wimbledon<sup>s</sup>, to intercept the Spanish treasure-ships.

The armament, which consisted of 80 ships, with 10,000 soldiers on board, was commenced in April, 1625, and was intended to be dispatched in May, but the conduct of the Commons in refusing supplies, prevented its being ready before October, when it suffered severely from bad weather. Cadiz was reached on October 22, and a fort stormed the next day, which so alarmed the Spaniards, that they sank ships to block up the harbour. The troops on shore becoming disorderly, were re-embarked, and the fleet cruized for three weeks in search of the treasure-ships, without falling in with them. Want of provisions then compelled them to return to England, which they reached in miserable plight, bringing the plague with them. The general and his officers mutually accused each other of incapacity or cowardice. The soldiers were kept embodied for want of money to pay and discharge them, and were billeted in private houses, which occasioned great discontent.

The great seal is taken from Williams, bishop of Lincoln<sup>t</sup>, and given to Sir Thomas Coventry, Oct. 25.

A.D. 1626.

All persons possessed of £40 a-year ordered to present themselves to receive knighthood<sup>u</sup>, before Jan. 31.

A new parliament assembles, Feb. 6. Care had been taken to prevent several of the eminent men of the last parliament from sitting in this, by appointing them as sheriffs<sup>v</sup>; but this stratagem failed in its effect. The Commons steadily refused to grant supplies<sup>x</sup>, until their grievances<sup>y</sup> had been redressed; they renewed the

complaint against Montague, and also preferred articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham, Feb. 23, which they presented to the Peers, May 8. These charged him with buying and selling offices and titles; procuring extravagant grants from the king, and also embezzling his treasure; extorting money from the East India merchants, plundering seized ships, and neglecting the guard of the coast; lending ships to the French king; and closed with an insinuation, rather than a charge, of his having procured the death of King James, the plaster and potions which he was said to have administered, being "deemed to be an act of transcendent presumption and of a dangerous consequence."

The king sends Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, who had appeared as the managers of the impeachment, to the Tower, May 10.

The Commons refuse to proceed with business, and after some delay their members are released.

The earl of Arundel (Thomas Howard)<sup>z</sup> is imprisoned by order of the king, but is released after several petitions from the House of Lords, June 8.

The earl of Bristol (John Digby) is accused of treason, by the king's order, May 1. He makes answer, and brings counter-charges against the duke of Buckingham, accusing him as the cause of the war with Spain. The king interferes, and wishes to proceed against Bristol in the courts of law, but is hindered by the remonstrance of the House of Lords.

The duke of Buckingham makes answer to the articles against him; the Commons are dissatisfied, and pe-

<sup>s</sup> Edward Cecil, a new-made peer, and a grandson of Lord Burghley. He had served with credit in the Netherlands, but he now did so little that he was on his return, by a play on his name, styled General Sit-still. The earl of Essex, afterwards the Parliamentary general, was the second in command.

<sup>t</sup> He was believed to incline to the Puritanical party, and had had a quarrel with Buckingham, his former patron.

<sup>u</sup> See Note, p. 407.

<sup>v</sup> Among them was Sir Edward Coke, lately a judge. He was obliged to serve, but he had his revenge by taking exception to several parts of the sheriff's oath, and he procured the omission of a clause which bound him to destroy Lollards. The bishop of Lincoln and the earl of Bristol, known opponents of Buckingham, had their writs withheld, and were thus prevented at first from attend-

ing the parliament; but they complained to the House of Lords, and were then allowed to take their seats.

<sup>x</sup> The king urged them by message to grant money; and, with reference to their charges against Buckingham, said, "I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me."

<sup>y</sup> These grievances consisted, among others, of an alleged countenance of the Romanists; the sale of honours and offices; the employment of a part of the navy against the Rochellers, and the neglect of the rest, so that the seas had become unsafe to the merchants; misemployment of the revenue; and the many high and important offices held by the duke of Buckingham.

<sup>z</sup> He was the son of the earl who died in the Tower in 1595. His son had married the daughter of the duke of Lenox without the royal permission.

tition the king to remove him from his councils. Instead, the parliament is dissolved, June 15, and the presentation of a Remonstrance which had been drawn up, reiterating the charges against the duke, prevented<sup>a</sup>.

Some subsidies had been promised, but this hasty dissolution prevented their formal grant. The king was without funds to carry on the war with Spain, and, by the advice of his council, he took steps to raise funds in open violation of the well-known privileges of parliament. He issued a commission (July 26) for levying "customs, subsidies, and imposts" as in the last reign, required loans and benevolences, and appointed commissioners to compound with recusants. The city of London and the seaports were directed to furnish ships, men were pressed for seamen or soldiers, and, to check their disorders, martial law was enforced on them. Some persons who refused to lend money were imprisoned, and others sent to serve in the fleet. Upwards of 100 ships were raised by this means and sent to sea, under the earl of Denbigh (William Feilding); but he acted so weakly or corruptly, as greatly to inflame the popular discontent, suffering many English merchantmen to be captured before his eyes<sup>b</sup>, and releasing Spanish and Flemish vessels which had been taken by his own men.

The queen's foreign attendants<sup>c</sup> are dismissed by the king in July, which is one ground of the subsequent war with France.

Persons having habitations near the sea-coasts ordered to reside there for their defence, July 10.

A.D. 1627.

Cardinal Richelieu<sup>d</sup> undertakes the siege of La Rochelle, the strongest town of the French Protestants. They apply to England for aid, and war is accordingly declared against France.

The duke of Buckingham sails with a fleet and army to La Rochelle. The townsmen distrust his intentions, and decline to admit him.

The duke lands his forces in the Isle of Rhé, July 12. He ineffectually besieges the citadel, and is at last obliged to retire with great loss, Oct. 12.

Five of the gentlemen imprisoned for refusing the loan<sup>e</sup> apply, without success, to the judges for release, Nov. 28.

Noblemen and gentlemen ordered to leave London, and reside on their estates in the country<sup>f</sup>, Nov. 28.

A.D. 1628.

Dr. Lamb, a supposed spy of the duke of Buckingham, killed in the Old Jewry, March 12<sup>g</sup>.

A third parliament meets, March 17, and sits till June 26. Among its members were several gentlemen who had been imprisoned, or otherwise ill-treated, for refusing the forced loan<sup>h</sup>, and votes were speedily passed, affirming the illegality of imprisonment without cause fully shewn, and of taxes imposed without the authority of parliament.

The Commons hold conferences with the Lords, and petition for the execution of the laws against Romish recusants<sup>i</sup>, which the king promises. They also pass votes against impi-

<sup>a</sup> On June 17 a proclamation was issued, commanding all persons who had copies of the Remonstrance to burn them. On the day before, an equally futile prohibition of the spread of "new opinions in religion" had been issued.

<sup>b</sup> A list drawn up in 1628 states the loss at 260 ships, valued with their cargoes at £197,000.

<sup>c</sup> There were several priests among them, whose proceedings gave much offence to the Puritans. Their dismissal was intended to conciliate these people, but it failed to produce that effect.

<sup>d</sup> Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, belonging to a noble Poictevin family, was born in Paris in 1585. He became almoner to Mary de Medicis, and afterwards secretary of state. By adroit management he ruled Louis XIII. and his queen, but he exalted the royal power, and crushed the Huguenots. He made war with success on both Spain and Austria, and intrigued with the Scottish covenanters, in revenge for the assistance given to La Rochelle. He was, like Wolsey, a great builder, and he bequeathed his noble structure, the Palais

Royal, in Paris, to the king. He died Dec. 4, 1642.

<sup>e</sup> They were Sirs John Corbet, Thomas Darnel, Walter Earl, Edward Hampden, and Thomas Heveningham. The judges declared that "a special mandate from the king" was a sufficient cause for their detention, which was justly regarded as equivalent to affirming that both the liberty and the property of the subject were absolutely dependent on the royal will, and was resented as an open violation of Magna Charta. See A.D. 1215.

<sup>f</sup> Many disobeyed this order, and were in consequence heavily fined in the Star-chamber.

<sup>g</sup> See A.D. 1632.

<sup>h</sup> Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards earl of Strafford) was one of the number.

<sup>i</sup> In consequence, an act was passed [3 Car. I. c. 3] "against sending any to be popishly bred beyond the seas," which directs the provisions of the statutes [3 Jac. I. cc. 4, 5] made after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (see A.D. 1606) to be strictly enforced. This, however, was not done,

sonment, except by due course of law, and employment against the subjects' will in the king's service; and after further conferences with the Lords, at length draw up the Petition of Right, condemning the recent illegal practices, which the king is with much difficulty brought to agree to<sup>k</sup>.

The Commons draw up a Remonstrance, accusing Bishops Laud and Neile of favouring popery. They attribute their other grievances to the evil counsels of the duke of Buckingham, and pray for his removal from the king's service.

Dr. Manwaring's sermons<sup>l</sup> are suppressed by proclamation, June 24.

The king grants special marks of favour to Drs. Montague and Manwaring; orders the Star-chamber proceedings against the duke to cease, "being satisfied with his innocency;" declares that "he cannot want tunnage and poundage," though not granted to him; and soon after adjourns the parliament, June 26.

Bishop Laud is translated from Bath and Wells to London, July 11; when he becomes in fact primate, as Archbishop Abbot is under suspension<sup>m</sup>.

The duke of Buckingham is assassinated at Portsmouth<sup>n</sup>, Aug. 23.

The king orders tunnage and poundage to be levied. Several merchants refuse to pay, when their goods are seized and themselves imprisoned<sup>o</sup>.

La Rochelle taken, Oct. 28<sup>p</sup>.

A.D. 1629.

Dr. Montague's "Appello Cæsarem" suppressed by proclamation, Jan. 17.

The parliament meets Jan. 20. Though greatly urged by the court party, they refused to grant supplies until they had discussed grievances in religion<sup>q</sup>. They were at length dissolved, March 10<sup>r</sup>, after having voted (March 2), "that whoever should bring in innovation of religion, popery or Arminianism, and any that should advise the taking of tunnage and poundage not granted by parliament, or that should pay the same, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom<sup>s</sup>."

The king publishes a Declaration, justifying his proceedings, and also a Proclamation, which is understood as proving his intention to govern in future without parliaments, March 27.

Before the parliament was dissolved, Sir John Eliot, Mr. Selden, and several other members, were summoned before the privy council, and committed to

and the sums raised by compounding with recusants formed an important part of the royal revenue during the many years that parliaments were in abeyance.

<sup>k</sup> He sent messages to the Houses, desiring them to trust to his royal word, promising to observe the laws, and confessing that Magna Charta and the statutes confirming it were in force. The Lords were inclined to give way, or at least to add a proviso, saving the king's "sovereign power:" but the Commons objected to the term, and the bill was presented. The king gave answer (June 2), that right should be done according to the laws and customs of the realm. This was by both Houses pronounced unsatisfactory, and Charles at last (June 7) gave the formal assent, by which the petition was converted into a statute [3 Car. I. c. 1].

<sup>l</sup> See p. 384.

<sup>m</sup> His suspension was on the plea of ill health, but it was popularly attributed to his refusal to license the sermon of Dr. Sibthorp (see p. 384).

<sup>n</sup> He was preparing to embark on an expedition for the relief of La Rochelle. The assassin was John Felton, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had served in the army at the Isle of Rhé, but had been disappointed as to promotion. He stated, however, that he had been chiefly actuated by the Commons' remonstrance, which pointed out the duke as the great enemy of the king and the kingdom. Though threatened with the rack, he made no disclosure as to having any confederate. He was executed at Tyburn, Nov. 28, 1628.

<sup>o</sup> They appealed to the judges. Those of the King's Bench discharged one person (Alderman Chambers), said to be committed for insolent words spoken at the council table, but the barons of the Exchequer ordered his goods to be seized, as they

did with many others, and he was again imprisoned, and remained in confinement above six years. See A.D. 1640.

<sup>p</sup> This event caused great discontent in England, it being considered that the king's officers had not given the place the support they ought to have done, and it was bitterly alluded to by the Puritans on very unsuitable occasions (see A.D. 1630). La Rochelle had almost a republican government under a charter granted by Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II., and its fall was believed not to be displeasing to the court party. The French Protestants now lost all political influence, but an Edict of Grace was issued in July, 1629, which restored some of their privileges, in the expressed hope of their return to the Romish Church.

<sup>q</sup> They particularly alluded to the favour shewn by the king to Montague and Manwaring; and one member, Oliver Cromwell, then obscure, though afterwards but too well known, complained of the bishop of Winchester (Richard Neile) as an encourager of popery.

<sup>r</sup> The king was so unwise as to use coarse and irritating language on this occasion. "He spake to the lords," says Whitelock, "courting them, and said it was merely the seditious carriage of some vipers, members of the lower house, that caused the dissolving of this parliament, but he commended others of the commons."

<sup>s</sup> The speaker (Sir John Finch, afterwards chief justice, and lord Finch of Fordwich) had a few days before declined to put the question that the seizing of goods for tunnage and poundage was a breach of privilege. He now declared that he was ordered to adjourn the House, but he was held in the chair, and the door locked whilst this vote was passed.

the Tower (March 5), and informations were afterwards exhibited against them in the Starchamber. They applied to the court of King's Bench for liberation, but were instead removed to other prisons, and their cause thus postponed until the autumn, when the judges declared they were entitled to be bailed, but must give sureties for their good behaviour, which they refused to do, and so were sent again to the Tower. It was intimated to them that if they would petition for their discharge they would be set at liberty; but they declined the offer, and an information was then laid against them in the King's Bench for a conspiracy to sow discord between the king and his people<sup>1</sup>. Other members of the House, however, were brought over to the king's interest by the gift of office; Noy and Littleton were made attorney and solicitor-general, Sir Dudley Digges master of the rolls, and Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir John Savile privy councillors.

A.D. 1630

The case of Sir John Eliot and the rest is brought forward in the Court of King's Bench. The prisoners deny the jurisdiction of the court, and when this is affirmed, refuse to plead further. They are then condemned to heavy fines, to make submission and acknowledgment of their offences, and to remain in prison until they give security for their good behaviour.

Commissioners appointed to com-

pound for defects in titles to estates<sup>2</sup>, May 27.

A new proclamation issued, commanding the nobles and gentry to reside on their estates in the country<sup>3</sup>, June 20.

A peace is concluded with France, April 14, and with Spain, Nov. 15<sup>4</sup>.

Dr. Alexander Leighton is set in the pillory, by sentence of the Starchamber, and imprisoned, for writing a book called "Zion's Plea against the Prelates<sup>5</sup>," Nov. 26.

The king and his advisers had now fairly entered on their fatal course of absolute government. In lieu of acts of parliament, proclamations were issued, which were declared to have the force of laws; the monopolies which had been abolished in the last reign were re-established, and new ones devised; and compositions for not appearing to receive knighthood were levied to a very large amount. "Obsolete laws were revived," says Clarendon, "and rigorously executed," and "unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot;" nearly the same parties sat in different rooms as the Council, the Starchamber, and the High Commission Court, and by playing into each others' hands, they reared a fabric of unbearable oppression. The judges, too, with some honourable exceptions<sup>6</sup>, had the baseness to pervert the laws to the views of the court, and thus shut out the people from any hope of a peaceable redress of their grievances.

<sup>1</sup> The king ordered certain questions to be propounded to the judges as to the responsibility of parliament-men to answer out of parliament for their conduct there. The judges replied that they were responsible, but Judge Whitelock, his son says, "did often and highly complain against this way of sending to the judges for their opinion beforehand," and appears to have attributed the step to Bishop Laud.

<sup>2</sup> This was one of the questionable expedients resorted to, to raise money. It in effect was an inquiry regarding every estate in the kingdom, and occasioned great discontent.

<sup>3</sup> The same effects followed as from the proclamation in 1627, and large sums were raised as penalties from the contumacious.

<sup>4</sup> In neither of these treaties was any care taken for the interests of the Protestants abroad, in whose

cause the wars were avowedly begun.

<sup>5</sup> This work, which was on the title-page stated to be "printed in the year and month wherein Rochelle was lost," not only assailed the bishops, but stigmatized the queen as "a Canaanite and an idolatress." The author, who was a Scottish divine, was twice whipped and branded, had his ears cut off, his nose slit, and suffered nearly eleven years' imprisonment. He was released by the Long Parliament, and made keeper of Lambeth palace (then used as a prison); he was alive in the year 1646, but how long after is uncertain. His son Robert became archbishop of Glasgow in the time of Charles II.

<sup>6</sup> The judges Croke and Whitelock were excepted from the censures pronounced on their brethren at the commencement of the Long Parliament.

## NOTE.

## FINES FOR DECLINING KNIGHTHOOD.

UNDER the feudal system every holder of land was bound to a certain amount of military service, and if the holding was of considerable extent he was usually honoured with the title of knight. Men were found, however, even in early times, who looked on the honour as a burden, and they had to be presented by the sheriffs, some of whom, in 1256, were fined for neglecting this duty. At that time all holders of land of the yearly value of £15 were summoned to receive knighthood. In 1279 (March 12) commissioners were appointed by Edward I. to inquire who ought to be knighted. The qualification had been raised to £20 in 1277, and in 1292 it was raised to £40, at which sum it remained until the abolition of the obligation. Under each intervening reign summonses to attend and receive knighthood (mainly at coronations) are to be found, but the practice was evidently not very rigidly enforced. On the contrary, fines for its "respite," as it was called, were often resorted to, as when funds were required for some extraordinary occasion. Henry VIII. by a statute of 1512, imposing a kind of income-tax, rated knights at 30s. for every 20s. paid by the untitled gentry, and thus made it the interest of the latter to avoid the rank that would so materially increase their burdens; hence a moderate composition was readily paid by many, as on the occasion of the coronation of Anne Boleyn. But the legal obligation still subsisted, and when Charles' fourth parliament had been dismissed without voting the ne-

cessary supplies, the ministers determined to avail themselves of it. Accordingly, on May 29, 1629, commissioners were appointed to ascertain the persons bound to attend and receive knighthood, and to "tax and assess them for having respite." From a certificate of the commissioners in Derbyshire the matter seems to have proceeded but slowly, as up to November, 1630, but £2,421 6s. 8d. had been paid into the Exchequer from that county, and £800 of compositions agreed to, remained unpaid. Of the persons summoned before the commissioners some denied the fact of their being possessed of the requisite estate, some claimed exemption as Barons of the Cinque Ports, and others contested the king's right to make the demand. The judges, however, affirmed the legality of the same, and the threat of a summons before the Council seems usually to have been sufficient to produce compliance. Oliver Cromwell paid £10, and his perhaps was a case of yielding to pressure, as his name appears to have been inserted after the Huntingdonshire list was made up. The composition in general seems to have been £10, which entailed a large sacrifice of future revenue for the sake of present money, and so was very advantageous to the payers; but to this was sometimes added a fine of equal or even larger amount, in case of non-attendance on the commissioners, &c. The total sum raised is stated at £173,537 9s. 6d. The Long Parliament, in 1641, passed an act [16 Car. I. c. 20], prohibiting the issue of such writs.

## A.D. 1631.

St. Catherine Cree church, in the city of London, is consecrated, with much ceremony, by Bishop Laud<sup>b</sup>, Jan. 16.

A commission granted to the archbishops, the bishop of London (William Laud) and others, for the restoration of St. Paul's cathedral<sup>c</sup>, April 10.

Riots in the forest of Dean, when many new-made inclosures are thrown down, and other mischief done, June. The leaders were disguised as women, and their followers styled themselves "Lady Skimmington's men."

George Huntley, rector of Stourmouth, in Kent, who had been imprisoned by the Court of High Commission, is set at liberty by the judges,

<sup>b</sup> This formed a very prominent charge against him on his trial twelve years after.

<sup>c</sup> This noble edifice had been greatly neglected and desecrated in the two preceding reigns; some of the chapels had been pulled down, others let out as workshops, and the body of the church was a common lounge for idlers and bad characters. Bishop Laud was particularly active in procuring

funds for the good work; he contributed largely himself, gained help from the Universities, as well as from Sir Paul Pindar and other wealthy laymen, and, by the king's permission, appropriated to the restoration the fines imposed in the High Commission Court, but these amounted to no large sum, and the chief effect was, to add to the unpopularity of that tribunal.

and brings an action against the commissioners for false imprisonment<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 1632.

The city of London fined 1,500 marks for alleged neglect of duty<sup>e</sup>.

Courts of justice-seat are held to inquire of infractions of obsolete forest laws and encroachments, by which great fines are imposed and heavy rents exacted<sup>f</sup>.

A.D. 1633.

The "feoffices for impropriations" censured in the Starchamber, and their livings forfeited to the crown.

William Prynne<sup>h</sup> is committed to the Fleet<sup>i</sup> for his book "Histriomastix," a condemnation of plays, supposed to reflect on the queen, who sometimes took part in the masques and similar diversions of the court.

The city of London fined £50,000 in the Starchamber, and their plantation in Ulster seized into the king's hands, for some alleged neglects in its management, March 8.

The collection of money for alleged charitable purposes without licence forbidden by proclamation, March 21.

The king visits Scotland<sup>k</sup>, and is crowned there, June 18. He returns to England early in August.

One reason for this journey was to defeat a scheme of detaching Scotland from his obedience, which there was reason to think was entertained by the marquis of Hamilton (James Hamilton<sup>l</sup>); another, to complete the restoration of episcopacy commenced by James I., and to introduce the English Liturgy. The king founded the bishopric of Edinburgh, and bestowed high offices on several prelates, but left the introduction of the Liturgy unat-

<sup>d</sup> He had, two years before, refused to preach at a visitation, though ordered by the archdeacon. For this breach of canonical obedience he was (June 25, 1629) deprived of his benefice (which he had held for nearly 20 years), fined and imprisoned, but the judges declared that his offence subjected him only to ecclesiastical censures, and thus emboldened him to sue the commissioners. The king sent for the judges, and ordered them not to entertain the action against the commissioners, but they pleaded the obligation of their oath; and, after some further argument before the council, it was agreed that the commissioners should plead. Accordingly an order was made for the attendance of both parties in the Court of King's Bench, in Easter term, 1632, but the result apparently was not favourable to Huntley, as, on Oct. 10, 1634, he wrote to Noy, the attorney-general, urging him to take up his cause, and assuring him that he might get £100,000 for the king from the commissioners, so illegally had they acted. Noy, however, declined to interfere. Huntley, early in the next year procured a writ of *habeas corpus* against Sir Henry Marten, one of the commissioners, but the only result was, that his attorney, George Merefield, was committed to prison, as having obtained the writ "by undue means." On his petition, pleading his "youth and ignorance," he was released, Jan. 13, 1635. Huntley was alive, and probably unbeneited, in 1641, as the parishioners of Stourmouth then petitioned the Long Parliament that he might be restored. If he was, he had but a brief tenure, as Edward Warde became rector, Feb. 9, 1645.

<sup>e</sup> The neglect alleged was in regard to the death of Dr. Lamb, who in 1628 was so ill-used in the streets of the city, that he died in consequence. (see p. 398), but no magistrate appeared to quell the tumult, nor was any one then punished for it. The reviving of the matter, however, at such a distance of time was looked on as a mere expedient to raise money.

<sup>f</sup> These courts were held before Henry Rich, earl of Holland, as chief-justice in eyre south of Trent. They inquired into and punished alleged encroachments of three to four hundred years' standing; and, according to the preamble of the act passed in 1641, "for the certainty of Forests," [16 Car. I. c. 16,] "endeavoured to set on foot

forests where in truth none have been, or ought to be, or at least have not been used of long time."

<sup>g</sup> This was a self-constituted corporation of twelve members, which raised subscriptions avowedly to purchase impropriate rectories, and thereby relieve the poverty of the Church. They, however, devoted their funds to the support of Lecturers in towns, styled by them a "faithful preaching ministry," who were uniformly Puritans; hence Bishop Laud laboured to procure their suppression. The scheme had been devised by Dr. John Preston, a noted preacher (born at Northampton in 1587, he became Master of Emmanuel College in 1622, and died July 20, 1628,) at Cambridge, where he had gained the favour of James by his skill in disputation.

<sup>h</sup> He was a Somersetshire man, born in 1600, and educated at Oxford, where he studied the law. He was a friend of Preston, the Puritan, and being conspicuous for moving for prohibitions to stop proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, the heavy punishment inflicted on him was popularly, though probably unjustly, attributed to the influence of the archbishop. Prynne was expelled from the university and the bar, placed in the pillory, where his ears were cut off, and sentenced to imprisonment until he made a more complete submission than suited his temper. He, in February, 1634, presented a petition, in which he acknowledged that he had given "great and just offence to the King, Queen and whole State," but this was not deemed sufficient. His confinement, however, was by no means rigid. He was allowed the attendance of his servant (Nathaniel Wickens), and was permitted to go abroad, attended by a keeper. By the connivance of this man, he procured the printing of several offensive works, which were widely circulated; and this led to his second trial and punishment in 1637.

<sup>i</sup> He was removed to the Tower, Feb. 24, 1634.

<sup>k</sup> On the way he visited the remarkable establishment at Little Gidding. See Note, p. 403.

<sup>l</sup> He was of the blood royal, being descended from a daughter of James II. Charles refused to credit the accusations against him, and afterwards employed him to negotiate with the Covenanters, but his conduct therein was so ambiguous, that



tempted<sup>m</sup>, from scruples as to appearing to interfere with the independence of Scotland.

Lord Wentworth is appointed deputy of Ireland, July 3<sup>n</sup>.

Bishop Laud is translated to the see of Canterbury, August. He is suc-

ceeded as bishop of London by Bishop Juxon<sup>n</sup>.

The Book of Sports of King James<sup>p</sup> is again published by royal authority, Oct. 18, which is displeasing to many beside the Puritans<sup>q</sup>.

## NOTE.

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FERRARS AT LITTLE GIDDING.

LITTLE GIDDING is a rural parish in Huntingdonshire, near Stilton, which at the present day has but twelve houses and only 53 inhabitants<sup>r</sup>. The church, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, which is very small, brick-built, and nowise remarkable externally, is fitted with oak stalls and panelling like a college chapel; it has painted windows, in which the royal arms, those of the see of Lincoln, those of the Ferrars, and others, appear; monumental brasses, and an altar-tomb; a font, a lectern, and a credence-table, all of brass; a communion-table of cedar, silken carpets and tapestry, and sacred vessels of silver. Of these, some were bestowed by the late lord of the manor, (Mr. Hopkinson, of Stamford,) but the majority are memorials of Nicholas Ferrar and his family.

This remarkable man, the second son of a wealthy merchant, was born in London Feb. 22, 1593, and was early so distinguished for piety and amiability of disposition, that he was familiarly known as Saint Nicholas. He was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards passed several years in foreign travel for the benefit of his health, which was weak from childhood. He took an active part in the affairs of a company for colonizing Virginia and converting the natives, and also sat for a short time in parliament; but the plague in 1625 occasioned the withdrawal of his whole family from London to Little Gidding, which his mother (then a widow) had recently purchased. On Trinity Sunday, 1626, he received the order of deacon from the hands of Bishop Laud; and thenceforth

when he repaired to the king at Oxford, after the war had broken out, he was sent a prisoner into Cornwall, where he remained until released by the parliamentary forces. In 1648, however, he headed

all Scots who had taken the Covenant from Ireland, and thus earned the hatred of their nation, which pursued him to the scaffold.

<sup>p</sup> William Juxon, a native of Chichester, born in 1582, was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, and became President there. He was a friend of Bishop Laud, and by his influence was removed in 1633 from the see of Hereford, before consecration, to that of London, was also made lord treasurer, and received many marks of the favour of Charles I., whom he attended on the scaffold. At the Restoration he was translated to Canterbury, but held the primacy a very short time, dying in his eighty-first year, June 4, 1663. Though his secular office in the time preceding the civil war was distasteful to many, a contemporary (Whitelock) bears this honourable testimony to Bishop Juxon's character: "He was a person of great parts and temper, and had as much command of himself as of his hounds;" [he much delighted in hunting:] "he was full of ingenuity and meekness, not apt to give offence to any, and willing to do good to all."

<sup>q</sup> See A.D. 1618.

<sup>r</sup> Some rainisters refused to read it. One of them (Laurence Snelling, rector of Paul's Cray, Kent) was deprived of his living and excommunicated for disobedience in this particular by the High Commission Court in 1637.

<sup>s</sup> The parish has an area of 713 acres, entirely in pasture; the population was sixty-four in 1821, forty-five in 1841, the same in 1861; and fifty-three in 1871. The value of the property has been very little affected by the lapse of more than two centuries. The Ferrars let out the whole, except their manor-house and grounds, on ten-year leases at £500 per annum; and in 1845 a parliamentary paper shews that it was valued to the property-tax at £556 for the lands, and £113 10s. for the houses.



Crest of Hamilton.

the Scottish army which invaded England in the cause of the king, but was defeated and captured, and was beheaded early in 1649. His brother William, the second duke, was killed in the royal cause at Worcester.

<sup>m</sup> After his return, orders were sent for the use of the English Liturgy in the king's chapel in Edinburgh, but the council did not think it prudent to comply with the direction.

<sup>n</sup> He held this office until 1639, when he was created lord lieutenant. His administration was altogether despotic, and marked by many acts of violence and cruelty. He endeavoured to expel

he devoted himself to maintaining in the household a course of prayer, orderly living, and charity, which had much the appearance of the monastic rule, and which gained for the establishment, partly from ignorance, but more from wilful misrepresentation, the name of "the Arminian Nunnery<sup>s</sup>." Under this appellation it was denounced to the Long Parliament in 1641; some marks of the king's favour which it had received added to the number of its enemies, and it was forcibly broken up soon after the civil war commenced. "Religion and loyalty were such eyesores," says Dr. Hackett, the biographer of Bishop Williams, "that all the Ferrars fled away, and dispersed, 'and took joyfully the despoiling of their goods.' All that they had restored to the Church<sup>t</sup>, all that they had bestowed upon sacred comeliness, all that they had gathered for their own livelihood, and for alms, was seized upon as a lawful prey, taken from superstitious persons."

When the Ferrars took possession of their purchase, in 1625, they found the tithes alienated, and the church desecrated and used as a barn. Their first care, even before they made their manor-house habitable, was to cleanse the church, and fit it again for divine service; and, in consequence of the pestilence, they obtained permission from their diocesan (John Williams, bishop of Lincoln,) to use the Litany daily, the service being at first conducted by the rector of the adjoining parish of Steeple Gidding, but after his ordination by Nicholas Ferrar. These week-day services were rarely attended by any other than their own household, but on Sundays and festivals, the rector (having concluded the prayers at his own church) repaired to Little Gidding, and preached a sermon, being usually accompanied by many of his parishioners, particularly the children<sup>u</sup>; the Ferrars went to Steeple Gidding in the afternoon.

The inmates of the house consisted of Mrs. Ferrar, and her son Nicholas; a son (John) and a daughter (Mary), both married, and a son-in-law (John Collett);

many grandchildren, and some servants; three schoolmasters, and some alms-widows, making altogether about forty persons. They all (except Nicholas Ferrar) rose at four in the morning in summer, and at five in the winter, and, except the watchers, retired to rest at eight in the evening. Beside private prayer night and morning, they had family worship four times a-day in the house, and the Common Prayer twice a-day in the church. They assembled hourly, when a portion of the Psalter and another of a Harmony of the Gospels was repeated from memory<sup>x</sup>, and a short hymn sung; beside which, one of the elders of each sex, usually attended of their own free will by some of the juniors, "kept watch" from nine till one, and in that time repeated, on their knees, the whole Psalter by alternate verses; and when they had concluded this, they summoned Nicholas Ferrar, who habitually rose at that hour<sup>y</sup>, and passed the time in meditation and prayer, until the rest of the family joined him. He then heard the younger members repeat the portions of Scripture that they had learned, presided at the devotions of each hour, and performed the Church service twice a-day, "neither adding nor diminishing a word." He was ever accessible to visitors, (hoping, as he said, "either to receive or to do good,") sought out the sick and the poor, took the most suitable measures for their relief, and personally distributed liberal alms, accompanied by friendly counsel, to all who repaired to the house<sup>z</sup>. He kept a watchful eye on the studies of the juniors, and allowed the children of the neighbouring parishes to share in their instruction; and he devised many valuable literary labours, as Harmonies, Concordances, and translations of the Gospels into several languages, which he carried out with the active co-operation of a few of the members of his family best qualified for the task.

He well understood physic, but he did not practise it, considering it more useful to instruct his nieces in the simpler arts of healing. His desire was to see them, not

<sup>s</sup> "The habit of the young women, nine or ten, or more of them," says Dr. Jebb, "was black stuff, all of one grave fashion, always the same, with comely veils on their heads."

<sup>t</sup> The glebe, of nearly twenty-four acres, which had been illegally seized by a former lord of the manor, they restored, and secured it to the incumbent by a decree in Chancery.

<sup>u</sup> The children received their dinner, and a penny for each Psalm that they could repeat from a Psalter which was given to all who desired it. Many parents who could not read themselves also got the Psalms by heart from hearing the children repeat them, and the object which Nicholas Ferrar proposed, of banishing idle songs from their dwellings, had a great measure of success.

<sup>x</sup> The Psalter was thus repeated daily and the Gospels monthly.

<sup>y</sup> He, however, watched twice, or even thrice in the week, in summer passing the whole night in the church; and after his mother's death he never used a bed, but slept on a bear-skin spread on the floor; yet he found his health improved rather than weakened.

<sup>z</sup> Mr. Lenton, a lawyer, who visited Little Gidding in 1634, speaks of the income of the family as being £500 a-year, a sum apparently inadequate to so extensive a course of charity. But they neither paid nor received expensive visits; their tenants supplied their table at fixed rates; and though their house and grounds were handsomely kept, their apparel was of the plainest description, and mostly of home manufacture.

nuns, but "parsons' wives," after the pattern sketched by his friend and "brother," George Herbert. That they might gain the necessary knowledge of domestic duties, they took in turn, month by month, the office of housekeeper, and kept a minute account of the daily expenses of the family; but their great care was devoted to succouring the poor; for them they prepared salves, balsams, and cordials, and dressed their wounds; they made clothing for them, visited, read to, and nursed them; and, says their biographer (Dr. Jebb), "if ever women merited the title of the devout sex, these gentlewomen won it by their carriage, and deserved to wear it."

The fame of this establishment, mixed with many misrepresentations<sup>a</sup>, reached King Charles I., and he visited it in 1633,

on his way to Scotland, was well pleased with all he saw there, and expressed a wish "that many more such families could be found in the land;" and he repeated his visit in 1642. The recluses, at his wish, prepared for him and for his two sons Harmonies of the Gospels, which they bound with their own hands, and which are now preserved in the British Museum.

Mrs. Ferrar died in 1634, aged 83, and was succeeded as "chief" by her granddaughter Mary Collett, who survived until 1680. Nicholas Ferrar died<sup>b</sup> Dec. 4, 1637, and his brother John Sept. 28, 1657. The establishment, however, had been long before broken up; and as the so-called "Nuns of Gidding" had not (as was commonly asserted) made vows of celibacy<sup>c</sup>, four only of them died unmarried.

A.D. 1634.

The coasts both of England and Ireland are infested by pirates; whilst the Dutch endeavour to exclude the English from the northern fisheries, and fish on the English coasts without licence<sup>d</sup>. To raise a fleet, a writ of ship-money is issued, requiring the maritime counties and towns to pay certain fixed sums; but this

being found insufficient for the purpose, the writs are, in the following year, directed to all counties and towns alike.

Cardinal Richelieu sends agents to Scotland, who intrigue with the discontented.

The lord deputy (Wentworth) claims the whole province of Connaught as belonging to the crown<sup>e</sup>.

#### NOTE.

##### PIRACY AND THE SHIP-MONEY WRITS.

THE State Papers of the time of Elizabeth, to go no further back, shew that the English seas were in her time infested by

pirates. To cite a few instances: in 1566, Thomas Meidlar, of Wexford, complains of his ship having been boarded and plun-

<sup>a</sup> Their charity could not be denied, but they were censured by some as betaking themselves to a "new form of fasting and prayer, and a contemplative, idle life, a lip-labour devotion, and a will-worship,"—a charge manifestly untrue in every particular. Others charged them with being concealed Romanists, and asserted that they paid adoration to numerous crosses set up in their church windows; the fact was, that there were no crosses there except as part of the border of the crown in the royal arms (some indeed discovered them in the transverse bars of the window-frames), and that what was styled adoration was merely the reverent bowing at entering a church practised by all devout persons from the very earliest ages.

<sup>b</sup> Whilst he lay on his death-bed he directed a spot to be marked for his grave, and on it he caused many hundred volumes of works in which he had once delighted, but which he now considered unprofitable, to be destroyed. In consequence, a report was spread that he was a magician, and could not die until his conjuring-books had been committed to the flames.

<sup>c</sup> Two of them desired to take such vows, but were dissuaded by the bishop of Lincoln, "who," says Hackett, "admonished them very fatherly, that they knew not what they went about; that

they had no promise to confirm that grace unto them, that this readiness, which they had in the present, should be in their will, without repentance, to their life's end. Let the younger women marry, was the best advice, that they might not be led into temptation. . . . The direction of God was in this counsel; for one of the gentlewomen afterwards took a liking to a good husband, and was well bestowed."

These particulars are in great measure derived from "Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century," Part I., by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, a most interesting volume.

<sup>d</sup> Their eminent statesman, Hugo Grotius, wrote his "*Mare Liberum*," in justification of these proceedings; while the equally eminent Selden, in his "*Mare Clausum*," shewed that the sovereignty of the narrow seas had belonged to England from the earliest times. This had in former times been acknowledged on all hands (see A.D. 1320); but the weakness of the government, which had suffered the English navy to fall to decay, encouraged the enterprising republicans now to deny it.

<sup>e</sup> The claim was compounded for, but it justly alarmed every landed proprietor in Ireland, and it was one great cause of the insurrection of 1641.

dered off the Land's-end, by a vessel of Normandy, in which were an English captain and several Irish kernes. In 1567 Bishop Grindal writes to Cecil, asking him to obtain a licence to make a collection for the ransom of English captives in Algiers; in 1573 the earl of Worcester, going as ambassador to France, was plundered by pirates in mid channel, and, in the same year, William Holstock, the comptroller of the navy, was sent against them with a strong force. He captured 20 ships and 900 men, but it was necessary, only two years after, to send him again, with the "Dreadnought" and "Foresight," to "repress the freebooters infesting the narrow seas." In 1576, three ships were sent on the same business, under Henry Palmer. It would seem, however, that the pirates, when taken, were far too leniently dealt with, as we have, in 1575, Dr. Lewes, the judge of the Admiralty Court, writing to Walsingham, to urge that some at least of the Frenchmen lately condemned for piracy must be executed. Thus matters seem to have continued during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, the mention of "pirates," "abettors of pirates," "receivers of pirates' goods," &c. being of very frequent occurrence in state papers.

The truce concluded between the Spaniards and the Dutch by James I. in 1609 had the effect of greatly increasing the ravages of the pirates. Many of the Dutch and English seamen, unwilling to give up their lucrative habit of plundering the Spaniards, repaired to the West Indies, where they soon were known under the name of Buccaneers; and others went to the Barbary States, where they became renegades, and induced the "Turks," as they were called, to repair to the English and Irish seas, and even to venture into the Thames.

Lithgow, a Scotchman, who visited Barbary in 1615, thus mentions the English renegades:—

"Here in Tunis I met with our English captain, General Waird, once a great pirate and commander at sea, who, in despite of his denied acceptance in England, had turned Turk, and built there a fair palace, beautified with rich marble and alabaster stones; with whom I found domestic some fifteen circumcised English runagates, whose lives and countenances were both alike, even as desperate as disdainful. Yet old Waird, the master, was placable, and joined me safely with a passing land-conduct to Algiers; yea, and divers times in my ten days' staying there, I dined and supped with him, but lay aboard in the French ship."

James' government was too weak to put down the pirates by force, and took, instead, the unwise course of offering bribes and pardons, which they very generally refused to accept. In 1612 we meet with a list of "pirate captains, over whom Peter Eston is general." Pardon was offered to them, on condition of their restor-

ing some prizes taken, but they seem not to have accepted the terms; and the pardon was even offered a second time, with the like result. In consequence steps were taken to encourage the sea-ports to fit out expeditions against the pirates, by allowing them to retain for themselves any captures that they might make. A commission to this effect was granted to the city of Exeter, dated March 26, 1613, and no doubt to other ports; indeed, the same grant was made to private individuals, as to Nicholas Leate and John Dike, London merchants (March 24, 1616), and about this very time a pirate ship was captured between Margate and Broadstairs. At last, in 1620, the city of London contributed £40,000 and other places smaller sums, with which a fleet was fitted out, and attacks made on several of the pirates' strongholds, but nothing of consequence was effected, and they grew more daring than ever in their ravages. So urgent did the case become, that some vessels were detached from the fleet sent against Cadiz in 1625, to look after a "Turkish fleet" that was said to have captured Lundy Island, in the Bristol Channel. This proved not to be the case, but in the following year a petition was presented to the king from 2000 women, who describe themselves as the wives of English slaves in Barbary. The unhappy quarrel between Charles and his parliament denied him the power of helping them, but it may well be believed that a wish to do so, had quite as much weight as indignation at the aggressions of the Dutch, in inducing the issuing of the ship-money writs.

The Dutch considered themselves abandoned, when James made peace with Spain, and they had long been the bitter enemies of their former allies. They strove to drive the English alike from the northern fisheries and the India trade, not hesitating at the most atrocious cruelties, as at Amboyna, to effect their purpose. They also set at nought the old doctrine of the supremacy of the King of England in the narrow seas (see A.D. 1320), fished without licence on the English coast, and even ventured to land, and march miles into the interior in pursuit of the crews of Spanish vessels. Such conduct was justly deemed intolerable by the King, but the Puritans, who had ever had republican leanings, were not moved by it, and as it did not seem advisable to summon a Parliament, in which it was known that they would be in the ascendant, the example of Queen Elizabeth was followed, and the first writ of ship-money was drawn up by Noy, the attorney-general, who had once been a Puritan himself.

The ancient precedents were most carefully followed, and the writ was addressed

only to maritime towns and counties. It was estimated to produce £100,000, and about that sum was gathered in, without any noticeable complaint. But it was soon seen that this sum would not suffice, and a new writ was then issued (Aug. 1635), which extended the tax to the inland shires and towns, on the plea that it was for a national purpose; and accordingly the building of several large ships was commenced, one of which was styled "The Sovereign of the Seas," and was long after known as the finest man-of-war of the age. But its name was taken as an offence by the Dutch and their Puritan sympathisers, who at once commenced a fierce clamour against the tax, which had not been objected to whilst the repression of piracy seemed the only object. The extended tax was expected to produce about £220,000, and 45 ships, of various sizes, manned, equipped, and stored for six months, were to be ready at Portsmouth by the 1st of May, 1636. The levying of the tax, however, was neglected by the sheriffs and their officers in some cases, and in others, where they attempted to do their sworn duty, they were violently resisted. Goods and cattle seized in default of payment found no purchasers, and a Derbyshire knight, Sir John Stanhope, of Elvaston, set the example, which was speedily followed, of retaking them by force. On the other hand, Sir John Hotham, in Yorkshire, earnestly promoted the payment of the tax, and many of the gentry and clergy contributed more than they were assessed at, as a kind of protest against the opposition of John Hampden, Lord Saye and Sele, and others.

In spite of all the difficulties that the Puritans could raise, a fleet was got together, which in 1635 and again in 1636 effectually curbed the Dutch; and in March, 1636, a squadron of seven vessels was dispatched to Sallee. It was commanded by Admiral Rainsborough, and consisted of the Leopard, Antelope, Hercules, Mary Providence, Expedition, Mary Rose, and Roebuck, and carried 194 guns, and 990 men. The real leader of the expedition

was one John Dunton, a reformed renegade, who had been taken off the Isle of Wight (Sept. 1634) in command of a Sallee ship manned by 21 Moors and 5 Dutch renegades. He was tried and condemned at Winchester, but saved his life by volunteering to point out the weak points of the Barbary ports, and he sailed as master in the Admiral's ship. The squadron reached Sallee March 24, when they found a war raging, the Sallee men being engaged in an endeavour to throw off the authority of the king of Morocco. The admiral supported the king's party, eventually obtained the liberty of a large number of English slaves, and, after visiting other piratical towns, reached England on the 7th October, bringing with him an ambassador from the Moorish king, who promised to suppress Christian slavery. This marked success, however, was lost on the Puritans, and their clamour so increased that at last the king was advised to ask the opinion of the judges as to the legality of the tax. Their unanimous opinion was (1) that where the kingdom was in danger, the king may legally call on his subjects for ships, or money to supply them; and (2) that the king is the sole judge of the necessity. Hampden still refusing to pay<sup>f</sup>, the cause was argued in the courts before the whole twelve judges, when all but two adhered to their former opinion<sup>g</sup>, and judgment was pronounced against him. Lord Saye and Sele at first threatened also to stand a trial, but after this decision he gave way, and the tax was levied, as occasion required, without further opposition<sup>h</sup>; but the Long Parliament voted it illegal, and, on the strength of this *ex post facto* condemnation, pronounced the judges who had sanctioned it guilty of "treason"—thus adopting one of the very worst actions of their predecessors, the servile parliaments of the Tudors. The fleet that had been raised in spite of their opposition they seized for their own purposes, and the victories of Monk, Deane and Blake were gained by vessels built with the proceeds of the "treasonable" ship-money writs.

#### A.D. 1635.

A fleet of forty vessels is sent to sea, under the earl of Lindsey, and another of twenty vessels under the earl of Es-

sex, for the protection of merchants: many of the Dutch fishing vessels are sunk or taken.

A proclamation issued against de-

<sup>f</sup> He was assessed in two sums, of 20s. for lands in Great Missenden, and 31s. 6d. for lands in Great Kible. In the former place a monument was erected in 1863 in commemoration of his refusal of payment.

<sup>g</sup> They were Hutton and Croke. What reason influenced the former is not known; but White-

lock says that Croke changed his judgment in deference to his wife.

<sup>h</sup> From accounts preserved in the Public Record Office it appears that the sum of £183,482 had been collected up to Nov. 25, 1637, and that only £12,918 remained to be gathered in.

parting out of the realm without licence<sup>1</sup>, July 21.

Archbishop Laud holds a visitation, in which, among other things, he insists on the communion-table in churches being placed altarwise; the bishop of Lincoln (John Williams) denounces this as an innovation.

The lord deputy (Wentworth) procures the formal adoption of the English Articles by the Irish Church<sup>1</sup>.

The archbishop endeavours to reduce the descendants of the French and Walloon settlers to conformity with the Church.

## NOTE.

### THE FOREIGN CONGREGATIONS.

THESE congregations, originally formed by refugees from France and Holland in the time of Elizabeth<sup>k</sup>, were found in London, Norwich, Southampton, Canterbury, Maidstone, Sandwich<sup>l</sup>, and elsewhere; and, according to the archbishop's statement, which is well supported, there were ample reasons for his interference<sup>m</sup>. They evinced no thankfulness for the protection they had so long enjoyed; their members, though born in England, seldom learnt the language, they refused to impart a knowledge of their manufactures to Englishmen, and, by "living in England as if they were a kind of God's Israel in Egypt," they reflected dishonour on the Church, and encouraged nonconformity, and "became a kind of State within a State;" so that Laud justly thought "no State could with safety, or would in wisdom, endure it."

That there was reason to apprehend political dangers from these people is abundantly evident from a passage in the Naval Tracts of Sir William Mounson. In May, 1605, a Dunkirk vessel had taken refuge at Sandwich, and two Dutch ships lay at the mouth of the haven ready to capture her when she should put to sea. Sir William was sent to prevent this, and he obliged the

Dutch to retire. In reporting his proceedings to the Council, he says:—

"Had your lordships seen the dispositions and carriage of the people of Sandwich, you would have thought it strange that subjects durst oppose themselves so openly against the state; thousands of people beholding me from the shore, looked when the sword should make an end of the difference, and publicly wished the success to the Hollanders, cursing both me and his majesty's ship. But it was no marvel, for most of the inhabitants are either born, bred or descended from Holland; their religion truly Dutch, as two of the grave ministers of Sandwich have complained to me, protesting they think that that town and the country thereabouts swarms as much with sects as Amsterdam.

"Your lordships must give me leave a little to digress, and express the state of Sandwich, and the use Holland may make of it if ever they become enemies to England; and though Sandwich be but a barrel-haven, and that ships cannot enter but upon a flood, and at no time any great vessels of burden, yet is our Downs within two miles from thence, where thousands of ships may ride as safely as in any harbour of Europe; and if ever the Hollanders be disposed to give an attempt, now that Flushing is in their possession, it is but one night's sailing from thence to Sandwich. The town is more naturally seated for strength than any I know in this kingdom, and a place of little defence as it is used<sup>n</sup>. An enemy having the command of a harbour approaching a town of no defence which may be made impregnable, being sure of the hearts of the men within it, and to be relieved within twelve hours by sea, I refer the consideration thereof to your lordships."

<sup>i</sup> "Ministers unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church," it appears, were in the habit of retiring to the Bermudas. None were in future to go, except by licence of the archbishop of Canterbury; and those already there were to be brought back by a ship which the lord admiral (Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland) was ordered to fit out.

<sup>j</sup> The Articles of the Church in Ireland were more decidedly Calvinistic than those in England, as the Lambeth Articles (see A.D. 1595) had been incorporated with them. It was owing to the advice of Archbishop Laud that this step was taken, which was reluctantly acceded to by Archbishop Usher and the Irish prelates, who looked upon it as a surrender of the independence of their national Church.

<sup>k</sup> See A.D. 1569.

<sup>l</sup> The State Papers of both James' and Charles' reigns contain numerous complaints of the turbulent and seditious character of these settlers, particularly in the sea-ports.

<sup>m</sup> This was made an accusation against him at his trial, when he was charged with endeavouring to sow dissension between the English and the other Reformed Churches; but it appears from the original act (Sept. 26, 1635) that the matter was misrepresented, when it was said that he had suppressed these congregations. They were still to continue, but to be composed of foreign-born members only; their descendants were "to conform themselves to the English Liturgy, every one in his parish," their occasional resort to the foreign churches, however, not being prohibited. The bishop of Norwich (Matthew Wren) zealously seconded the archbishop's views, and in consequence many of the foreigners left that city.

<sup>n</sup> The fortifications, for the support of which Richard III. granted the customs of the port, had been suffered to fall into decay, after the building of the neighbouring castles of Sandown, Deal, and Walmer.

It is very probable that Monson's warning was borne in mind, and that the interference with the foreign Protestants at this particular time was the act of the whole Council, and chiefly occasioned by political considerations, as a fierce dispute regarding the fishery and other matters raged

with the Dutch, and seemed likely to result in war; the virulence of party, however, held the archbishop responsible for all, and denounced him as a persecutor for his share in what was but a reasonable measure of precaution in the event of hostilities.

A.D. 1636.

The king encloses a very large space of ground for a park at Richmond, taking, in some cases, men's land by payment, but without their consent<sup>o</sup>.

The bishop of London (William Juxon) appointed lord treasurer, March 9.

Foreigners forbidden to fish on the British coasts without licence, March 10.

A fleet sent to Sallee, and many hundreds of Christian slaves released.

A.D. 1637.

The tax of ship-money being much murmured against and resisted, the king requires the opinion of the judges, who unanimously declare, that in case of danger to the whole kingdom, the king can by law levy it from all his subjects, and that he is the sole judge of the danger<sup>p</sup>, Feb.

John Hampden<sup>q</sup>, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, and several others, refuse to

pay the tax, and are in consequence sued in the court of Exchequer.

A proclamation issued, April 30, imposing restrictions on emigration to America. This proclamation states that "men of idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live without the reach of authority," daily withdraw themselves with their families to the plantations, where many disorders have been caused by them. It therefore ordains that no persons of property ("subsidy-men") shall quit the country without the licence of the privy council, nor poorer men without licence of the justices, and to be entitled to these licences, all are to produce certificates of having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the testimony of their parish minister as to conformity in ecclesiastical matters.

The cause of ship-money is argued at great length before the twelve judges, when they all, except Croke and Hutton, give their judgment for the crown<sup>r</sup>, June 12.

## THE STARCHAMBER AND THE LIBELLERS.

Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick<sup>s</sup>, are condemned in the Starchamber for seditious writings, June 14. They are

placed in the pillory together, and mutilated, June 30.

The punishments inflicted on these

<sup>o</sup> Archbishop Laud strongly opposed this project; so did Lord Cottington, but to annoy the archbishop (with whom he was at variance) he pretended the contrary, and argued in a way that well illustrates the mode of converting light matters into serious offences which then prevailed in the courts. He said the park would be convenient for the king's pleasure in the winter season, without his being obliged to make any long journeys; that to oppose his resolutions therein could only proceed from want of affection to his person, and he was not sure that it might not be high treason. "The other," says Clarendon, "upon the wildness of his discourse, in great anger asked him, 'Why? whence had he received that doctrine?' Cottington coolly replied, 'They who did not wish the king's health could not love him; and they who went about to hinder his taking recreation, which preserves his health, might be thought, for aught he knew, guilty of the highest crimes.'"

<sup>p</sup> The names of these judges were, Finch, chief

justice (see A.D. 1629); Berkley, Bramston, Crawley, Croke, Davenport, Denham, Hutton, Jones, Trevor, Vernon, and Weston.

<sup>q</sup> He was cousin to Oliver Cromwell and had before this been embroiled with the courts for neglecting to attend his parish church, and for mustering the train-bands in Beaconsfield churchyard on a Sunday; for which he had to make a formal submission. He sat in the Long Parliament for Buckinghamshire, and on the breaking out of the war became a colonel. He was mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove, near Oxford, June 18, 1643, and died six days after.

<sup>r</sup> Though the cause was thus decided, Lord Saye, a Puritan, still disputed it, but he gave way eventually, rather than go to a trial.

<sup>s</sup> William Prynne, as already mentioned, was a barrister. Henry Burton, a divine, was born in Yorkshire in 1579; he had been tutor to several noblemen, and at one time was clerk of the closet to Prince Charles, in which office he was super-

men have brought great odium on the court which ordered them, though it cannot be denied that their conduct seemed intended as a direct challenge to authority, to lay its hand heavily upon them; and under even the last of the Tudors they would have lost their lives, if we may judge by the fate of the Brownists (see A.D. 1583, 1593). It must also be borne in mind that even the ordinary courts habitually passed sentences of extreme severity in cases of ordinary character, where no political offence was alleged.

Prynne had already suffered four years' imprisonment for his "*Histriomastix*," but, undeterred by this, he contrived to have printed<sup>a</sup>, beside some smaller matters, "*A Divine Tragedy*, containing a catalogue of God's judgments against Sabbath-breakers," in which the clergy who read the Book of Sports were classed with the most heinous offenders. Burton also, while in the hands of the court for his sermon, printed "*News from Ipswich*," containing charges of Romish innovation against Bishop Wren, of Norwich, whose fidelity to the Church had rendered him very odious to the Puritans. Bastwick, who had published a book called "*Elen-*

*chus Papismi*," identifying prelacy and popery, when questioned for it, in the same spirit of contumacy followed it up with "*A New Litany*." The works of the whole were worded in the style of the most offensive of the Mar-Prelate tracts<sup>v</sup>; and the writers, when in gaol, so openly defied all authority<sup>z</sup>, that the judges declared it was only owing to the king's mercy that they were not charged with treason.

Prynne was already under sentence of what, for a man of his unbending temper, was probably equivalent to imprisonment for life<sup>y</sup>; the same sentence was now pronounced against the other two. They were all fined £5,000 each, degraded from their professions, placed in the pillory, their ears cut off<sup>z</sup>, their cheeks and foreheads branded<sup>a</sup>, and they were then removed to Lancaster, Launceston, and Carnarvon. Vehement expressions of sympathy with Prynne on his journey through Coventry and Chester, which almost amounted to riots, causing his keepers to apprehend a rescue, and for which both places were heavily fined, occasioned a change in their destinations, (Aug. 27,) and they were sent, Prynne to Jersey<sup>b</sup>, Burton to Guernsey, and

sed by Bishop Land. He became incumbent of St. Matthew, Friday-street, London, and preached there, on Nov. 5, 1636, a sermon from Proverbs xxiv. 21, 22, which occasioned his citation before the High Commission Court. John Bastwick was born in Essex in 1593; he studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, had long travelled abroad, and had recently settled as a physician at Colchester, when his vehement look against episcopacy brought him into trouble.

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1633.

<sup>v</sup> How this was effected is told in some Star-chamber papers preserved in the Public Record Office. The father of Prynne's servant was a cheesemonger in Newgate market, and a printing-office in which one Gregory Dexter worked was close adjoining. To him Prynne's servant brought manuscripts, promising that he should be well paid for his labour. Prynne, walking out with his keeper, often came to Wickens' house, and was there taken into a private room, where Dexter brought him proofs, and remained whilst he examined them. In order that the keeper might be able to swear that he had seen nothing of this, he was by the good man of the house "persuaded to go upstairs, and not stay in the open shop." Dexter and two other printers were examined in the Star-chamber on this matter, and in consequence, the delinquent keeper and the servant were both committed to the messenger of the court, in whose custody they remained a considerable time.

<sup>y</sup> See A.D. 1593.

<sup>z</sup> The answers that they prepared to the articles exhibited against them were so violent that no advocates could be found to incur the responsibility of presenting them; hence they declared that they were condemned unheard. One specimen of these

answers is preserved by Whitelock: "That the prelates are invaders of the king's prerogative royal, contempters and despisers of the Holy Scriptures, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry, and profaneness; also they abuse the king's authority, to the oppression of his loyalist subjects, and therein exercise great cruelty, tyranny, and injustice; and in execution of those impious performances they shew neither wit, honesty, nor temperance. Nor are they either servants of God or of the king, but of the devil, being enemies of God and the king, and of every living thing that is good. All which the said Dr. Bastwick is ready to maintain, &c."

<sup>y</sup> He was to be imprisoned until he made submission; but this was a customary judgment, and not meant as any peculiar hardship on him.

<sup>z</sup> Prynne had already suffered this mutilation; what remained of his ears was pared off so closely that his life was, by his partisans, said to be endangered; but the incidents of his journey to his distant prison of Carnarvon immediately after shew this to be a gross exaggeration.

<sup>a</sup> Clarendon, though condemning the men as persons of bad repute, remarks on the insult offered to the learned professions by this proceeding, and says, "Every profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come." The letters branded were "S.L." for "seditious libeller;" but Prynne wrote an epigram, in which he interpreted them as standing for "Stigmata Landi."

<sup>b</sup> His removal from Carnarvon to Jersey was, in consequence of bad weather, a matter of some difficulty, and occupied a great length of time. The



Bastwick to Scilly, where they remained until released by order of the Long Parliament.

The Puritans chose to attribute the severity of the sentences to Archbishop Laud, and affixed placards in conspicuous places, saying, that "the arch-wolf of Canterbury had his hand in persecuting the saints and shedding the blood of the martyrs<sup>c</sup>." It appears, however, not only from his own speech<sup>d</sup>, but from the records of the court, that this was not a true statement of the facts of the case.

A decree of the Star-chamber is issued for the regulation of printing and letter-founding, July 1.

By this edict the press, and all parties connected with it, were placed under the most rigorous surveillance. The number of master-printers was limited to twenty, (named in the decree,) who were to give security for good behaviour in £300, and were to have not more than two presses and two apprentices each, unless they were, or had been, masters or wardens of the Stationers' Company; then they might have three presses, and a like number of apprentices; and there were to be but four letter-founders. One

penalty for almost every offence was disability to exercise the profession either as master or journeyman; and as this would probably result in "printing in corners without licence," practising the arts of printing, book-binding, letter-founding, or making any part of a press, or other printing materials, by persons disqualified, or not apprenticed thereto<sup>e</sup>, was to be punished by whipping, the pillory, and imprisonment. No books were to be reprinted without a fresh licence, although they might have been formerly examined and allowed. Books brought from abroad were to be landed in London only, and each was to be examined by persons appointed by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, who had power to seize and destroy all "seditious, schismatical, or offensive" productions; and periodical searches were to be made both of booksellers' shops and private houses. The activity of the Puritans, however, was more than a match for the law, and books fully deserving all these titles were as widely circulated as before<sup>f</sup>, and had a great share in producing the convulsions that followed<sup>g</sup>.

vessel in which he was embarked left Carnarvon on the 9th October, 1637, and did not reach Jersey until January 18, 1638. One Robert Anwill had him in charge, and the whole cost, as appears by his account among the State Papers, was £106 10s. Prynne remained in Jersey till November, 1640, but the terms of his sentence, which prohibited him the use of pen, ink and paper, were relaxed, and he contrived to live much at his ease; he kept up communication with his partisans in England, as well as with his fellow prisoner, Burton, in Guernsey; and when recalled, they landed together at Southampton.

<sup>c</sup> One such placard was affixed on Paul's-cross, July 9, 1637.

<sup>d</sup> He treated Burton as the chief offender, and replied at length to fourteen charges of Romish innovation urged by him; said that, having answered Rabshakeh, he should not confute his associates; and concluded, "Because the business hath some reflection on myself, I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to God's mercy and the king's justice." Neither he nor Bishop Juxon took any part in determining the sentences, as is shewn by the records of the Star-chamber still existing. The custom of the court was for each member to set down in writing what sentence he thought suitable, but on this occasion the prelates declined to vote, considering themselves, in a measure, interested parties.

<sup>e</sup> In the time of Elizabeth a private press was discovered in the house of a Romanist lady (Mrs. Stonar), the workmen being her domestic servants.

<sup>f</sup> Some were imported from abroad, but much the greater number were printed at secret presses in England.

<sup>g</sup> One person who suffered for distributing the books of Prynne and his friends was the noted

John Lilburne, then a London apprentice of eighteen (he was born at Durham, of a gentleman's family, in 1616). He bore a severe whipping from the Fleet to Westminster (April 18, 1638) with a stoicism which procured for him the name of "Sturdy John," and, being released from prison by the Long Parliament, he took up arms in their cause, fought desperately at Edgehill, Brentford, and elsewhere, and gained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. A money compensation was voted to him, but this it seems he only received in part, and the remainder of his life was passed in vain efforts to obtain it, and in quarrels with every one with whom he came in contact. His general, the earl of Manchester, complained of his insubordination, and he was committed to the Tower; Cromwell procured his release, but he was soon again imprisoned for "writing a seditious book," and when he regained his liberty, so far from seeking to conciliate those in power, he joined the Levellers, and, beside other works, wrote his "England's new Chains," in which the hypocrisy and tyranny of the Council of State and Cromwell were mercilessly exposed. For this he was tried on a charge of treason in 1649, but acquitted. By a most extravagant stretch of power he was banished by Act of Parliament, early in 1652, and, in strict accordance with his character, refused to kneel at the bar while receiving sentence. When the parliament was overthrown by Cromwell, Lilburne returned, and addressed "The Banished Man's Plea" to him, but instead of favour was sent for trial. Here he conducted himself with singular address, and was, after a three days' trial, acquitted. Cromwell, however, committed him a prisoner to Jersey, but at length became reconciled to him, and by letter of privy seal, dated March 31, 1656, granted him a pension of 40s. a-week, which was on Dec. 22,

A.D. 1637.

The bishop of Lincoln (John Williams) being proceeded against in the Starchamber for sedition and libel<sup>b</sup>,

is heavily fined and imprisoned, July 11. He is also suspended from office by the High Commission Court, July 24.

## SCOTLAND.

A book of canons is prepared for Scotland; and a liturgy, differing in some points from that of the Church of England, is ordered to be used there. Its first celebration at Edinburgh (Sunday, July 23) is marked by great tumult, and the Scottish council forbear to press the matter further.

The canons and liturgy had been prepared by the Scottish prelates, and revised by the archbishop of Canterbury, and they contained nothing but what had been all along held for sound doctrine and orderly discipline by the Church of England; but their introducers overlooked the very important fact, that the Reformation in Scotland had been carried on by men who shook the throne, and regarded episcopacy as contrary to the Gospel,

and that their disciples were little likely to receive with favour a book which asserted the divine right of kings, or a form of service which restrained the freedom of praying and preaching and ministering of the sacraments according to his own views, that each minister of the Scottish kirk had so long exercised. This neglect was aggravated by an injudicious mode of proceeding. The canons and the liturgy were introduced merely by the royal authority, without any reference to the General Assembly, the recognised organ of the Scottish kirk, and hence they were plausibly represented as offensive at once to the national independence<sup>i</sup>, and to the "pure evangel" of Christ.

A proclamation published, Aug. 18, stating the king's determination to uphold the power of the High Commission and other ecclesiastical courts<sup>k</sup>.

The people repair in multitudes to Edinburgh, in October, and petition the council to procure the withdrawal of the new Service-book. The council orders them to return to their homes, but the direction is disregarded. Several of the council being assailed in the streets, (Oct. 18,) its session is removed to Linlithgow, and many of the bishops retire to England.

The petition of the people (to whom many of the nobility and gentry had now joined themselves) is forwarded to the king. He sends in answer a proclamation (dated Dec. 7) forbidding such assemblies under the penalty of reason, but the council hesitate as to publishing it.

A.D. 1638.

The king's proclamation is at length published at Edinburgh, Feb. 15.

The earl of Home and several other noblemen, the clergy and gentry, protest against its denial of their right of

1657, continued to his widow Elizabeth. Lilburne had joined the new sect of Quakers, and was buried among them, Aug. 31, 1657, the funeral being accompanied by a quarrel which nearly ended in blows, from a difference of opinion among his admirers as to using or dispensing with a pall to his coffin.

<sup>b</sup> He had long favoured the Puritans, and a formal complaint on the subject appears to have been made by petition to the king at least as early as 1628, by one Henry Alleyn, a proctor, setting forth "certain disloyal and derogatory speeches uttered by him of the king," and charging him with acts unsuitable in a Churchman; his papers being now seized, some of them were pronounced libellous. The speech charged against him not being fully proved, it was said that he had tampered with the witnesses. His friend, Dr. Osbaldistone, who had written some letters which gave offence, succeeded

in concealing himself, but the bishop was imprisoned until the general release of political prisoners in 1640.

<sup>i</sup> Scruples on this very point actuated the king himself, but he was unfortunately induced to abandon them.

<sup>k</sup> The civilians in these courts laboured zealously to extend their jurisdiction, which gave rise to great jealousy on the part of the lawyers; hence prohibitions were readily granted by the other courts to stay proceedings. These prohibitions it was the delight of the nonconformists to procure, and they were brought into court in the most offensive manner. Archbishop Laud mentions one thrown into the court, which struck him on the breast; and another handed to the judge, amid jeers and laughter, on a stick. Conduct like this must be taken into account, if we would judge fairly of the severities exercised in the reign.

petitioning, and, under the name of Tables, form a kind of provisional government, which keeps possession of Edinburgh, and in effect rules the whole country.

The Covenant<sup>1</sup> is drawn up and published by the Tables, March 1, and is eagerly signed by all classes.

A fresh proclamation issued, forbidding persons to remove to New England without licence, May 1.

The marquis of Hamilton is sent as commissioner to Scotland in June. He fails to procure the renunciation of the Covenant.

A commission appointed to prosecute offenders against the statute of Elizabeth relating to cottages<sup>m</sup>, Aug. 22.

The king sends a declaration (dated Sept. 9), abandoning the canons and liturgy, and promising to call a general assembly and a parliament.

The people, without waiting for the royal permission, elect a general assembly<sup>n</sup>, which meets at Glasgow, Nov. 21. The bishops protest against the assembly as illegal, and the marquis formally dissolves it, Nov. 28; but it sits notwithstanding, till Dec. 20, pronounces the abolition of episcopacy, deposes the bishops in a body, and excommunicates four of their number.

The Covenanters prepare for war. They levy taxes, seize on and garrison the fortresses, enter into formal communications with France, invite Scottish officers and soldiers from the German wars, and correspond with the Puritan party in England<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1639.

The Scots issue a declaration, (Feb. 7), asserting that they have no evil intention towards the king or the English people, but have taken up arms for their defence from the "meditated introduction of popery."

The king levies troops against the Scots, and publishes a declaration, (Feb. 27), charging them with seeking to overthrow the regal power under pretence of religion.

The Scots seize the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, Stirling, and other strong posts, in March.

The king's army, under the earls of Arundel, Essex, and Holland, marches to York, committing many excesses in its way<sup>p</sup>. A fleet, under the marquis of Hamilton, sails into the Frith of Forth.

The king repairs to York, in April, where he revokes a number of oppressive grants and monopolies.

The English army advances as far as Berwick, but soon retires without coming to hostilities. The Scots then send commissioners to York; a pacification<sup>q</sup> is concluded, June 18, and the king soon after returns to London.

Sir Henry Vane made secretary of state<sup>r</sup>, Aug.

The Scottish assembly and parliament meet in August; they formally abolish episcopacy, and propose acts limiting the royal power. The parliament is in consequence prorogued by the king's commissioner (John Stuart, earl of Traquair), but they protest against this as invalid without

<sup>1</sup> This professed to be based on a document which James VI. had signed in the year 1580, but a number of clauses were added, that gave it a new character; the most important was one by which the subscribers bound themselves to resist the attempted innovations against all persons whatever.

<sup>m</sup> See A.D. 1589. This commission, which, it would appear, was only used to raise money by compounding with the offenders, was revoked April 9, 1639.

<sup>n</sup> It was composed, contrary to the king's wish, of equal numbers of ministers and laymen (styled ruling elders).

<sup>o</sup> "I wanted not solicitations on the behalf of the Covenanters," says Whitelock, "but I persuaded my friends not to foment these growing public differences, nor to be any means of encouraging a foreign nation, proud and subtle, against our natural prince, and feared great and evil consequences thereof."

<sup>p</sup> The men were pressed into the service, and were but badly supplied with either food or clothing. The pay of the private soldiers was 8d. per day, from which they were to receive 2s. 6d. per

week for their food, and the remainder was to furnish them with two suits of clothing yearly. The poverty of the exchequer, however, made the money payment very uncertain, and the hungry men plundered for food.

<sup>q</sup> By this treaty the Scottish army was to be immediately disbanded, and the royal fortresses surrendered, but neither was done, and the Covenanters pursued with rigour all who had taken arms for the king. Disputes also arose about the terms of the treaty, and the Scots published a paper concerning it, which was adjudged libellous and seditious by the council in England, and was ordered to be burnt by the hangman.

<sup>r</sup> He was of a northern family that had settled in Kent, and was born Feb. 18, 1589. He had been employed as an ambassador, was knighted in 1611, and at the time of his promotion was treasurer of the royal household. Secretary Coke, a friend of Strafford, was displaced to make room for him, and some contemptuous expressions ascribed to Strafford on the occasion made Vane his deadly enemy. He was a main instrument in the conviction of Strafford, and soon after retired from public life. He died at Raby in 1654.

their own consent, and send deputies to present a remonstrance to the king.

A Spanish fleet is defeated by the Dutch in the Downs<sup>s</sup>, Oct. 11, 12.

The king prepares for a fresh war with the Scots. Large sums are procured from the Romanists by the queen's influence, whence the force equipped is invidiously styled "the popish army."

A.D. 1640.

The Scots send fresh commissioners to London, one of whom (Lord Loudoun) is detected in a correspondence with the French ministers, and is sent to the Tower.

The king, by the advice of Wentworth and Laud, calls a parliament, after eleven years' cessation, which meets April 13<sup>t</sup>. The former dispute as to voting supplies before grievances are redressed is at once resumed, and, after some ineffectual conferences between the two Houses, the parliament is dissolved, May 5.

The convocation continues its sitting until May 29, in virtue of an opinion of the law officers of the crown. It grants a subsidy of £120,000, and frames canons, in which the divine right of kings and the duty of passive obedience are inculcated<sup>a</sup>.

An attack is made on Archbishop Laud's palace at Lambeth, May 11. This, as "levying war," is held to be treason by the judges, and one man is executed for it, May 23.

Contributions to the amount of £300,000 are raised for the king's service, and his army, commanded by the earls of Northumberland and Strafford, and Lord Conway, advances against the Scots.

The Scots enter England, Aug. 20. They pass the Tyne at Newburn, defeating there a party of the English, Aug. 28, and take possession of New-castle.

The king, who had remained at York, summons the peers to meet him there on Sept. 24.

They assemble, when the king informs them of his intention to call a parliament, and gives a commission to the earl of Essex and fifteen other peers to treat with commissioners from the Scots. A cessation of arms is agreed on, at Ripon, Oct. 26, and the discussion of the various demands removed to London<sup>x</sup>.

The High Commission Court sits for the last time, at St. Paul's, Oct. 22, when the people make a tumult, tear up the benches, and cry, "No Bishops! no High Commission!"

The parliament meets<sup>y</sup> Nov. 3. "The first week," says Whitelock, "was spent in naming general committees, and establishing them<sup>z</sup>, and receiving a great many petitions, both from particular persons and some from multitudes, and brought by troops of horsemen from several counties, craving redress of grievances and of exorbitances, both in Church and State."

The bishop of Lincoln<sup>a</sup>, Prynne,

<sup>a</sup> The Spaniards lay in the Downs some days before they were attacked, and the king offered to escort them safely to Flanders or Spain for a sum of money; but whilst the negotiation was pending, the Dutch bore down on them and destroyed them, although the English fleet was present under Admiral Pennington.

<sup>x</sup> Serjeant Glanville was Speaker; and William Lenthall chairman of committee of the whole House.

<sup>y</sup> An oath was also imposed by one canon (the sixth), "for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and government," refusal to take which was to be punished by the loss of all ecclesiastical preferment. Another canon (the fifth), "Against Sectaries," subjected "Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, Familists," and other dissentients to the same proceedings and penalties, as far as applicable, as Romish recusants, and directed the burning of any "book, writing, or scandalous pamphlet devised against the government of the Church," equally with those inculcating Socinianism. The continuing of this convocation after the parliament had been dissolved was made an accusation against Archbishop Laud, though he had acted by legal

advice. In fact, even an opponent (Whitelock) confesses the difficulty of his position, for he says, "The clergy were in danger of the king's displeasure if they rose, and of the people's fury if they sat."

<sup>z</sup> One of the Scottish commissioners was Alexander Henderson, a preacher. The church of St. Augustine by St. Paul's was given up to him, and his violent sermons had great effect in augmenting the popular discontent.

<sup>a</sup> They chose for their Speaker William Lenthall, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and member for Woodstock, "a man of a very narrow, timorous nature," says Clarendon. He was born in 1591 at Henley on Thames, and was educated at Alban Hall, Oxford. He remained Speaker until the Parliament was dispersed by Cromwell in 1653, and was reinstated in Feb. 1660. He had been made Master of the Rolls in 1643 by the Parliament, and he received from them the estate of Burford priory, a sequestered property of Lord Falkland. At the Restoration he received a pardon, through the good offices of the earl of Norwich and Colonel Legg. He died Sept. 3, 1662, and was buried at Burford.

<sup>x</sup> See Note, p. 388.

<sup>y</sup> See A.D. 1637.

Burton, Bastwick<sup>b</sup>, Leighton, Lilburne, Chambers<sup>c</sup>, and many others, imprisoned by sentence of the Star-chamber or Court of High Commission, bring forward complaints of their treatment. A committee is appointed to investigate the same, and the petitioners are ordered to be brought to London.

The House expels "projectors" and monopolists<sup>d</sup>.

Prynne and Burton arrive in London, Nov. 27<sup>e</sup>.

The Commons present articles of impeachment against the earl of Strafford<sup>f</sup>, Nov. 11, when he is committed to the custody of the usher. He is removed to the Tower, Nov. 25.

The king at first refuses to allow any of his council to be examined by the parliament, but soon gives way, and Archbishop Laud is so examined, Dec. 4. *cf. p. 416*

Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, being accused of corruptly favouring Romanists, escapes to France<sup>g</sup>. The lord keeper, Finch of Fordwich, being impeached, after a speech in his

own defence (Dec. 15) before the Commons, flees to Holland<sup>h</sup>.

The canons lately made are voted unlawful, after a two days' debate, Dec. 16. Archbishop Laud is named as their author, the Scots present a complaint against him as "the great incendiary," and he is committed to the custody of the usher, Dec. 18.

The archbishop is fined £500 as amends to Sir Robert Howard, imprisoned by the ecclesiastical court in 1637<sup>i</sup>.

A.D. 1641.

The Commons order that "commissions be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches or chapels<sup>j</sup>," Jan. 23.

Sir Edward Lyttelton is made lord keeper<sup>k</sup>, Jan. 23.

The charges against the earl of Strafford (twenty-eight in number<sup>l</sup>)

<sup>b</sup> A money compensation was voted to them, but it does not appear to have been paid to the two latter, who took no further part in public affairs. Burton died in January, 1648, and Bastwick in October, 1654; Bastwick's widow (Susanna), however, received (July 7, 1655) a pension of 20s. weekly from Cromwell, which was increased to 40s. Dec. 24, 1655, as appears by the letters of privy seal. Prynne fared better, as he was employed in collecting the evidence against Archbishop Laud, when he treated the captive with extreme harshness. He at length became obnoxious to the army for opposing the murder of the king, and he was imprisoned for a time in Dunster Castle by the Council of State; he lived unnoticed during the Protectorate, and at the Restoration he obtained the office of keeper of the records in the Tower, which he held till his death, in 1669.

<sup>c</sup> The sum of £13,680 was voted to Chambers, as a compensation for his sufferings and losses out of a fine of £50,000 imposed on the farmers of the customs. A petition of his to the parliament in 1654 states that he received none of this money, and had been deprived of a place in the customs granted to him in lieu of it. In 1656 (July 31) he had letters of privy seal granting him the above sum out of the moiety of any discoveries of concealed lands, &c. that he might make; but he did not succeed in this, and he died in poverty Aug. 20, 1658.

<sup>d</sup> This, however, was only partially done, according to Clarendon, none of their own party suffering, though notoriously guilty.

<sup>e</sup> Nehemiah Wallington, the Puritan, exultingly describes the scene. "O remember this great mercy of God, that those worthy and dear servants of God, Mr. Burton and Mr. Prynne, came to London with very great honour, many thousands meeting of them, some in coaches, some on horseback riding in ranks, and some on foot, and all with rosemary and bay in their hands." Bastwick arrived on Dec. 7, and was received "with as great honour and respect."

<sup>f</sup> The principal man in this proceeding was Mr. Pym, who made the first speech, and presented the

articles. He was born in Somersetshire in 1584, was a lawyer, and had once held an office in the Exchequer. He had sat in the two preceding parliaments, and was regarded with much deference by his party. Pym died in the year 1643.

<sup>g</sup> He died there soon after.

<sup>h</sup> He had, as chief justice, been very instrumental in procuring the other judges' opinions in favour of ship-money; had been a prominent member of the Star-chamber, and was believed to have advised the sudden dissolution of the last parliament. He returned at the Restoration, sat on the trial of the regicides, and died shortly after.

<sup>i</sup> Sir Robert had contracted an adulterous marriage with the Viscountess Purbeck (a daughter of Chief Justice Coke), and had rescued her from confinement when sentenced to a public penance; for this he suffered an imprisonment of three months in the Gatehouse at Westminster.

<sup>j</sup> In consequence, the crosses of Charing, St. Paul's, and Cheapside were thrown down by Sir Robert Harlow; other fanatics desecrated the churches, and hindered the public service. The journal of one of the commissioners (William Dowling, employed in the eastern counties,) has been preserved and published. It fully bears out the complaints of Bishop Hall and others of most vile and barbarous profanation. See Note, p. 389.

<sup>k</sup> He continued with the parliament some time after the king had left London, but then repaired to him, taking the great seal with him, which obliged the parliament to fabricate a new seal for themselves. He died in office, Aug. 27, 1645.

<sup>l</sup> There were at first but nine articles, but these were afterwards amplified into the above number. He was charged with ruling Ireland and the north of England by the sword, and endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws; with stirring up hostility with Scotland, and labouring to subvert parliaments. The Scottish commissioners and some members of the Irish parliament also brought heavy charges against him, but they were in substance contained in the articles exhibited by the House of Commons.

are laid before the House of Lords, Jan. 30.

Sir Robert Berkley, one of the judges, accused of high treason<sup>m</sup>, is seized on the bench and committed to prison, Feb. 13.

An act passed (Feb. 15) "for the prevention of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments," [16 Car. I. c. 1]. This important act provides for the meeting of a parliament at least once in three years; imposes an oath on the lord chancellor and other officers concerned to issue the necessary writs, and, in case of the default of any of them, empowers the people to elect representatives, who shall meet on the third Monday in January; the House of Commons so formed, as well as the House of Peers, being incapable of being prorogued or dissolved under fifty days from their first meeting without their own consent<sup>n</sup>.

The charges against Archbishop Laud<sup>o</sup> are brought forward, Feb. 26. He is sent to the Tower, March 1.

The House of Commons passes a vote against bishops sitting in parliament, or any clerk holding temporal authority, March 10.

The earl of Strafford's trial commences, before the earl of Arundel, as high steward, and the House of Peers, March 22.

In the course of the trial (April 13), a paper is produced against him<sup>p</sup>, purporting to be minutes of advice given by him at the council-table, May 5, 1640, ("You have an army in Ireland

that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience"). He denies its genuineness; various points of law are argued by his counsel, and the Peers seem unlikely to convict him.

The Commons then pass a bill of attainder against him<sup>q</sup>, April 21, to which the Lords at length consent, April 29.

The king addresses the parliament, desiring them to spare the life of the earl, "whom in honour and conscience he cannot believe guilty of treason, and therefore will not consent to the bill against him," but confessing him to be unfit evermore to be employed in any place of trust, May 1.

Some preachers on the next day (Sunday) incite the multitude to demand the execution of the earl. They accordingly repair tumultuously to Westminster the following day, May 3.

The king endeavours to procure the escape of the earl from the Tower, but the plan is frustrated by the vigilance of the lieutenant, Sir William Balfour<sup>r</sup>.

A plan to bring the English army from the north to overawe the parliament<sup>s</sup> is discovered. The Commons in consequence draw up a Protestation (May 3) of their resolve to maintain the Protestant faith against Romish innovation, to protect the king's person, the freedom of the parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject, and to bring to condign punishment all who shall attempt anything to the contrary. This Protestation was also taken by the peers and

<sup>m</sup> His "treason" consisted in having given an opinion that the ship-money writs were legal. He was subsequently released without trial, on payment of a composition of £10,000.

<sup>n</sup> This act was repealed in 1664 [16 Car. II. c. 1], as derogatory to the Crown.

<sup>o</sup> There were fourteen original and ten supplementary articles, but all may be comprised under the three heads of endeavouring (1) to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm and introduce arbitrary government; (2) to subvert true religion and introduce popery; and (3) to subvert the rights of parliament.

<sup>p</sup> It was brought forward by Sir Henry Vane, who asserted that he had found it among the papers of his father, the secretary of state. "Sir Harry the younger," as he was called, was born in 1612, and was educated at Westminster School and Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He was of a wild, visionary temperament, and resided for some time among the extreme Puritans in America. On his return, he was made joint treasurer of the navy, and was knighted. He was an active member of the "root and branch" party, had a great share in introducing the Covenant and the Self-denying Or-

dinance, and is described by Clarendon as the only one of the commissioners at Newport who did not desire the success of the negotiations. After the murder of the king, he became a member of the Council of State, but retired into the country when Cromwell seized the government. He was disliked and imprisoned by the Protector, but sat in Richard's parliament, and was for a short time President of the Council on Richard's fall. He was condemned and executed in 1662.

<sup>q</sup> Lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, and fifty-eight others voted against it; their names were posted in the streets as "Straffordians, who, to save a traitor, would betray their country." The House, when complained to, refused to notice this interference with its freedom of debate.

<sup>r</sup> He was a Scottish Covenanter, who had been placed in that office at the express demand of the Commons.

<sup>s</sup> The plan, in which Jermyn, Goring, Legg, and other royal officers were participators, was clearly proved to have received the sanction of the king, and it served ever after with his adversaries as an argument of his bad faith.

bishops, but a bill intended to impose it on all classes was rejected.

All persons bringing in foreign forces declared public enemies, May 5.

The king at length gives his consent, by commission, to the act of attainder of the earl of Strafford<sup>1</sup> [16 Car. I. c. 38], May 10; as also to an act "to prevent inconveniences which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present Parliament" [c. 7], which provides that neither House shall be adjourned except at their own order, or the parliament dissolved except by act of parliament<sup>2</sup>.

The king sends a letter to the Lords, requesting them to confer with the Commons on some means of sparing the earl's life, May 11. They decline to do so, and he is beheaded on Tower-Hill<sup>3</sup>, May 12.

The pacification with Scotland ratified by parliament [c. 17], and £300,000 ordered to be raised as "friendly assistance and relief promised to our brethren of Scotland<sup>4</sup>," [c. 18].

A subsidy of tunnage and poundage granted [c. 8]. This grant was but from May 25 to July 15, 1641<sup>5</sup>, and any officer presuming to levy it after that time was to incur the penalties of præmunire, and also be disabled during his life to sue in any court.

A poll-tax is levied for the payment and disbanding of both armies, [c. 9]. Dukes were to pay £100; bishops £60; other ranks less; gentlemen of £100

per annum were taxed at £5; freemen of companies, 1s.; and meaner persons, 6d. Romish recusants were assessed at double rates.

The bishop of Norwich (Matthew Wren) is committed to the Tower, on the complaint of the Commons, July 5.

Five of the judges who had argued in favour of ship-money (Bramston, Crawley, Davenport, Trevor, and Weston) are imprisoned. An act is passed whereby all their proceedings in the matter are declared void, and all records and processes concerning the same made void and cancelled, [c. 14].

An act passed "for regulating the Privy Council, and for taking away the court commonly called the Starchamber," [c. 10]. This act asserts that all matters heretofore examined in the Starchamber are cognizable by the common law, affirms that the king and his council have no jurisdiction, power, or authority over any man's estate<sup>6</sup>, and forbids the attempt to exercise such by any officer whatever, on pain of £500 penalty for the first offence, £1,000 for the second, and disability to hold office, or to make or receive any gift, grant, or conveyance of lands, &c., for the third.

The High Commission Court abolished, and the erection of any new court with like powers forbidden, [c. 11].

The Stannary and Forest Courts regulated, [cc. 15, 16]. The jurisdiction

<sup>1</sup> Strafford wrote a letter on the 4th of May to the king, requesting that his death might be the means of reconciliation, but Charles is understood to have yielded to the sophistical reasoning of the bishop of Lincoln, and even his devoted subject, Archbishop Laud, cannot forbear to censure him. He justly remarks, that the king's speech of his determination not to assent to the bill "displeased mightily, and I verily think it hastened the earl's death. And, indeed, to what end should the king come voluntarily to say this, and there, unless he would have bided by it, whatever came? And it had been far more regal to reject the bill when it had been brought to him, (his conscience standing so as his Majesty openly professed it did,) than to make this honourable preface, and let the bill pass after."

<sup>2</sup> The reason assigned for this act, which in reality overthrew the royal authority, was, that the large sums of money necessary to be borrowed for the payment of the armies, which it was desired to disband, could not be had "until such obstacles are first removed as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his Majesty's loyal subjects, that this present parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved before justice shall be duly executed upon delinquents, public grievances redressed, a firm peace between the two nations of England and Scotland

concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the repayment of the said moneys so to be raised."

<sup>3</sup> As he passed to execution he received the blessing of his fellow-captive, Archbishop Laud, who, in the history of his own Troubles and Trial, thus notices his death: "In their judgment who were men of worth, and some upon, some near the scaffold, he made a patient, and pious, and courageous end; insomuch, that some doubted whether his death had more of the Roman or the Christian in it, it was so full of both. And, notwithstanding this hard fate which fell upon him, he is dead with more honour than any of them will gain which hunted after his life."

<sup>4</sup> To assist in raising the money, half of the plate of all persons having above £20 worth, was ordered to be brought in and coined.

<sup>5</sup> The grant was continued, by six subsequent acts [cc. 12, 22, 25, 29, 31, 36], to July 2, 1642; the purpose evidently being to extort concessions as the price of each renewal.

<sup>6</sup> As a consequence of this, the court of the president and council of Wales, the council of the North, and the palatine courts of Lancaster and Chester, were abolished, the first two entirely, the others only so far as they had imitated the arbitrary jurisdiction of the Starchamber.

of the first was confined, under heavy penalties, to causes arising among the tinnars; and the limits of forests were ordered to be ascertained by commissioners<sup>b</sup>.

Writs to compel the taking of the order of knighthood abolished<sup>c</sup>, [c. 20].

An act passed for the relief of captives taken by Turkish, Moorish, and other pirates, [c. 24]. For this purpose an additional duty of 5 per cent. was laid on merchandize for three years. It was to be received by the corporation of London, and laid out by a committee of both Houses in providing for the safeguard of the seas, the neglect of which, by evil ministers, the act states, had occasioned many to be taken captives, who, being used with extreme cruelty, had become renegades<sup>d</sup>.

The sum of £61,125 12s. 2d. voted as compensation to Hollis, Selden, Chambers, and others<sup>e</sup>, July 8.

The English and Scottish armies are disbanded on the same day, Aug. 6.

The king goes to Scotland early in August. He is followed by Lord Howard of Eskrick, Sir Philip Stapleton and Mr. Hampden, who keep up the intercourse between the malcontents in both kingdoms.

— The Commons impeach thirteen of the bishops for their share in the canons of 1640<sup>f</sup>, Aug. 13.

The Scottish parliament assembles, Aug. 17. All the recent proceedings against the bishops are confirmed by the king, and a portion of their revenues appropriated to the various Universities. The king gives new titles

and important offices to the chief actors in the late troubles<sup>g</sup>.

The parliament adjourns, Sept. 9, but both Houses appoint committees to sit during the recess.

The committee of the Peers consisted of the earl of Essex<sup>h</sup> (whom the king had lately appointed general of his forces south of Trent, with extensive powers,) and fifteen others; they confined themselves to the business of correspondence with the officers charged with the disbanding of the armies. The committee of the Commons acted very differently; they were fifty in number, and had for their chairman Mr. Pym, under whose direction they became in effect the rulers of the nation. They carried on inquiries regarding those whom the House had voted delinquents; listened to every information, whether well or ill-founded, which might discredit the king and his ministers, and issued orders on all kinds of subjects, merely on their own authority. But, as might be expected, their chief efforts were directed to overthrow the constitution of the Church, which Archbishop Laud had so zealously laboured to uphold; they thrust their own partisans into vacant livings, practised every kind of annoyance and injury to the clergy, suspended the performance of the Liturgy, and encouraged in the populace a contempt for holy places and things, which soon resulted in the most grievous profanation of churches and tombs, and in the open promulgation of the impious opinions of the Anabaptists and Socinians.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1641.

A formidable insurrection breaks out in the north of Ireland, Oct. 23.

The success of the Scots in their

recent contest inspired the Romanists of Ireland with a hope of obtaining in like manner a redress of many grievances, under which they had long la-

<sup>b</sup> At the same time the Earl Marshal's Court was voted a grievance, and abolished, without the passing of any statute.

<sup>c</sup> No person was in future to be compelled to take the order, or to compound for his respite or refusal, "under pretext of an ancient custom or usage."

<sup>d</sup> See A.D. 1609.

<sup>e</sup> This compensation was very partially paid, the parliament men receiving the most; but the greater number of claims were neglected altogether, and, as before mentioned, Chambers died 18 years after in abject poverty.

<sup>f</sup> See p. 414.

<sup>g</sup> Alexander Lesley, the general, was made earl of Leven; lord Loudoun (formerly imprisoned for corresponding with the French king), an earl; the earl of Argyll was created a marquiss.

<sup>h</sup> Robert Devereux, eldest son of the favourite of Elizabeth, born in 1591. He had long served in the Netherlands, and was esteemed a good general. When the civil war broke out he was appointed commander in chief of the parliamentary forces, his pay being fixed at the large sum of £10,000 per annum. He was displaced in 1645, and died Sept. 14, 1646.



boured, and regarding which they had just reason to complain of the bad faith of the king and his advisers<sup>1</sup>. Their ancient customs had been declared illegal by the courts; whole counties had been claimed as belonging to the crown, on the most iniquitous pretexts<sup>2</sup>; the property of their oldest and wealthiest families had been thus greatly diminished, and what remained to them was manifestly insecure. Added to this, the vehement language of the Puritan party, which had now gained so fatal an ascendancy in England, filled them with fears of a settled design to extirpate their religion; and, whilst they were excluded from offices of honour or profit, they saw the humble dependants of the "undertakers" for the new plantations sitting in parliament, or acting as magistrates. The iron rule of Wentworth prevented more than murmurs and secret confederacies, but now that he was no more, and the king's authority was in reality extinct, the energy and eloquence of one man sufficed to determine them on an appeal to arms.

This was Roger More, a gentleman of Kildare, whose family estate had been reduced to one-tenth of its original size by the aggressions of the English planters. He procured the co-operation of Sir Phelim O'Neal<sup>1</sup> (a kinsman of the attainted earl of Tyrone), of Lord Inniskillen (Cornelius

McGuire), and many other native Irish chieftains, and expecting at least the neutrality of the Anglo-Irish lords of the Pale, he planned a surprise of Dublin Castle and a general rising in Ulster, both to be attempted the same day, October 23, 1641.

The attempt on Dublin miscarried, owing to a premature disclosure of the plot to one Owen Conolly, who carried the news to the lords justices, but the rising in Ulster was at first successful. The open country was ravaged, most of the newly-founded towns captured, and the unhappy settlers either killed on the spot, or driven to take refuge in Dublin, where famine and sickness made awful ravages among them.

The lords justices sent urgent messages for succour, both to the king in Scotland and to the English parliament; fortified Dublin, and endeavoured to induce the Anglo-Irish to take the field against the insurgents; but this few of them would do; though opposed in other matters, they were united to O'Neal by community of faith, and the threats of the Puritans. Some troops, however, arrived from England, the natives were worsted in many encounters, and horrible cruelties were committed on both sides<sup>2</sup>. The marquis of Ormond<sup>3</sup>, lord-lieutenant, laboured zealously to preserve the semblance of the royal authority, but in this he was opposed as much by

<sup>1</sup> In 1628 the king had, for a large sum of money (£120,000), agreed to a series of *Graces*, as they were termed, by which, among other things, the oath of supremacy was dispensed with, recusants were allowed to practise in the courts of law, and a promise was given that claims by the crown to concealed property should be limited to sixty years. It was promised that these concessions should be ratified by a parliament, but by the dishonest management of Wentworth this was defeated, although the money had been paid.

<sup>2</sup> Wentworth, in his letters, avows his opinion that Ireland was a conquered country, and that therefore its inhabitants had neither rights nor property except by express grant from the crown. Acting on this, he claimed the whole province of Connaught, as given by Henry III. to Richard de Burgh, and reannexed to the crown by De Burgh's descendant, Edward IV. A jury at Galway, having returned a verdict that the grant in question was only of certain royalties, not of the fee-simple of the land, were heavily fined and imprisoned; and the freeholders were thus intimidated into the surrender of from one-third to one-half of their lands, upon which it was proposed to found new English plantations. These grievances fell heavily upon the whole body of Romanists, while at the same time the Protestant settlers were harassed by inquiries into the mode in which they had fulfilled the conditions of their grants, and rendered almost as discontented as the native Irish.

<sup>3</sup> He had studied the law in Lincoln's Inn, and professed Protestantism; but he now avowed himself a Romanist. After a variety of fortune he was captured by the republicans and executed, in 1652.

<sup>4</sup> In Rushworth (vol. iii.) may be seen a long list of butcheries said to have been committed by the Romanists on the Protestants, grounded on inquisitions taken some years after; but it is remarkable that the lords justices, writing at the very time, make no mention of any such general massacre of the Protestants (amounting to 200,000 according to some writers, to 40,000 or 50,000 according to others,) as is usually said to have occurred. The contest was doubtless embittered by the difference of creeds, but it unquestionably arose rather from political than purely religious causes: the Romanists aimed to preserve their estates.

<sup>5</sup> James Butler, successively earl, marquis, and duke of Ormond, was born in London in 1610, and was educated by Archbishop Abbot. He is favourably known for his honest and able government of Ireland, of which country he was four times lord-lieutenant; namely, from 1642 to 1647; 1648 to 1650; 1662 to 1669; and 1677 to 1685. He passed several years in poverty with the exiled king, and on the Restoration experienced little gratitude from him for all his sufferings and losses, though these were considered by the Irish parliament in a far more liberal manner than those of meaner men. Ormond did not long survive his last recall from his post, dying July 21, 1688.

the troops of the parliament as by those of the confederate Catholics<sup>o</sup>. With the latter he at length concluded an armistice, (Sept. 15, 1643), the king, though doubtless in no way connected with the original rising, as his enemies asserted, having before this negotiated with the Irish for their help against his parliament<sup>p</sup>. On the ruin of the royal cause in England, Ormond was obliged to make a treaty with the parliament (June 19, 1647) and withdraw to the continent. The Assembly of Kilkenny, however, refused to be bound by the stipulations that he had made, and though he returned to his post in 1648, the triumphant Parliamentarians carried on the war until they had effected more than any of the English kings had ever done, and by the complete conquest of the island were enabled to portion it out by the sword among their adherents.

#### A.D. 1641.

The parliament reassembles, Oct. 20. They receive information of the events in Ireland, Oct. 25; and the king commits the conduct of the war to them.

The king fills up several vacant bishoprics<sup>q</sup>, on which the Commons remonstrate, but fail to procure the concurrence of the Peers.

The king returns to England. He

is entertained by the citizens of London, with great apparent cordiality, Nov. 25. He removes the next day to Hampton Court, and shortly after revokes the commission of the earl of Essex as general south of Trent.

The Commons draw up a vehement Remonstrance, which they present to the king<sup>r</sup>, Dec. 1.

The king returns to Whitehall, early in December. Many gentlemen offer their services as a body guard<sup>s</sup>, between whom and the populace skirmishes frequently occur.

The bishops, being daily assaulted on their way to the parliament, at length draw up, at the recommendation of Williams, archbishop of York, a protest against "all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations" passed during their "enforced absence," Dec. 28.

The protest is communicated to the parliament, Dec. 29. On the complaint of the Commons, the signers, twelve in number, are committed to the Tower<sup>t</sup>, Dec. 30.

The Commons apply to the king for a guard, under the command of the earl of Essex, Dec. 31; the king refuses.

#### A.D. 1642.

The attorney-general (Sir Edward Herbert), by order of the king, exhi-

<sup>o</sup> This was the name assumed by a body that first met at Kells in May, 1642. On October 24 of the same year an Assembly was regularly constituted at Kilkenny. It consisted of 11 prelates, 14 peers, and 226 commoners, of Irish or Anglo-Irish race, raised an army, sent and received envoys, offered the sovereignty of Ireland to various foreign princes, and carried on an orderly government for some years; but being opposed by both Ormond and the Parliament, it ceased to meet in 1648.

<sup>p</sup> His agent was Lord Glamorgan (Edward Somerset, afterwards marquis of Worcester), who was empowered to treat with them without the knowledge of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. Charles was so disingenuous as to disavow him, and declare that he had exceeded his instructions; but the original documents remain, and they prove that such was not the case.

<sup>q</sup> Bristol, Carlisle, Chichester, Exeter, Norwich, Salisbury, Worcester, and York.

<sup>r</sup> It consisted of no less than 206 articles, and dwelt with bitterness on every harsh or illegal act that had been committed by the government from the period of the king's accession. It was printed, and widely distributed, and had a most baneful effect on the people, who crowded daily to the parliament-house, attacked the bishops, and menaced the court.

<sup>s</sup> They were commanded by Colonel Lunsford, a man of bad character, and a Romanist: the appellations Cavaliers and Roundheads arose from these conflicts. The king named Lunsford governor

of the Tower, Dec. 23, but revoked the appointment three days after.

<sup>t</sup> They were, John Williams, archbishop of York; Thomas Morton, George Coke, and Godfrey Goodman, bishops of Durham, Hereford, and Gloucester; Joseph Hall, John and Morgan Owen, of Norwich, St. Asaph, and Llandaff; William Pierce, Robert Skinner, and John Towers, of Bath and Wells, Oxford, and Peterborough; Matthew Wren and Robert Wright, of Ely, and Coventry and Lichfield. "We poor souls," says one of their number, Bishop Hall, in his "Hard Measure," "who little thought that we had done anything that might deserve a chiding, are now called to our knees at the bar, and charged severally with high treason, being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the perfect innocence of our own intentions, which were only to bring us to our due places in parliament with safety and speed, without the least purpose of any man's offence; but now traitors we are in all the haste, and must be dealt with accordingly. For on December 30, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower; only two of our number had the favour of the black rod by reason of their age, which though desired by a noble lord on my behalf, would not be granted; wherein I acknowledge and bless the gracious providence of my God, for had I been gratified I had been undone both in body and purse; the rooms being strait, and the expense beyond the reach of my estate."

bits articles of treason in the House of Lords against Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons<sup>a</sup>, Jan. 3, and demands that they be delivered up. Meanwhile the Commons pass a vote empowering their members to stand on their defence against any arrest; the parties retire into the city, under the protection of the trained bands, but their lodgings are searched, and their papers seized.

The king comes to the House, attended by a guard, and demands the delivery of the five members, Jan. 4. "At his unexpected coming into the House," says Whitelock, "they were in a very great amazement, but upon his going away, and so as he might hear them, the House was in a great disorder, crying aloud, many of them together, 'Privilege! privilege!'"

The Commons vote the king's coming "in a warlike manner" a high breach of privilege, declare the order for the apprehension of the five members "false, scandalous, and illegal," assert that they cannot safely sit without a guard, which the king has refused them, and adjourn the House, Jan. 5, after appointing committees<sup>2</sup> to sit in the city.

The king goes into the city, Jan. 5, and explains his proceedings and intentions regarding the five members<sup>7</sup>.

The parliamentary committee collects evidence as to the king's coming to the House, Jan. 6, 7. The citizens petition the king, complaining of neglect of the affairs of Ireland, and also of his attempt to seize the members, Jan. 7.

The king issues a fresh proclama-

tion to arrest the members, Jan. 8. The parliamentary committee arranges for protecting them in their return to the House.

The king, alarmed at the preparations in the city, retires to Hampton Court, Jan. 10, and removes on Jan. 12 to Windsor.

The parliament reassembles, Jan. 11. The five members are brought back in triumph, attended by an armed force both by land and water<sup>2</sup>.

Lord Digby, Colonel Lunsford, and others, appear in arms for the king at Kingston, Jan. 12; the parliament votes them traitors. Lunsford is captured and committed to the Tower, but Digby escapes to the continent.

A large body of Buckinghamshire freeholders<sup>a</sup> repair to the king at Hampton Court, and complain of the accusation against their member (John Hampden), Jan. 12. The king informs them that he has abandoned the charges.

The Commons pass votes to secure possession of the Tower, Portsmouth, and Hull<sup>b</sup>, Jan. 12; impeach Herbert, the attorney-general<sup>c</sup>, Jan. 15; and draw up a declaration of their privileges, Jan. 17.

The king sends a message, Jan. 20, desiring the parliament to digest all their demands and grievances into one body, and promising his favourable consideration of whatever they may propose.

The Commons express their thanks (Jan. 26), but desire, "as a sure ground of safety and confidence," that the king will place the militia in the hands of

<sup>a</sup> Lord Kimbolton (Edward Montagu) became earl of Manchester, and a general in the parliamentary army, but was displaced by the Self-denying Ordinance. The commoners were, John Hampden, the opponent of ship-money; Pym, the leader of the proceedings against Strafford; Sir Arthur Haselrigge, afterwards a regicide, and who died in the Tower in 1661; Denzil Holles, afterwards earl of Clare; and William Strode, a Spanish merchant, and son of one of the members imprisoned in 1629.

<sup>2</sup> One was charged with the affairs of Ireland; the other was to concert measures for the safety of the accused members. The first sat in the Guildhall, the other occupied sometimes Grocers'-hall, sometimes Merchant Taylors'-hall.

<sup>7</sup> He was received with sullen silence, the only exception being that one man (Henry Walker, an ironmonger) raised the ominous cry, "To your tents, O Israel!"

<sup>2</sup> Skippon, the sergeant-major-general of the London trained bands, was the commander.

<sup>a</sup> They were not above 2,000 strong, according to

Sir Edward Dering, then one of their party, though their number was given out as 4,000; but systematic exaggeration was a part of their terrorizing system.

<sup>b</sup> There was an idea that the king had received the promise of a force from France, which was to land at Portsmouth. Goring, the governor, held the town for a while, but was driven out by the earl of Essex. The Tower had a large quantity of stores, which the king had endeavoured to remove, but which was now prevented by a blockade, under Skippon; and in Hull was 16,000 stand of arms, placed there on the recent disbandment. Through the activity of Sir John Hotham, the king was prevented from entering Hull, and an attempt to besiege that town was the first operation of the unhappy civil war.

<sup>c</sup> He escaped to the king, went abroad on the ruin of the royal cause, and received the nominal office of lord-keeper from Charles II. in 1653. He was soon displaced by Hyde, and died in poverty at Paris in 1657.

such persons only as they shall recommend to him. The king declines to comply.

An act passed to disable persons in holy orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority, [16 Car. 1. c. 27]. They were not to have place in parliament, or in the privy council, neither were they to act as justices of the peace, or to execute any commission under the crown; any acts as such done by them were to be void<sup>d</sup>.

Several statutes passed for "the speedy and effectual reducing of the rebels in His Majesty's kingdom of Ireland." A body of soldiers was ordered to be pressed [c. 28], and contributions were solicited [c. 30]; but these being uncertain, a levy of £400,000 was decreed, to be paid into the chambers of London and York [c. 32]; beside which, as "divers worthy and well-affected persons had perceived that many millions of acres of the rebels' lands of that kingdom which go under the name of profitable lands would be confiscate and to be disposed of," 2,500,000 acres were at once offered to persons who would adventure money<sup>e</sup>; the sums were to be paid into the Chamber of London, in four instalments, and corporations were allowed to subscribe, [cc. 33, 34, 35]. Very large sums were thus raised, but they were mainly applied by the parliament in England to carry on war with the king, and the settlers in Ireland were left almost entirely to their own resources.

The queen passes over to Holland<sup>f</sup>, where she sells or pawns the crown jewels, and buys arms and military stores for the king, February.

The king retires to Theobalds, Feb. 28. The parliament again desire the control of the militia<sup>g</sup>, and beg that he will not withdraw from London, March 1. He declines compliance<sup>h</sup>.

The parliament direct the earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral, to take the command of the fleet<sup>i</sup>, in order to prevent the landing of supplies from the queen<sup>k</sup>.

The earls of Pembroke and Holland, and some members of the Commons, are sent to the king at Newmarket, March 9, to remonstrate with him on his proceedings; an angry conference ensues<sup>l</sup>. On their return the Houses vote that the king's absence is fatal to the affairs of Ireland, and that those who have advised it are justly to be suspected as favourers of the rebellion there.

The parliament vote that their ordinance for the defence of the kingdom is to be obeyed, and that the king's commissions of lieutenancy are illegal and void, April 15.

The king sends a message to the parliament from Huntingdon, offering to proceed to Ireland, and informing them that he has prepared a bill concerning the militia; they return no answer.

The king is refused entrance into Hull, by Sir John Hotham<sup>m</sup>, April 23. He complains to the parliament, but they justify Hotham, and remove the arms and stores to London.

The king and the parliament exchange their bills about the militia, but no agreement can be effected.

The parliament direct their ordinance for the militia to be carried

<sup>d</sup> The king was with much difficulty induced to give his consent to this act, and its repeal was one of the earliest measures at the Restoration, [13 Car. II. c. 2].

<sup>e</sup> They were divided into lots of 1,000 acres each, "all according to the English measure, and consisting of meadow, arable, and profitable pasture; the bogs, woods, and barren mountains being cast in over and above." The sum paid was different for each province. In Ulster the price was £200; in Connaught £300; in Munster £450; in Leinster £600.

<sup>f</sup> The pretext for this journey was the marriage of her daughter Mary to William, prince of Orange, son of the Stadtholder.

<sup>g</sup> Though styled a petition, their communication was more like a threat, as they told the king that if he should not be pleased to follow their humble advice, they should be constrained, to prevent future fears and jealousies, to settle that necessary business of the militia without him. They acted up to this by ordinances, Feb. 26, and March 5, 1642, which appointed fifty-five persons commissioners of

array, with power to suppress "all insurrections, rebellions, and invasions."

<sup>h</sup> The king journeyed on, by easy stages, to York: he reached Royston, March 3; Newmarket, 7; Huntingdon, 14; Stamford, 15; Newark, 17; Doncaster, 18; York, 19.

<sup>i</sup> The earl of Warwick was his lieutenant. The king sent Sir John Pennington to obtain possession of the fleet, but he failed.

<sup>k</sup> A ship-load of stores sent by her was captured, but several vessels arrived safely, and an ordinance was passed, Dec. 10, 1642, for fitting out a fleet of cruisers.

<sup>l</sup> The king's character suffers from his conduct on this occasion. To the well-founded charge of consenting to Jermyn's design of bringing in the army to coerce the parliament (see p. 416), he answered, "It is false;" and when taxed with the treason of Captain Legg, "That's a lie."

<sup>m</sup> Hotham had only of late joined the parliamentary party. A few years before he had been strenuous in urging the payment of ship-money.

out", May 5. The king denounces it as illegal, and summons the gentry of York, to form a guard for the protection of his person, May 12.

The parliament vote this treason, and order all sheriffs and others to oppose it, May 28.

The king in return declares the ordinance for the militia treasonable, and summons the people of Yorkshire to repair to him; the parliament forbid them to do so.

Lord Falkland, (Lucius Cary,) Mr. Hyde<sup>o</sup>, and several other moderate members of the parliament, withdraw, and repair to the king. In consequence, all the members are ordered to attend the Houses, on pain of forfeiting £100 towards the expenses of the Irish war<sup>p</sup>.

The parliament send propositions of peace<sup>q</sup> to the king, June 2. He rejects them.

The lord-keeper, Lyttelton, sends the great seal to the king, and shortly after leaves the parliament and joins him, early in June.

The king makes a solemn declaration before his peers and councillors at York of his intention to exercise a legal government, June 13. The assembly in general signify their adhesion to him.

The king invites his people to supply him with money, horses, and arms, pledging his parks and forests for their repayment.

The king visits Lincoln and Nottingham, in July, and makes a similar declaration to that at York.

The earl of Leicester (Robert Sydney) is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, June 14. He does not go there, and the office is bestowed (Nov. 13) on the marquis of Ormond.

The Houses vote that an army shall be raised "for the defence of the king and parliament," appointing the earl of Essex captain-general<sup>r</sup>, and the earl of Bedford (William Russell) general of the horse, July 12.

The king proclaims Essex and his officers guilty of treason, (Aug. 2,) and orders the marquis of Hertford, (William Seymour,) his lieutenant-general, to march against them.

The parliament vote the king's commissioners of array to be traitors, Aug. 9.

The king sets up his standard at Nottingham, Monday, August 22.

The king sends propositions of accommodation to the parliament, Aug. 25. They decline to entertain them, while his standard continues spread, and they are denounced as traitors. He sends a fresh message (Sept. 3), offering to recal his proclamation against Essex and others, if they will do the same. They vote a reply, "that the arms of the parliament for religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, shall not be laid down till delinquents be left to justice, that their

<sup>o</sup> In pursuance of this, the parliament mustered six regiments of the London trained bands, under Skippon, in Finsbury-fields, May 10. On hearing of it, the king assembled a troop of 200 horse, and one regiment of 700 foot; the horsemen were gentry who served at their own charge, but the foot were paid weekly by the king.

<sup>p</sup> They had before held correspondence clandestinely with him. Lord Falkland became secretary of state, and was killed at Newbury; Mr. Hyde was made chancellor of the exchequer.

Edward Hyde was born in Wiltshire in 1603, and was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. On the decline of the royal cause he found shelter in Jersey for awhile, and was a valued adherent of Charles II. in exile. At the Restoration he was made lord chancellor, and earl of Clarendon, but soon became unpopular, being accused of corruption; a charge to which the sale of Dunkirk and his own magnificent style of living, gave an appearance of probability. He was in 1667 deprived of office, and banished by act of parliament, [19 & 20 Car. II. c. 2]; he passed through France to Montpellier, and then back to Rouen, where he died, Dec. 9, 1674. His daughter Anne became the wife of the duke of York, and the mother of two queens. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, and his Life, though in some places partial and in others inaccurate, are indispensable to the historical student.

<sup>r</sup> Many of the absentees were by another vote deprived of their seats.

<sup>q</sup> They were nineteen in number, and of such a nature as they could not expect him to accept. They desired that the king's council should not consist of less than fifteen, or more than twenty-four members; that these and the great officers of state should be subject to the approval of parliament; that an oath should be taken by them for the maintenance of the Petition of Right; that the education and marriages of the royal family should be subject to the consent of parliament; the militia and the castles of the kingdom placed in their hands; delinquents left to justice; the laws against Romanists executed, and Romish Peers excluded from parliament, firm alliance made only with Protestant states; reparation made to any who had been deprived of office, or prosecuted (as the earl of Essex, Lord Kimbolton, the five members, &c.), and a general pardon granted, with such exceptions as the Houses might require; which was only another version of their constant demand, that all "delinquents" should lie at their mercy.

<sup>r</sup> A committee was associated with him, "to take subscriptions of loans, and order matters concerning malignants, and consider of the good of the army." His pay of £10,000 a-year, was to be raised from "delinquents'" estates.

estates may discharge the debts of the commonwealth."

Portsmouth surrendered to the parliament by Colonel Goring, Sept. 9.

Sir John Hotham sallies from Hull, and obliges the king's forces under the earl of Lindsey (Robert Bertie) to withdraw.

The king collects a considerable force, and makes his head-quarters at Shrewsbury<sup>s</sup>, Sept. 20. The parliamentary forces march towards him, under the command of the earl of Essex.

The parliament send Walter Strickland as their resident to Holland, to induce the States to prohibit assistance being given to the king.

The king marches from Shrewsbury towards London, when the parliament order the city to be fortified<sup>t</sup>.

Essex garrisons Northampton and other towns, and recovers Worcester from Prince Rupert<sup>u</sup>. He then follows the king's army, and overtaking it at Edgehill, (near Kington, in Warwickshire,) a bloody, but indecisive,

battle, is fought there, Sunday, Oct. 23<sup>x</sup>. The king moves to Oxford, of which he takes possession, Oct. 26; Essex returns to London with his forces, Nov. 7, and receives a gratuity of £5,000 from the parliament<sup>y</sup>.

The parliament invite the assistance of the Scots; their application is favourably received.

A General Assembly of Irish Catholics meets at Kilkenny, Oct. 24. It invites partisans, makes a seal, levies money for the support of an army, orders an oath of association to be taken, and commits the government to a Supreme Council of 24, of which Viscount Mountgarret is the president<sup>z</sup>.

The civil war had now commenced in earnest. In Wales, Cornwall, and Yorkshire, the king had strong bodies of troops; he himself possessed Oxford, and Prince Rupert kept the whole country between that city and London in constant alarm<sup>a</sup>. The king resolved to march on London, when proposals of peace were sent to

\* The day before he mustered his forces at Wellington, and made a solemn protestation of his intention to respect the rights and liberties of his people, and to abide by the various laws to which he had recently consented.

<sup>t</sup> "It was wonderful," says Whitelock, "to see how the women and children and vast numbers of people would come to work, about digging and carrying of earth, to make their new fortifications."

<sup>u</sup> The prince had seized the city shortly before, and on Sept. 25 defeated a strong party of the parliamentary horse, under Colonel Sandys, who was mortally wounded.

Prince Rupert, born in 1619, was nephew of the king, and a man of distinguished talent and bravery. His conduct, however, was rash and overbearing, and having surrendered Bristol too readily, he was desired to leave the kingdom. In 1648 he commanded a part of the fleet that had abandoned the parliament; he was chased from sea to sea by Blake, but escaped his pursuit, and lived in retirement until the Restoration. He returned with Charles II., again served at sea, and died Nov. 29, 1682. His elder brother Charles Louis associated himself with the parliamentarians, but his younger brother Maurice served the king, and accompanying Rupert in his cruises, perished at sea in 1650.

<sup>x</sup> Sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard bearer, was killed, and the standard taken, but it was recovered by Robert Welch, an Irish gentleman, who was in consequence knighted, and afterwards received a gold medal, struck in his honour.

<sup>y</sup> The widows, orphans, and wounded of their party received a solemn promise of relief, Oct. 25; and on March 6, 1643, an ordinance was made for an assessment on each parish for their support.

<sup>z</sup> On Nov. 15 it was determined to appoint agents "to be employed to his majesty, hereby to inform his majesty's highness of the motives and causes of raising this holy war, and other the grievances of this kingdom at this present."

<sup>a</sup> A regiment of his horse was quartered at Fawley Court, the property of Whitelock, whose description of their proceedings may give some idea

of the miserable state of the land, when such or worse outrages were perpetrated by both parties in every quarter:—

"Sir John Biron and his brother," he says, "commanded those horse, and gave order that they should commit no insolence at my house, nor plunder my goods; but soldiers are not easily governed against their plunder, or persuaded to restrain it; for there being about 1,000 of the king's horse quartered in and about the house, and none but servants there, there was no insolence or outrage usually committed by common soldiers on a reputed enemy which was omitted by these brutish fellows at my house. . . . They spent and consumed too load of corn and hay, littered their horses with sheaves of good wheat, and gave them all sorts of corn in the straw; divers writings of consequence, and books which were left in my study, some of them they tore in pieces, others they burnt to light their tobacco, and some they carried away with them, to my extreme great loss and prejudice in wanting the writings of my estate, and losing very many excellent manuscripts of my father's and others, and some of my own labours.

"They broke down my park pales, killed most of my deer, though rascal and carrion, and let out all the rest, only a tame young stag they carried away and presented to Prince Rupert, and my hounds, which were extraordinary good. They ate and drank up all that the house could afford; broke up all my trunks, chests, and places; and where they found linen, or any household stuff, they took it away with them, and cutting the beds, let out the feathers, and took away the ticks. They likewise carried away my coach, and four good horses, and all my saddle horses, and did all the mischief and spoil that malice and enmity could provoke barbarous mercenaries to commit, and so they parted.

"This," he concludes, "is remembered only to raise a constant hatred of anything that may in the least tend to the fomenting of such unhappiness and misery."

him, and conferences appointed to be held at Windsor (Nov. 11), but he still advanced, possessed himself, after a sharp fight, of Brentford<sup>b</sup>, Nov. 12, and on the following day came to Turnham-green. He was there faced by Essex<sup>c</sup>, and, without fighting, retired to Colnbrook, whence he retreated through Reading to Oxford, arriving there Nov. 29.

A tax of one-twentieth of every one's estate ordained by the parliament for the support of the war, Dec. 13.

The eastern counties<sup>d</sup> associate

against the king, under the command of Lord Grey of Warke.

Goring lands in Yorkshire with supplies from Holland, and the war is carried on fiercely between the earl of Newcastle<sup>e</sup> and Lord Fairfax<sup>f</sup>.

A.D. 1643.

A negotiation for peace is carried on at Oxford<sup>g</sup>, at intervals, from Jan. 30 to April 15, but without any result.

The king establishes a mint in New Inn Hall, Oxford, where the plate of the colleges is coined for his use<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> Among other prisoners taken there was John Lilburne (see A.D. 1637), who conducted himself so violently to Prince Rupert and others, that the prince threatened to put him to death, but was deterred by an intimation of reprisal from the earl of Essex. He was afterwards ordered for trial at Oxford, along with two others, named Catesby and Vivers, but was again saved by a threat of retaliation from the Parliament.

<sup>c</sup> "The city bands marched forth very cheerfully under the command of Major-general Skippon, who made short and encouraging speeches to his soldiers, which were to this purpose: 'Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us.'" Whitelock, who was present, further says, "The city good wives, and others, mindful of their husbands and friends, sent many cart-loads of provisions, and wines, and good things to Turnham-green, with which the soldiers were refreshed, and made merry; and the more, when they understood that the king and all his army were retreated."

<sup>d</sup> The associated counties, as they were called, were, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford. The earl of Manchester (formerly Lord Kimbolton) afterwards commanded their levies, having under him Oliver Cromwell. Their proceedings were regulated by an ordinance, Jan. 16, 1643.

<sup>e</sup> William Cavendish, so created March 7, 1628,

and raised to the rank of marquis Oct. 27, 1643. At length, disgusted by the rashness of the Prince Rupert, he suddenly abandoned the contest after the battle of Marston-moor, and withdrew to the continent. He returned with Charles II., was made duke of Newcastle, and died Dec. 25, 1676.

<sup>f</sup> Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax (born 1590, died March 13, 1648) was assisted by his son Thomas, who became the chief commander of the parliamentary army when new modelled. Thomas was born in 1612, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and had served in the Netherlands under Lord Vere. Being a rigid Presbyterian, he resigned his command in preference to leading the army against the Scots, and lived in retirement until 1660, when he actively exerted himself to forward the restoration of Charles II. He died Nov. 12, 1671.

<sup>g</sup> Whitelock was one of the commissioners, and he gives this testimony as to the king's abilities: "In this treaty the king manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and gave a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was, that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own, though they were weaker than his own; and of this we had experience, to our great trouble."

<sup>h</sup> Exeter College hesitated to surrender its plate, but gave way, Jan. 28, and parted with 246lb. The mint continued in operation until 1646. One remarkable coin struck there (a crown-piece, of the



Oxford Siege Piece.

type styled Exurgat money) is represented above. Here also was struck the gold medal for Sir Robert Welch, who recovered the royal standard at

Edgehill. It bears on one side the portraits of the king and Prince Charles, and on the other a representation of the standard, with inscriptions.

The exchequer is also settled at Oxford, Feb. 13<sup>1</sup>.

The queen lands at Burlington with supplies<sup>k</sup>, Feb. 22, but is unable to join the king until July 13.

The earl of Northampton (James Compton) defeats the Parliamentarians at Hopton heath, near Stafford, March 19.

The parliament, by ordinance, declare the estates of all persons in arms against them under sequestration, March 30.

The earl of Essex takes Reading, April 27, and Sir William Waller<sup>l</sup> is successful in the west.

The Cornish men take arms for the king. They defeat the earl of Stamford (Henry Grey) at Stratton, May 16, and advance into Somersetshire.

A plan to disarm the militia of London, and let in the king's forces, is detected and punished<sup>m</sup>, June, July.

John Hampden is mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove, near Oxford, June 18; he dies, at Thame, June 24.

Sir William Waller is defeated at Lansdown (near Bath<sup>n</sup>), July 5, and

at Devizes<sup>o</sup>, July 13. Bristol is surrendered to Prince Rupert, July 27.

London is fortified by order of the parliament.

Commissioners from the Scottish parliament arrive in London<sup>p</sup>.

The king forms the siege of Gloucester, Aug. 10. It is relieved by Essex, Sept. 6.

Essex retires towards London. He is followed by the king, and attacked at Newbury, Sept. 20, but beats off the assailants<sup>q</sup>.

The Scottish Covenant, with some modifications<sup>r</sup>, is solemnly received by the parliament at the assembly of divines<sup>s</sup>, Sept. 25.

The parliament make a new great seal, in lieu of the original, which is in the king's hands<sup>t</sup>, October.

The earl of Newcastle defeats Lord Fairfax at Adwalton-moor, near Bradford, June 30, and penetrates into Lincolnshire, when his troops refuse to march further south.

Sir John Hotham and his son are committed to the Tower, on a charge of deserting the cause of the parliament<sup>u</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The proclamation ordering this bears date February 8.

<sup>k</sup> The Commons in consequence proposed an impeachment against her (May 22), but the Peers declined to entertain it.

<sup>l</sup> He was born in 1597, of a good Kentish family, was educated at Oxford, and had served with great reputation in the German war. On his return to England he was, through family quarrels, fined in the Star Chamber, and became at once disaffected to the Government. Being chosen a member of the Long Parliament, he was one of the earliest to take up arms. Waller was considered the rival of Essex, but was, like him, removed from the army by the Self-denying Ordinance; as a leader among the Presbyterians, he opposed the designs of the Independents, was impeached by them and imprisoned, in 1643. He was again imprisoned as a royalist after the death of Cromwell, but was soon released, and sat in the parliament that recalled Charles II. He died Sept. 19, 1668.

<sup>m</sup> Edmund Waller, the poet, who had been one of the commissioners at Oxford, was the principal contriver, but he had the baseness to betray his confederates, and thus saved his own life, being allowed to go into exile. One of the parties, Nathaniel Tompkins, was executed in Cornhill, July 5.

<sup>n</sup> Sir Bevil Grenville, the commander of the Cornish troops, was killed here.

<sup>o</sup> The rout, which occurred on Roundway down, was so complete, that the royalists called it the battle of "Runaway" down. It caused a fierce quarrel between Waller and Essex, Waller asserting that Essex from jealousy had purposely neglected to support him.

<sup>p</sup> Lord Maitland, (afterwards earl of Lauderdale) was the principal.

<sup>q</sup> The earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, (Robert Dormer and Henry Spenser,) and Lord Falkland, fell in this battle. Essex's horse was totally

routed, but his foot, principally composed of the London trained bands, stood firm, and enabled him to retire without the loss of a single gun.

<sup>r</sup> This celebrated document, which now received the title of the Solemn League and Covenant, differs in many respects from that of 1638 (see p. 413). It consists of six articles, by which the subscribers bind themselves to endeavour the preservation of the reformed Church in Scotland, and the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, "in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches;" to extirpate "popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness;" to preserve the liberties of parliament and the king's person and authority; to discover and punish all "incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments;" to preserve "a blessed peace between these kingdoms;" and to assist and defend all who enter into the Covenant; "all which," say they, "we shall do as in the sight of God."

<sup>s</sup> This body, which consisted of 120 divines, with 30 lay assessors, was constituted by an ordinance, June 12, 1643, and it could only debate on matters submitted to it by the parliament. Milton and other contemporaries of various shades of opinion speak in very disparaging terms of both the learning and integrity of these divines, who were the paid servants of the Houses; (their allowance was 4s. a-day;) and who, though fierce declaimers against pluralities and non-residence, sought eagerly for every valuable preferment.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 423. They placed it in the keeping of two lords and four commoners.

<sup>u</sup> They were not tried till long after. When brought to trial they were found guilty, and were executed early in 1645.



Hull unsuccessfully besieged by the earl of Newcastle, from Sept. 2 to Oct. 11.

The merchant adventurers lend £60,000 to the parliament, when fresh privileges are granted to them by an ordinance.

The marquis of Ormond agrees to a cessation of arms with the Irish, Sept. 15. Many of them in consequence come into England to the assistance of the king, November.

Sir Henry Vane and four others appointed commissioners to the Scottish parliament.

The earl of Warwick is appointed governor and admiral of the American plantations, by ordinance, Nov. 2.

The duke of Hamilton<sup>\*</sup> repairs to the king, at Oxford. He is considered a traitor, and is confined in Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall.

The isle of Jersey occupied by the king's forces.

A.D. 1644.

The Scots enter England to assist the parliament, in January. They attempt to take Newcastle, but fail, Feb.

3; they then possess themselves of Sunderland, where the marquis of Newcastle blockades them<sup>†</sup>, March 4.

A parliament summoned by the king, meets at Oxford, Jan. 22, and sits till April. It consists of about 40 peers and 100 commoners<sup>‡</sup>. They vote taxes, impose an excise, write to the earl of Essex to treat for peace with "those by whom he is employed," and at length declare the parliament sitting at Westminster traitors.

Sir Thomas Fairfax defeats the king's Irish troops at Nantwich<sup>§</sup>, Jan. 25, and then marches to relieve the Scots.

The parliament issue a Declaration, Jan. 30, allowing persons who were or had been in arms against them to compound for their sequestered estates<sup>||</sup>.

Sir Edward Dering<sup>¶</sup> quits the king at Oxford, and submits to the parliament, thus setting the example of compounding for "delinquency," February.

Archbishop Laud's trial commences, March 12. It is continued by adjournment until November.

Latham House is defended by the countess of Derby against the parliamentary forces from February to

<sup>\*</sup> He had but recently received this title, April 12, 1643.

<sup>†</sup> They were 21,500 strong, and were commanded by Alexander Lesley, earl of Leven; David Lesley (sometimes called Lord Newark) served under him; both were veteran soldiers from the German wars. The apparent inactivity of the Scots was displeasing to their allies, and, though various sums were at different times voted on their application, it was not till Feb. 28, 1645, that an ordinance was made, granting an assessment of £21,000 monthly for their support.

<sup>‡</sup> Clarendon says, 45 peers and 118 commoners. There were besides, about 20 peers in military command, whilst the House at Westminster mustered but 22 altogether.

<sup>§</sup> Among the prisoners taken was George Monk, the future restorer of royalty. He was born of a good Devonshire family, in 1608, and in his 17th year sailed in Lord Wimbledon's expedition against Cadiz. He afterwards joined the English forces in the pay of Holland, but returned to England when the civil war broke out, and served in Ormond's army in Ireland. After an imprisonment of some length he was induced to join the Parliamentarians, and was sent again to Ireland (Nov. 1646), where he acted vigorously against the natives; and next, changing the scene of his employment, commanded the fleet against the Dutch, whom he twice defeated. Monk was entrusted by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, and the force at his disposal enabled him to secure the return of Charles II. to his kingdoms without any appearance of opposition. Monk was created duke of Albemarle, received vast grants of Irish forfeited lands, and a large pension; he, however, was not inclined to be idle, and when a new Dutch war

broke out, distinguished himself as joint admiral of the fleet with Prince Rupert, and by his personal exertions prevented the landing of the Dutch at Chatham. He here exposed himself so much to danger that a friend advised him to be more cautious, but he only replied, "Sir, if I had feared bullets, I had quitted my trade of a soldier long ago." He died Jan. 3, 1670, and received a pompous funeral in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>||</sup> These compositions were to be accompanied by acceptance of the Covenant, but where the parties had friends among the ruling powers, this was often excused.

<sup>¶</sup> He was the grand-nephew of Edward Dering, the Puritan, and was born in 1598. After holding for some time the post of lieutenant of Dover Castle, he became a member of the Long Parliament, where he was very conspicuous for his zeal in attacking the Church. At length becoming alarmed at the violent proceedings of his associates, he endeavoured to moderate their course, when he was expelled the House, Feb. 4, 1642. He soon after joined the king's forces, but had hardly done so, when he began attempting a reconciliation with the parliament. This did not take effect until the parliament issued their Declaration, when he petitioned to be allowed to compound, but ere the matter was settled he died, June 22, 1644, a subject of contemptuous pity with both parties. His estate was valued at £800 a-year, but as it had been greatly damaged by the sequestrators, and to induce others to follow his example, the composition was fixed at £1000, a rate much lower than afterwards prevailed; and, by an extraordinary act of grace, this payment was remitted in favour of his heir.

May, when it is relieved by Prince Rupert<sup>d</sup>.

The prince elector (Charles Louis, the king's nephew) joins the parliament, and takes the Covenant.

The earl of Essex and Waller advance against Oxford, in April. The king retires to Worcester, but suddenly returning, defeats Waller at Cropredy-bridge (near Banbury), June 29.

Essex marches westward, and penetrates into Cornwall.

The Fairfaxes and the Scots besiege York, in June.

Taunton is taken for the parliament by Colonel Blake<sup>e</sup>, but is soon after again besieged by the royalists.

Prince Rupert relieves York, July 1. Following up the enemy he is totally defeated at Marston-moor<sup>f</sup>, July 2. York in consequence surrenders, July 15; and Newcastle is captured by the Scots, October 29.

The queen, who had taken refuge at Exeter, leaves England, July 14.

The earls of Antrim and Montrose (Randal McDonald and James Graham<sup>g</sup>), and the marquis of Huntley (George Gordon<sup>h</sup>), raise the royal standard in Scotland.

A body of 1,500 Irish land in the west, under Alister McDonald, in July. Montrose joins them, takes the command, defeats Lord Elcho at Tippermuir (near Perth), Sept. 1; and sacks

Aberdeen, Sept. 12. He is obliged to flee by the approach of the marquis of Argyle (Archibald Campbell<sup>i</sup>) lieutenant of the kingdom.

The king marches into the west. Essex suffers himself to be surrounded in Cornwall. He and a few officers escape by sea to Plymouth, and his horse cut their way through, but his foot, under Skippon, are obliged to surrender, Sept. 2; they give up their arms, and are allowed to retire.

A fresh army is collected under Waller and the earl of Manchester<sup>j</sup>. They advance towards Oxford, fight an indecisive battle at Newbury, Oct. 27, and then retire into winter quarters. Great discontent is excited thereby, and a "new model" of the army is proposed<sup>k</sup>.

Commissioners are sent to Oxford, in November. They return with an answer from the king desiring to treat for a peace.

The Commons attain Archbishop Laud, by ordinance, Nov. 13. The Peers, after some delay, consent, Dec. 17.

Sir John Hotham and his son are tried by a court-martial for corresponding with the king, December. They are both executed, Jan. 1, 2, 1645.

A.D. 1645.

The Directory ordered to be used

<sup>d</sup> The countess retired with her children to the Isle of Man. Latham was again besieged, and was captured in December, 1645.

<sup>e</sup> Robert Blake, better known as a naval officer, was born in 1598, educated at Oxford, and sat in the Long Parliament for Bridgwater. After the death of the king, Blake was appointed one of the three commanders of the navy, when he chased Prince Rupert from the British seas; he afterwards repeatedly defeated the Dutch, chastised the Barbary pirates, and inflicted vast losses on the Spaniards. He died, on shipboard, near Plymouth, Aug. 17, 1657, and was honoured with a public funeral.

<sup>f</sup> The overthrow was generally attributed to the prince's misconduct; and the marquis of Newcastle and many other active partisans of the king in despair now abandoned the contest, and retired to the continent.

<sup>g</sup> He was born in 1612, travelled much abroad when very young, and returning to England, was through a treacherous manoeuvre of the marquis of Hamilton, so coldly received at Court, that when the troubles in Scotland broke out he was one of the foremost of the Covenanters. He, however, soon penetrated their designs, and, leaving them, became one of the most devoted adherents of the king. In his cause he gained several victories in Scotland in 1644 and 1645, but was defeated at Philiphaugh, Sept. 13, 1645, and in 1646 laid down his arms by the king's command. Montrose returned with a small force while negotiations were pending between Charles II. and the Scots, but they

refused to recognise his commission, and having been defeated and captured, he was brought to Edinburgh, and there executed with every circumstance of barbarity and ignominy, May 21, 1650.

<sup>h</sup> He was brother-in-law of Argyle, by whom he was speedily defeated. He, however, still adhered to the king, and was at last executed, by order of the Scottish parliament, in 1649.

<sup>i</sup> He was born in 1598, and became earl of Argyle in 1638, and marquis, Nov. 15, 1641. He was of a most treacherous, intriguing character, who in turn betrayed and was hated by all parties. Argyle leagued himself with Cromwell, and, coming to London on the Restoration, was at once sent to the Tower. He was soon after remitted to Scotland, where he was condemned and executed as a traitor. He suffered at Edinburgh, May 25, 1661.

<sup>j</sup> Formerly Lord Kimbolton. He was soon after displaced, lived unnoticed under the Commonwealth, and at the Restoration sat in judgment on some of his former associates. He received the post of lord chamberlain, and died May 5, 1671.

<sup>k</sup> It was alleged that the earl of Essex, Sir William Waller, and other soldiers by profession, wished to protract the war for the sake of their own emoluments, which certainly were very large, and therefore declined to push matters vigorously. Cromwell was known to be the real mover in the affair, and Essex and the Scottish commissioners consulted with Whitelock and others about impeaching him; they, however, abandoned their intention, being doubtful of their power to carry it.

in all churches instead of the Prayer Book, Jan. 3.

Archbishop Laud is beheaded, Jan. 10.

Commissioners meet at Uxbridge, Jan. 30, to discuss terms of peace. The parliamentary party insist on the abolition of episcopacy and the Liturgy, and the absolute control of the army and navy, and the negotiations are broken off, Feb. 22, without any result.

Montrose suddenly reappears in the field, in January. He ravages the lands of Argyle; defeats him at Inverlochy, Feb. 2; and marches to the east coast, plundering Elgin, Aberdeen, and Dundee, but is forced to retire to the Highlands in April.

Armed associations of Clubmen formed, particularly in the southern and western counties, to restrain the plundering and violence of the armies<sup>1</sup>.

The Self-denying Ordinance passed, April 3<sup>m</sup>, which ordains that no member of parliament shall in future hold any office or command, civil or military, granted or conferred by either or both of the Houses, or by any authority derived from them.

The parliamentary army on the new model<sup>2</sup> takes the field. It is composed almost exclusively of Independents, animated by the sternest fanaticism, under the nominal command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, but the actual leader is Cromwell<sup>3</sup>.

The king marches from Oxford early in May. He relieves Chester, May 15, and captures Leicester, May 31.

Fairfax endeavours to surprise Oxford in the absence of the king, but fails. He then follows the royal army, and totally defeats it at Naseby<sup>4</sup>, (near Market Harborough), June 14. The king flees into Wales.

Carlisle surrenders to the parliament, July 2<sup>d</sup>.

Fairfax marches into the west, and by the relief of Taunton (July 3), the defeat of Goring<sup>5</sup> at Langport (July 10), the capture of Bridgewater (July 23), and Bath (July 30), prevents the Cornish men assisting the royalists.

Montrose reappears in force in May. He defeats the Covenanters at Auldearn (May 9), Alford (July 2), and Kilsyth (Aug. 15), and threatens Glasgow. The Scottish forces in consequence commence their return to Scotland.

Hereford unsuccessfully besieged by the Scots, August and September.

The king quits Wales on the approach of the Scots. He crosses the midland counties as far as Huntingdon, but retires to Oxford, Aug. 28.

Prince Rupert surrenders Bristol after a feeble defence, Sept. 10. The king revokes his commission, and orders him to quit the country<sup>6</sup>.

Montrose, who had advanced to the English border, is totally defeated at Philiphaugh (near Selkirk,) by David Leslie, Sept. 13. Montrose and a few others escape, but the prisoners are butchered in cold blood, without any form of trial<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> They professed strict neutrality as to politics, but in reality inclined to the king's party; hence the parliamentary troops treated them as armed enemies.

<sup>2</sup> The earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, laid down their commissions the day before.

<sup>3</sup> The king's party undervalued the new army, calling it in scorn, the "new noddle," but they very soon found it a much more formidable opponent than its predecessor had been. Its strength was 14,000 foot and 7,000 horse and dragoons; the charge was to be £44,955 per month. Fairfax was the general, with Skippon second in command, but he was superseded by Cromwell, and returned to the charge of the London militia.

<sup>4</sup> He was disqualified by the Self-denying Ordinance, but Fairfax obtained its suspension in his favour for a short time, before the expiration of which the battle of Naseby had been fought, and all idea of then removing Cromwell was abandoned. "This was much spoken against by Essex's party," says Whitelock, "as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of the intention to continue who they pleased, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their former self-denying pretences; but the Houses judged this fit to be now done." Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas

Middleton, Sir John Price, also members of the Commons, were likewise continued in their commands.

<sup>5</sup> The king's private cabinet was taken, and a number of letters found therein being thought to afford proof of his insincerity in the recent negotiations, were accordingly published by the parliament. Others, of a different character, were kept back, and were only brought to light in 1869 by the then recently appointed Historical Manuscripts Commission.

<sup>6</sup> It had been besieged for 11 months by the Scots under David Leslie, and only surrendered when the garrison had eaten all their horses.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Goring, formerly the governor of Portsmouth (see A.D. 1642), a man whose riotous excesses brought much discredit on the royal cause. In 1662 he succeeded his father as earl of Norwich, and he died in 1671, when the title became extinct.

<sup>8</sup> He, however, remained, and assisted in the defence of Oxford.

<sup>9</sup> They were held to be Irish rebels, quarter to whom was expressly forbidden by an ordinance of the English parliament (Oct. 24, 1644). Some women, even, who were taken several days after the battle, were drowned by direction of the

The king attempts in vain to relieve Chester (Sept. 23); passes through Shropshire to Newark, but after a brief stay there, shuts himself up in Oxford, Nov. 5.

A body of the royal cavalry penetrate as far as Dumfries, in order to join Montrose, but, on the news of his flight, return to Carlisle, and disband themselves.

Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, arrives in Ireland<sup>a</sup>, Oct. 23.

The king opens secret negotiations with the Scots and the Independents, and also seeks terms of peace from the parliament<sup>2</sup>.

Fairfax and Cromwell continue to capture the royal castles and posts in the south and west.

Persons coming from the king's quarters ordered to declare themselves, or to be treated as spies, Nov. 13.

#### A.D. 1646.

The king renews his applications to the parliament for an accommodation, but they decline to entertain them. The Scots and the Independents, however, carry on negotiations with him, though with evident insincerity.

Chester surrenders to the parliament, Feb. 3, after a long siege.

Prince Charles retires to Scilly, and in April removes to Jersey.

Fairfax, having entirely subdued the west<sup>3</sup>, approaches Oxford. The king, after applying, without success, to Iretton, leaves the city in disguise, in the night of April 26.

The king approaches London, then travels to the coast of Norfolk, but being unable to procure a ship, at length repairs to Southwell, where he puts himself into the hands of commissioners sent from Kelham, (near Newark,) the head-quarters of the Scottish army, May 5. He is received with outward respect, but is at once required to give orders for the surrender of Newark, with which he complies.

The parliament consider themselves deceived by the Scots, and threaten hostilities. The Scots vindicate themselves, but retire to Newcastle, taking the king with them. He here consents to order Montrose to lay down his arms<sup>4</sup>, and is himself urged to take the Covenant<sup>5</sup>.

The royal garrisons yield in quick succession<sup>6</sup>, and the war is for the present ended.

preachers. Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Col. Nathaniel Gordon, and some others, who had escaped from the field, being afterwards captured, were beheaded on Jan. 20, 1646, in accordance with the express desire of the commission of the General Assembly, the synod of Galloway, and other ecclesiastical bodies. The Galloway synod craved most earnestly of the Estates of Parliament "that which your late oath of Covenant and Parliament, your place and the bleeding condition of your native country do require, that the sword of justice may be impartially drawn against those persons now in bonds who have lifted up their hands against the Lord, the sworn Covenant, and this afflicted Kirk." The Parliament replied to the commission of the General Assembly, certifying them of the Estates' faithful and best endeavours for executing justice upon delinquents impartially and speedily.

<sup>a</sup> John Baptist Rinuccini, bishop of Fermo. The Kilkenny Assembly applied to the pope (Innocent X.) for assistance in money, arms, and men, which was granted. Rinuccini was sent in the same vessel with them, and narrowly escaped capture by a parliamentary cruiser. On his arrival he at once assumed the sole direction of affairs, but this was displeasing to many of the Assembly, and factions were formed against him. He, however, held his position for awhile, but on the return of Ormond to Ireland in 1648, he peremptorily ordered the nuncio to withdraw, and Rinuccini returned to Italy.

<sup>2</sup> The intercourse with the Scots was managed by Montreuil, the French ambassador; Major Huntingdon was the agent with Cromwell. The parliament insisted on harder terms than those demanded at Uxbridge (see p. 429), with which the Scots declared themselves contented; Cromwell and his friends professed an intention of restoring the king to his authority, but probably they already meditated his destruction, which they afterwards accomplished.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Hopton, the royal general, agreed (March 14, at Truro) to disband his forces, delivering up his arms and ammunition.

<sup>4</sup> He eventually did so, and Montrose in consequence embarked for Norway, with a few friends, Sept. 3.

<sup>5</sup> He, while in their hands, maintained a controversy on Church matters with Alexander Henderson, the chief Presbyterian divine already mentioned (see p. 414) and the papers which passed between them satisfactorily prove not only the king's sincere attachment to the Church, but also his intimate knowledge of the apostolical principle of ecclesiastical discipline.

<sup>6</sup> The king issued his orders to that effect from Newcastle, June 10. Oxford surrendered June 24, Worcester, July 22, Pendennis Castle, Aug. 17, and Raglan Castle, Aug. 19. On the Visitation of Oxford, in violation of the articles of its capitulation, see Note.

## NOTE.

## THE UNIVERSITIES.

As the strongholds alike of learning and loyalty, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were the objects of the especial hatred of the Puritans. They gained possession of both by military force, and they exerted to the full all the licence which that circumstance might be supposed to entitle them to. Oxford was a royal garrison, and was thus saved from their hands until the close of the civil war, but Cambridge was defenceless, and after being plundered of its plate in August, 1642, was converted into a garrison and a gaol, many of the heads of houses carried prisoners to London, and the rest of its members standing in daily peril of their lives from the violence of the soldiery. In January, 1643, an ordinance was passed for "regulating" the University, the execution of which was committed to the earl of Manchester, and in consequence he proceeded to eject at least two hundred masters and fellows, and twice as many scholars, including among them such men as Cosin, Sterne, Beale, Martin and Laney, and supplied their places with others whose only recommendation was that they were ready to take the Covenant, or any other engagement, as the price of preferment. The ejected members were commanded to quit the University within three days, "upon pain of imprisonment and plunder," and Cambridge was thus promptly reduced to a seminary of Puritanism. "The Knipperdollings of the age," says one of the sufferers, "reduced a glorious and renowned University almost to a mere Münster, and did more in less than three years than the apostate Julian could effect in all his reign, viz. broke the heartstrings of learning and all learned men, and thereby lxxated all the joints of Christianity in the kingdom."

The events of the war postponed the ruin of Oxford for some years, but the city was at last surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax (June 24, 1646). The capitulation expressly promised that the University should be free from "sequestrations, fines, taxes, and all other molestations whatsoever," but, in spite of this, the parliament at once proceeded with their design of reducing it to the same condition as its sister University. As a preliminary, seven Presbyterian divines, members of colleges, were sent to preach in any pulpits

that they pleased, and to endeavour to recommend "the blessed reformation" intended; these men had little success with the members of the University, and were fiercely opposed by one Erbury, and other Independents, who fairly silenced them in disputation. The parliament, however, had no intention of resting their cause on mere arguments. On May 1, 1647, they passed an ordinance for the visitation of the University, by Sir Nathaniel Brent, (formerly vicar-general to Archbishop Laud,) five of the seven preachers, William Prynne, and seventeen others, who were to declare vacant the places of all refusers of the Covenant, all opposers of the Directory, and all who had borne arms against the parliament, and to certify the names of the persons thus deprived.

These visitors commenced their proceedings by issuing a citation for the heads of the University to appear before them in the Convocation-house "between the hours of nine and eleven" on the 4th of June. The University, in answer, published its Judgment, condemning the Covenant and the Directory (June 1), and when the visitors arrived, the vice-chancellor (Dr. Samuel Fell) took advantage of the length of a sermon preached by one of their number, and which was not concluded till after eleven o'clock, to break up the convocation before they could present themselves in it. The next day a system of resistance was organized, which drove the visitors to apply for enlarged powers, and when these were granted by a new ordinance (Aug. 26), they were no more regarded than the former had been. A commission was next issued in the name of the king for a visitation, but its validity was disputed by Dr. Wightwick, master of Pembroke College, and though he was at once deprived of office, the proctors delivered a formal protest against the visitation, which at last occasioned the removal of the cause to London.

Meanwhile Dr. Fell had been voted out of his office as vice-chancellor, but continuing to exercise his functions, had been sent prisoner to London; other heads of houses had appeared before the visitors for the express purpose of disputing their authority; and vacancies that had occurred in some of the colleges were filled up by election, in spite of injunctions to the contrary. The

<sup>c</sup> The author of *Querela Cantabrigiensis*; probably Dr. John Barwick, an active loyalist, who managed the secret correspondence with the king,

and was in consequence rigorously imprisoned, but survived until the Restoration, and died dean of St. Paul's, in December, 1664.

parliament then took the matter in hand, and after hearing counsel for the University, on the 9th of December, voted its conduct to be derogatory to their authority, and gave effect to this by shortly after depriving five heads of Houses and three of the canons of Christ Church; nothing daunted, however, the remaining officers refused to publish the sentence, and the students tore the notices down from the walls.

At length, at the end of March, 1648, a strong guard was placed at the disposal of the visitors, and soon after the earl of Pembroke, who had been named chancellor, repaired to Oxford, when the expulsion of all the remaining heads of Houses (except Paul Hood, the rector of Lincoln, and Gerard Langbaine, provost of Queen's) was promptly proceeded with. But the fellows, the graduates, and the students still remained, and the latter especially feared not to treat the visitors with every mark of contempt and aversion. They wrote and circulated pamphlets in which the intruders were attacked with stern invective in some cases, in others held up to ridicule in doggerel verses, and though the Knipperdollings laboured earnestly to suppress them, many of these productions have come down to our time. The visitors now made the whole body prisoners, and demanded from them, on pain of expulsion, an answer in writing whether they submitted to the visitation or not. Very few indeed complied; the expulsion of the rest was voted, and to give effect to this, proclamation was made by beat of drum, and with a strong guard, before the gate of each college, that if any who had been voted out presumed to remain in the University, they should be given over as prisoners to the governor. Even this threat, however, did not dislodge the students, and the governor (Thomas Kelsey, a button-maker) at last (Aug. 17, 1648) made the decisive announcement, that "if any one who had been expelled did presume to tarry in the town, or should be taken within five miles of it, he should be deemed a spy, and be punished with death." Too many instances were fresh in every man's mind to allow any doubt that this threat would be carried into effect, and accordingly all further opposition to the "godly reformation" was at last abandoned.

The most lucrative places in the University were of course the prize of the visitors, and their immediate assistants<sup>4</sup>, but after all these were provided for, the colleges were comparatively empty, and "the dregs of the neighbour University," says Anthony

à Wood, were transferred, or transferred themselves, from Cambridge to Oxford.

"They were," he says, "commonly called Seekers, were great frequenters of the sermons at St. Mary's, preached by the six ministers appointed by parliament, and other Presbyterian ministers that preached in other churches in Oxford, and sometimes frequenters of the conventicles of Independents and Anabaptists. The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in discourse, lifted up, with hands lying on their breasts; they mostly had short hair, which at that time was commonly called the 'Committee-cut,' and went in *cuerpo*, in a shabby condition, and looked rather like apprentices, or antiquated schoolboys, than academicians or ministers; and therefore few or none of the old stamp, or royal party, would come near to, or sort themselves with them, but rather endeavoured to put scorn on them, and make them ridiculous."

A passage from *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, though originally referring to Cambridge only, may aptly close this notice of the Puritan desolation of both Universities:—

"Thus are we imprisoned or banished for our consciences, being not so much as accused of anything else, only suspected of loyalty to our King, and fidelity to our Mother the Church of England; and not only so, but quite stripped of all our livelihood, and exposed to beggary, having nothing left us to sustain the necessities of nature, and many of us no friends to go to, but destitute and forlorn, not knowing whither to bend one step when we set footing out of Cambridge, having only one companion, which will make us rejoice in our utmost afflictions, viz., a clear conscience in a righteous cause; humbly submitting ourselves to the chastisement of the Almighty, who, after He hath tried us, will at last cast His rods into the fire.

"As for us, God forbid that we should take up any railing or cursing, who are commanded only to bless: we are so far from that, that we have rather chosen to let the names of our greatest persecutors rot in our ruins, than so much as mention them with our pen, save only where necessity compelled us unto it.

"But though we spare their names, we hope we may without offence to any describe their qualities. And therefore, if posterity shall ask, 'Who thrust out one of the eyes of this kingdom? who made Eloquence dumb, Philosophy sottish, widowed the Arts, and drove the Muses from their ancient habitation? who plucked the reverend and orthodox professors out of their chairs, and silenced them in prison or their graves? who turned religion into rebellion, and changed the apostolical chair into a desk for blasphemy, and tore the garland from off the head of Learning, to place it on the dull brows of disloyal ignorance?' If they shall ask, 'Who made those ancient and beautiful chapels, the sweet remembrances and monuments of our forefathers' charity, and kind fomenters of their children's devotion, to become ruinous heaps of dust and stones? or who unhived those numerous swarms of labouring bees, which used to drop honey-dews over all this kingdom, to place in their rooms swarms of senseless drones?' 'Tis quickly answered, 'Those they were, who endeavouring to share three crowns, and put them in their own pockets, have transformed this free kingdom into a large gaol, to keep the liberty of the subject: they who maintain 100,000 robbers and murderers by sea and land, to protect our lives, and the propriety of our goods: they who have gone a king-catching these three years

<sup>4</sup> Brent was made warden of Merton; Wilkinson, president of Magdalen; and Reynolds, dean of Christ Church, and vice-chancellor.

hunting their most gracious sovereign like a part-  
ridge on the mountains, *in his own defence*: they  
who have possessed themselves of his majesty's  
towns, navy, and magazines, and robbed him of all  
his revenues, *to make him a glorious king*: who  
have multiplied oaths, protestations, vows, Leagues  
and Covenants, *for ease of tender consciences*:  
filling all pulpits with jugglers for the Cause, cant-  
ing sedition, atheism, and rebellion, *to root out*  
*popery and Babylon, and settle the kingdom of*  
*Christ*: who, from a trembling guilt of a legal

trial, have engaged three kingdoms and left them  
weltering in their own blood: they lastly, which  
when they had glutted themselves with spoil and  
rapine, hissed for a foreign viper to come and eat  
up the bowels of their dear Mother: the very same  
have stopped the mouth of all learning (following  
herein the example of their elder brother, the  
Turk), lest any should be wiser than themselves,  
or posterity know what a world of wickedness they  
have committed."

A.D. 1646.

The king's great seal, taken at Ox-  
ford, is broken up in the presence of  
the parliament, Aug. 11.

The parliament and the Scots ex-  
change angry letters, and the parlia-  
ment manifest an intention of expel-  
ling their allies.

The Scots offer to withdraw from  
England on payment of a sum for  
their services. The amount is, after  
much contention\*, fixed at £400,000,  
one-half to be paid before they quit  
England, and the balance to be se-  
cured on "the public faith†."

The parliament, by vote, denounce  
forfeiture of life and property against  
all who shall hereafter oppose them in  
arms, Dec. 8.

The parliament send propositions to  
the king, which he finally declines to  
discuss, unless allowed to return in  
safety and honour to Westminster,  
Dec. 20.

A.D. 1647.

The Scots leave Newcastle, having  
given up the king into the hands of  
the parliamentary commissioners‡,  
Jan. 30. He is removed under a  
strong guard to his own house at  
Holmby, in Northamptonshire.

The parliament take steps to dis-  
band the army. They resolve to send  
a portion to Ireland, to reduce the  
establishment for England, and to dis-  
miss all officers above the rank of  
colonel, except Sir Thomas Fairfax,  
March 8<sup>b</sup>.

Harlech Castle, the last royal post,  
surrenders, March 30.

The king writes to the parliament,  
May 12, offering to consent to their  
propositions regarding religion and the  
power of the sword. His letter is fa-  
vourably received, which displeases  
the army.

The king is seized at Holmby-house,  
by Joyce, a cornet of Fairfax's life-

\* The Scots' commissioners, in August, desired  
"to have consideration for their losses, hazards,  
charges, and damage;" this consideration they  
afterwards stated at £1,000,000 for arrears, "be-  
sides losses" to an indefinite amount. They af-  
terwards offered to take £500,000 for the whole,  
which was ultimately agreed to, but with deductions for  
free quarter, which reduced it to £400,000.

† The money was raised by the sale of the bishops'  
lands, for which ordinances were passed, Oct. 9,  
Nov. 16 and 30. The Scots received £100,000 a  
few days before, and a like sum a few days after,  
they gave up the king, whence they are often said  
to have sold him to his enemies. The accuracy of  
this charge has been questioned, although it cannot  
be denied that they exhibited a lamentable want of  
generosity, in taking advantage of the fact, that he  
came to them without a formal promise of protec-  
tion, on the faith of the private negotiation that had  
been carried on with them before he left Oxford.  
Perhaps, however, they felt compelled to act as  
they did, for the English parliament had by vote  
declared (Sept. 21) that the disposal of the king be-  
longed exclusively to them, and shewed themselves  
ready to enforce the claim by arms. When the  
matter was discussed in the Scottish parliament,  
six peers and eight commoners protested against  
the surrender. The first one to do so was Alex-  
ander Strang, a shoemaker, then provost of For-  
far, who exclaimed, "I disagree, as honest men  
should do."

‡ The earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, Lord  
Montague, Sir James Harington, Sir John Hol-  
land, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Cooke, Mr. John  
Crew, and Major-general Brown.

<sup>b</sup> This blow was aimed at Cromwell and the  
other Independents, but the Presbyterian party  
soon discovered that they had conquered their  
sovereign only to find a worse master. Fairfax,  
though one of themselves, was easily induced by  
Cromwell to move the army from the centre of  
England to Saffron Walden, with the manifest in-  
tention of overawing the parliament. The troops  
demanded payment of their arrears, provision for  
the wounded, and for widows and orphans, and an  
ordinance of indemnity. The parliament at first  
took a high tone, and threatened them as "dis-  
turbers of the public peace" (March 29), but this  
made matters worse. The soldiers established a  
kind of parliament of their own, and unanimously  
resolved neither to be disbanded nor to take ser-  
vice in Ireland until their demands were conceded.  
The parliament now tried to soothe them by passing  
the ordinance of indemnity (May 21), and issuing  
a portion of their arrears. This did not avail.  
The soldiers combined still more closely together,  
compelled the parliament to withdraw their offen-  
sive declaration, and when they saw a probability  
of the Presbyterians and the royalists uniting  
against them, they broke all their measures by  
seizing the person of the king.

guard, June 4, and carried to Childersley, near Cambridge.

The army take a solemn engagement at Newmarket, June 5, refusing to be disbanded. The parliamentary commissioners visit them at Triplow-heat (June 10), and endeavour in vain to break their union.

The marquis of Huntley is obliged to lay down his arms in Scotland, June.

The marquis of Ormond makes an agreement with the parliamentary commanders (June 19), and withdraws from Ireland. The Romanists continue the contest, and offer the sovereignty of the island to foreign powers.

The parliament order London to be fortified, and forbid the nearer approach of the army. The soldiers impeach eleven members<sup>1</sup> of treason, and march to Uxbridge (June 25), when the parliament give way, exclude the obnoxious members, demolish the new fortifications, and appoint commissioners to treat for full satisfaction to the army.

The army offer to replace the king on the throne, on certain conditions, but he refuses them.

Fairfax advances towards London, and is joined by Lenthall, the speaker, and several of the members of the parliament. He enters London without opposition, Aug. 6, when the Houses reassemble, and after some opposition from the Presbyterians, all the votes hostile to the army are rescinded.

The king is placed at Hampton Court, and is treated with much atten-

tion by the army. He, however, enters into a design of the Scots and others to invade England. This is discovered, and his fears are excited by the fierce denunciations of the Levellers<sup>k</sup>. He escapes from Hampton Court, Nov. 12, and seeks refuge with Colonel Hammond<sup>l</sup>, governor of the Isle of Wight. By him he is placed in Carisbrooke Castle, Nov. 14.

Cromwell endeavours to curb the Levellers, but fails. He then comes to an agreement with them.

The king renews his offers for an accommodation to the parliament, Nov. 16. They are not accepted, and he negotiates anew with the Scots.

The parliament at length offer four propositions<sup>m</sup> to the king as the basis of a personal treaty, Dec. 24; the Scots offer less onerous terms, and he refuses his assent, Dec. 28. He on the same day endeavours to escape from Carisbrooke Castle, but is prevented<sup>n</sup>.

A.D. 1648.

The parliament, under the coercion of the army, declare they will no more treat with the king, nor allow others to do so, under the penalty of treason.

The king publishes an appeal to the people against this vote. It is favourably received, and Colonel Poyer, a parliamentary officer, hoists the royal standard at Pembroke. He is joined by other officers, as also by the royalists, and is at first successful. Cromwell marches against him, and after

<sup>1</sup> They were Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Glyn, Col. Harley, Denzil Holles, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Long, Major-general Massey, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Nichols, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir William Waller. Holles, Long, and Stapleton retired to France, where Stapleton died very shortly after his landing at Calais; the others were allowed to withdraw to their own houses.

<sup>k</sup> These men, who formed a very large proportion of the army, professed the most exalted ideas of freedom, and scorned to be bound by any existing mode of government in Church or State. They advocated a republic of the wildest kind, and looking on the king as a serious obstacle to their plans, they spoke of him as Ahab, and openly demanded his blood. Their fanaticism was fanned by the outrageous discourses of Hugh Peters, a preacher. He was born at Fowey, in Cornwall, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, but was expelled for his immoral life; he then became a stage-player, yet after a while he obtained ordination from Bishop Montaigne, and was lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, but he was expelled from this office also, and fled to Holland. Returning on the breaking

out of the civil war, he acted as a military chaplain. Peters was a leading man among the Anabaptists during the Commonwealth, and at length was executed as a regicide, October 19, 1660.

<sup>l</sup> He was the son-in-law of Hampden. He died in Ireland in October, 1654.

<sup>m</sup> These required, that the militia should be placed at their disposal; that the king's declarations against the parliament should be withdrawn; that the peerages bestowed since the commencement of the war should be set aside; and, lastly, that the Houses should be adjourned only with their own consent.

<sup>n</sup> Captain Burley, a royalist, who attempted to get up a rising in the island to favour this project, was seized and executed; as was Roger Newland, of Newlands near Lymington. He said on the scaffold, "Deprived of my life and property, I leave to my posterity my name, which none can assail; my arms, which traitors, ignorant alike of gentility and heraldry, cannot efface; and my loyalty, which none can impugn." His family in consequence assumed the motto, "*Le nom, les armes, la loyauté*," which they still use.



a six weeks' siege, captures Pembroke, and crushes the movement<sup>a</sup>.

Tumults occur in London and many other places, and an army is raised in Kent, in favour of the king.

The duke of Hamilton<sup>b</sup> induces the Scots to espouse the royal cause.

The young duke of York escapes from St. James's, April 22.

The Kentish rising occurs, May 23; six ships of war in the Downs mount the king's flag, and repair to Holland. The prince of Wales takes the command, and appears at the mouth of the Thames with a fleet of nineteen ships, early in July<sup>c</sup>.

Fairfax defeats the Kentish men at Maidstone, June 1. A party of them, under the earl of Norwich (George Goring), endeavour to enter London, but being foiled by the vigilance of Skippon, retire into Essex, and occupy Colchester, June 12.

Colonel John Morris surprises Pontefract Castle, June 3; he holds it for the king.

The Scots enter England, July 5, where Berwick and Carlisle are in the hands of the royalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Cromwell and Lambert advance, and totally defeat them near Preston, Aug. 17; the duke of Hamilton is captured at Uttoxeter, Aug. 20, but Langdale conceals himself in London, and escapes to the Continent<sup>d</sup>.

The earl of Holland appears in arms at Kingston, July 5. He is defeated and put to flight, July 7, and captured at St. Neot's, July 10.

Colchester surrenders to Fairfax, Aug. 27. Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, two of the prisoners, are shot by virtue of the parliamentary

ordinance<sup>e</sup>, the same evening. The earl of Norwich and Lord Capel<sup>f</sup> are reserved for trial.

The prince's fleet retires to Holland, at the end of August, without attempting to rescue the king.

On the proposition of the Peers, (Sept. 11,) negotiations are resumed with the king. They were opened at Newport, Sept. 18, and continued until Nov. 27, when the king agreed to most of the terms demanded<sup>g</sup>.

The marquis of Ormond returns to Ireland, Sept. 29.

Cromwell advances into Scotland, in September, and disperses some new levies of the royalists. He retakes Berwick, and Carlisle, and returns to London, Dec. 6, when he establishes himself at Whitehall.

The Levellers, while the negotiations are carried on, demand the blood of the king more vehemently than before. He is seized at Newport, by order of the council of the army, Nov. 30, and imprisoned in Hurst Castle.

The council of officers publish a declaration accusing the parliament of perfidy, and desire all well-affected members to resort to them, Nov. 30. At the same time several regiments march into London.

The parliament vote, after a three days' debate, that the king's concessions are a sufficient ground for a settlement, Dec. 5. On the next day, the House is "purged" by Colonel Thomas Pride<sup>h</sup>, when 47 members are seized and imprisoned<sup>i</sup>, and 96 excluded from the House.

The remains of the parliament<sup>j</sup> (known as the Rump) vote the late treaty with the king dishonourable and dangerous, Dec. 13; and afterwards

<sup>a</sup> The principal leaders were obliged to cast lots for their lives. The lot fell on Poyer, and he was shot at London, after a long imprisonment, April 25, 1649.

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1633.

<sup>c</sup> His forces landed at Deal, and occupied the castle for a time; but it was found impossible to reach the Isle of Wight, as had been intended.

<sup>d</sup> He returned at the Restoration, but died soon after, Aug. 6, 1661.

<sup>e</sup> That of Dec. 8, 1646.

<sup>f</sup> Arthur Capel, created Lord Capel in 1641. He was executed in 1649, Cromwell stating openly that the new order of things could not be regarded as safe whilst he lived, so great was his courage, and so active his loyalty. His son Arthur was created Earl of Essex, April 20, 1661, but joined the revolutionary party, and died a prisoner in the Tower, July 13, 1683.

<sup>g</sup> These were, to leave the militia at the disposal

of the parliament; to leave also the reduction of Ireland in their hands; to pass an act of oblivion; to abolish episcopacy, take the Covenant, and receive the Assembly of Divines and the Directory. The political propositions the king agreed to; he also consented to allow, for a limited period, of the Assembly and the Directory, but he refused to subscribe the Covenant, or to deny the divine origin of episcopacy, though he was willing, probably from deference to the views of Archbishop Usher, to strip bishops of their property, and to be satisfied with a bare recognition of an inherent difference between their order and that of presbyters.

<sup>h</sup> He was originally a drayman. He was made one of Cromwell's House of Peers, and died Oct. 23, 1658.

<sup>i</sup> Lord Grey of Groby pointed them out.

<sup>j</sup> It mustered only about fifty members, and appears to have been at the absolute disposal of the army.

(Dec. 23) that he shall be brought to trial, as guilty of treason against the people.

The king is removed from Hurst Castle, Dec. 18, and brought to St. James's. Thence he is taken to Windsor Castle, Dec. 22, where the customary respect to royalty is denied him.

A.D. 1649.

The Commons vote that the king of England making war against his parliament is guilty of treason; and also that a high court of justice shall be erected to try "Charles Stuart, king of England," on that charge, Jan. 1. The Peers refuse to concur, and adjourn their house, Jan. 2. The Commons then vote that the supreme authority resides in themselves, Jan. 4; and pass the ordinance for the king's trial, Jan. 6.

Cromwell professes to oppose the proceedings against the king, and Fairfax positively refuses to join in them. The Scottish commissioners protest, but are disregarded.

The officers of the army draw up a proposed new constitution, called "An Agreement of the People," which is presented to the parliament, Jan. 20.

The king is brought to Whitehall, Jan. 19. The high court of justice assembles, Jan. 20. The king is brought before it, three different days (Jan. 20, 22, 23), but refuses to acknowledge its jurisdiction. Some formal evidence of his appearing in arms against the parliament is heard, Jan. 26; the king is again brought forward, and demands a conference with the parliament, which is refused. Judgment of death is pronounced against him, Jan. 27.

Ambassadors from Holland arrive to intercede for the king, Jan. 26. They bring a sheet of paper signed and sealed by the prince of Wales, for the heads of the army to fill up with their own terms for sparing the king's life.

The king takes leave of his children (the Princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester), declines to see his nephew (Prince Charles Louis\*) and other friends, and with the assistance of Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, prepares for death.

The king is brought on foot from St. James's to Whitehall, at ten in the morning. He is allowed to rest awhile<sup>b</sup>, and at 2 in the afternoon is beheaded, Jan. 30. His body is removed to Windsor, and there buried, Feb. 8.

## NOTE.

### THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE.

MOST writers agree that this court was the mere tool of the army, but Mrs. Hutchinson maintains the direct contrary, in a passage which deserves attention:—

"The gentlemen that were appointed his (the king's) judges, and divers others, saw in him a disposition so bent on the ruin of all that opposed him, and of all the righteous and just things that they had contended for, that it was upon the consciences of many of them, that if they did not execute justice upon him, God would require at their hands all the blood and desolation which should arise by their suffering him to escape, when God had brought him into their hands. Although the malice of the malignant party and their apostate brethren seemed to threaten them, yet they thought they ought to cast themselves upon God, while they acted with a good conscience for Him and for their country. Some of them afterwards, for excuse, belied themselves, and said they were under the

awe of the army, and were persuaded by Cromwell, and the like; but it is certain that all men herein were left to their free liberty of acting, neither persuaded nor compelled, and as there were some nominated in the commission who never sat, and others who sat at first, but durst not hold on, so all the rest might have declined it if they would, when it is apparent they would have suffered nothing by so doing. For those who then declined were afterwards, when they offered themselves, received in again, and had places of more trust and benefit than those who ran the utmost hazard; which they deserved not, for I know, upon certain knowledge, that many, yea, the most of them, retreated, not for conscience, but from fear and worldly prudence, foreseeing that the insolvency of the army might grow to that height as to ruin the cause, and reduce the kingdom into the hands of the enemy, and then those who had been most courageous in their country's cause would be given up as victims. These poor men did privately animate those who appeared most publicly, and I knew several of them in whom

\* He had for some years been an associate of the parliamentarians, and had taken the Covenant.

<sup>b</sup> The delay is believed to have been occasioned

by a discussion of the offer of the prince of Wales, but the principal actors doubtless felt that they had already proceeded too far to recede with safety.

I lived to see that saying of Christ fulfilled, 'He that will save his life shall lose it, and he that for My sake will lose his life shall save it,' when afterwards it fell out that all their prudent declensions saved not the lives of some nor the estates of others.

"As for Mr. Hutchinson, although he was very much confirmed in his judgment concerning the cause, yet herein being called to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of several minds, he addressed himself to God by prayer, desiring the Lord that if, through any human frailty, he were led into any error or false opinion in these great transactions, He would open his eyes, and not suffer him to proceed, but that He would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by a right enlightened conscience; and finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience that it was his duty to act as he did, he, upon serious debate, both privately, and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the king."

Mrs. Hutchinson's statement, that men were "neither persuaded nor compelled" to take part in the proceedings, is, in substance, made also by Whitelock. He was, he says, named one of the committee of thirty-eight to draw up the charge, but he never attended, and when his advice was requested by the rest, withdrew into the country, taking his fellow-commissioner of the great seal (Sir Thomas Widdrington) with him; in consequence he was left out of the ordinance, which named the commissioners: "I having declared my judgment in the house against this proceeding . . . . so that they knew my mind, and

therefore did forbear to name me, though I was then in so great an employment under them;" and he was not only continued in his post, but was almost immediately after appointed one of the Council of State.

On the other hand, however, we have the statement of Thomas Waite, one of the regicides, made after his surrender, and now remaining in the Public Record Office. He alleges that he was sent for to parliament by menacing letters, and was amazed when he found himself named as a member of the court. That he attended on the first day only, but that eight or ten days after he was forced by Cromwell to subscribe his name; and that he was always after looked on suspiciously, from his known unwillingness. The plea, however, did not avail him, and he remained in the Tower till the year 1664, when he and several others were delivered to one Capt. Lambert "for transportation," but where they were sent, or what became of them, does not appear<sup>c</sup>.

One hundred and fifty persons were named in the ordinance as commissioners of the court, but many of them never sat; others withdrew at different stages of the proceedings, and only fifty-eight signed the death-warrant, the first three names being those of John Bradshaw, Thomas Grey, and Oliver Cromwell.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A. D.		A. D.
The Huguenot war closed by the Pacification of Nismes . . . .	1629	Battle of Rocroy; the Spanish veteran infantry almost annihilated .	1643
Gustavus Adolphus heads the Protestants in Germany . . . .	1630	War between the Turks and Venetians . . . . .	1644
Battle of Lützen; Gustavus Adolphus killed . . . . .	1632	Revolt of Masaniello at Naples .	1647
The Portuguese regain their independence . . . . .	1640	Peace of Westphalia, which closes the Thirty Years' War . . . .	1648
		Civil War of the Fronde in France .	1648

<sup>c</sup> Tower Records, in Thirtieth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, App., p. 342.



Arms of the Lord Protector Cromwell, from his Great Seal.

## THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE government of England might have been with propriety styled a Commonwealth from the 4th of January, 1649, when the Lower House of Parliament voted that the supreme authority resided in themselves alone as the representatives of the people, but the title was not formally assumed until the day of the murder of King Charles.

The House of Peers, reduced to less than twenty sitting members, was in a few days after voted useless, and all power appeared to reside in the Com-

mons, and a Council of State<sup>a</sup> which they had created. They were, however, in reality, but the puppets of the "grandeers of the army," and of these, one man was so conspicuously the chief, that the ensuing ten years may be correctly described as the reign of Oliver Cromwell<sup>b</sup>.

This remarkable man, born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599, was the son of Robert Cromwell, and the grandson of Sir Henry Williams (or Cromwell), of Hinchinbrook, who claimed descent from the ancient princes of Wales.

<sup>a</sup> The members of the first council were, the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, lords Grey of Werke and Grey of Groby; Sir Thomas Fairfax, Cromwell, Skippon, Ludlow, and Hutchinson, soldiers; Bradshaw, Rolles, St. John, Whitelock, and Wilde, lawyers; Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Sir Harry Vane, Pennington (formerly lord mayor), and 22 others of less note. The palace of Whitehall was assigned to them; they were to hold office for one year only. They divided themselves into five committees, for the army, navy, Ireland, foreign affairs, and law, and the minutes of their proceedings are preserved in the Public Record Office;

Walter Frost was their general secretary, and John Milton their secretary for foreign tongues. With some changes in the men, effected by ballot, this was the executive until Cromwell dispersed the parliament, but that event had been preceded by fierce dissensions between the civilians and the military members.

<sup>b</sup> Such seems to have been the view of his contemporaries; as Whitelock mentions, under date Dec. 18, 1649, the seizure of "a packet of scandalous books," one of which was named "The Character of King Cromwell."

Oliver was in 1616 sent to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and subsequently professed to study the law in London, but was not distinguished for orderly conduct or application in either. He soon retired to the country, and married; obtained, by bequest from an uncle, a considerable addition to his property<sup>c</sup>; and held largely as a lessee from the bishop of Ely. He had now become a Puritan, but was named a justice of the peace for his native town in a new charter granted in 1630. He was member for Huntingdon in the first three parliaments of Charles I., and was a person of sufficient consequence to greatly impede the drainage of the Fen district, which had been granted to the earl of Bedford, with powers that were generally regarded as too extensive. On the failure of his kinsman Hampden's attempt to resist the payment of shipmoney<sup>d</sup>, many Puritan families (Hampden's and Cromwell's among them) attempted to retire to New England, but were obliged to disembark from their ships.

Cromwell sat in the Long Parliament as member for Cambridge, and when the civil war broke out he soon distinguished himself by his courage and address. The compact organization of the eastern counties, known as the Association, was mainly his work, although Lord Kimbolton was the nominal head. Cromwell, however, would not long be his subordinate; quarrels ensued, and the result was the Self-denying Ordinance<sup>e</sup>, which removed Essex and the Presbyterians, remodelled the army, gained the victory of Naseby, and extinguished the war.

Fairfax, the lord-general, gave himself up blindly to the bidding of Cromwell, suffered the parliament to be reduced to a mere committee of the army, and saw the king put to death without an effort to save him; but he would not make war on his fellow-Presbyterians of Scotland, and thus resigned his command, which, as a matter of course, became the prize of Cromwell. A short space sufficed for him to overthrow the Irish, the Scots, and the young king himself; when the parliament attempted to reduce the army, they fell also, and Cromwell became lord-protector, and aspired to the higher name of king, but this his own officers<sup>f</sup> would not allow him to assume.

The republicans, whom Cromwell had overthrown, had governed with vigour, and had raised the reputation of the country abroad; the Protector followed a like course. He speedily concluded the Dutch war, on his own terms, saw his alliance sedulously courted by both France and Spain, chastised the insolence of the Barbary corsairs and the petty Italian states, and did much to redeem his declaration that "he would make the name of an Englishman as much feared as that of a Roman had ever been." He turned his arms, on no very evident provocation, against the Spaniards, wrested both Jamaica and Dunkirk from them<sup>g</sup>, and captured or destroyed their treasure-ships. He allied himself with France, and obliged the intriguing Mazarin<sup>h</sup> to consent to exclude the royalist exiles, as the price of his assistance in the Low Countries; he also compelled him to protect the Protestant Vaudois<sup>i</sup> against the cruelty

<sup>c</sup> He thus became wealthy enough to be called on to receive knighthood; but he preferred to pay £10 for exemption, April 20, 1631.

<sup>d</sup> See A.D. 1637.

<sup>e</sup> See A.D. 1645.

<sup>f</sup> The principal of these were Desborough, his brother-in-law; Fleetwood, his son-in-law; Lambert, Ludlow, and Harrison.

<sup>g</sup> Foreign conquests had been so long unknown to England, that these acquisitions greatly strengthened his government. Waller, the poet, who from a royalist (see A.D. 1643) had become the panegyrist of the Protector, exclaims:—

"Our dying hero from the continent  
Ravish'd whole towns; and forts from Spaniards  
reft,  
As his last legacy to Britain left.  
The ocean, which so long our hopes confined,  
Could give no limits to his vaster mind;  
Our bounds' enlargement was his latest toil,

Nor hath he left us prisoners to our isle;  
Under the tropic is our language spoke,  
And part of Flanders hath received our yoke.  
From civil broils he did us disengage,  
Found nobler objects for our martial rage;  
And, with wise conduct, to his country show'd  
The ancient way of conquering abroad."

<sup>h</sup> Julius Mazarin, of a Sicilian family, was born in 1602, at Piscina, in the Abruzzi. By a long course of intrigue he attained the direction of affairs in France, trained up Louis XIV. in ideas of encroachment on his neighbours, and prepared the way for his conquests. His views were less grand than those of Richelieu, but he was at least as cruel, and more cunning. Mazarin became a cardinal, aggrandised his family, and died in 1661, entitled, as his only commendation, to the praise of a patron of letters.

<sup>i</sup> Cromwell interested himself warmly in favour of these people. He offered them lands in Ire-

of the Duke of Savoy, whom he could not himself reach.

At home Cromwell was less successful. He called two parliaments, but found neither of them compliant, and was obliged to rule avowedly by the sword. Intended risings against his government and plots against his life were discovered in every quarter; the Levellers, the more moderate republicans, the Presbyterians, and the royalists combined to overthrow him, and he had few other adherents beside his soldiery. Worn out by anxiety and disease, he died at Whitehall<sup>k</sup>, Sept. 3, 1658, in the sixth year of his assumption of government, and was buried in the chapel of Henry VII., at Westminster, shortly after<sup>l</sup>.

Cromwell had married Elizabeth Bourchier<sup>m</sup>, and left, beside daughters, two sons, Richard and Henry, of whom one was, at the time of his father's death, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the other was for a brief period ac-

knowledgeed as lord-protector<sup>n</sup>. But the officers of the army, headed by Lambert<sup>o</sup>, Fleetwood, and Desborough, soon seized on the government, recalled the Long Parliament, then dismissed it and again attempted to govern in their own name; they were, however, circumvented by Monk, and the lawful king was recalled, who entered London amid so great a display of fervent loyalty, that he pleasantly remarked that "it must surely have been his own fault that had kept him so long away from such excellent subjects."

That Oliver Cromwell possessed great talents for war and government is allowed by Clarendon, Ludlow<sup>p</sup>, and other hostile delineators of his character<sup>q</sup>. They justly charge him with hypocrisy, violence, and boundless ambition; but, on the other hand, are obliged to confess that he had filled the post he had usurped with vigour, and with decent splendour, and re-

land, gave £2,000 towards a subscription for their relief, which soon amounted to more than £30,000, then a very large sum, and paid the expense of printing a History of their sufferings, drawn up by his agent, Samuel Morland. Milton's noble sonnet relating to them is familiar to all.

<sup>k</sup> It is singular that Whitelock, usually so well informed, should have made the mistake of asserting that Cromwell died at Hampton Court, "about two in the afternoon." Clarendon, agreeing with the official account, says correctly, at Whitehall.

<sup>l</sup> His body was buried privately very shortly after his death, but the public funeral did not take place until Nov. 23, and was of the most pompous description. Letters patent were granted Nov. 22, 1659, by "the Keepers of the liberty of England by authority of Parliament," for the payment of £6,929 6s. 5d. to Robert Walton, citizen and draper of London, for "black cloth and bays for the funeral of his late highness."

<sup>m</sup> They were married Aug. 22, 1620, at the church of St. Giles Cripplegate, London.

<sup>n</sup> Richard went on the Continent just before the Restoration, and remained abroad until about 1680, then returned to England, and lived at Cheshunt until 1712, under an assumed name. Henry retired to Spinney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, and lived as a country gentleman to 1674. Elizabeth, married to Mr. Claypole, died Aug. 6, 1658. Bridget, married successively to Ireton and to Fleetwood, died in 1681. Mary, countess Fauconberg, died in 1712; and Frances, Lady Russell, survived till 1721. Cromwell's eldest son, Robert, died in 1639; and another son, Oliver, a captain in the army, was killed in opposing the duke of Hamilton, in 1648.

<sup>o</sup> John Lambert, born in Yorkshire in 1619, was a law student, but joined the parliamentary army as soon as the war broke out. He rose to be general of Cromwell's forces, but refused to acknowledge him as Protector, and resigned his post. He failed in an attempt to establish a military government after the retirement of Richard Cromwell, and was condemned to death. His life, however, was spared. He amused his leisure with painting, and cultivating flowers, his imprisonment being by no means rigorous, for he had shewn kindness when in power to many of the royal party,

and this was not forgotten. He died a Romanist, in 1683.

<sup>p</sup> Edmund Ludlow, born in 1620 at Maiden Bradley, was bred to the law, but took up arms for the parliament, and exhibited much zeal in their cause. He had imbibed the sternest republican principles, and hence he not only sat as one of the king's judges, but was also a resolute opponent of the usurpation of Cromwell. On the Restoration he was committed to the Tower, Sept. 6, 1660, but escaped. He visited England in the three following years in the hope of heading a new revolt. Failing in this, he retired to the Continent, and did not return until after the Revolution. His reception, however, was so unfavourable, that he soon departed, and he died at Vevay in 1693. His Memoirs, written in exile, are devoted to a vindication of "the good old cause," and, though perhaps depicting its opponents in too dark colours, have a high degree of interest and value.

<sup>q</sup> Mrs. Hutchinson, who may be considered as speaking the sentiments of the Independents, gives a very unfavourable character of Cromwell and his family. She says,—"Cromwell and his army grew wanton with their power, and invented a thousand tricks of government, which, when nobody opposed, they themselves fell to dislike and vary every day. . . . He weeded in a few months' time above one hundred and fifty godly officers out of the army, with whom many of the religious soldiers went off, and in their room abundance of the king's dissolute soldiers were entertained. . . . His wife and children were setting up for principality, which suited no better on any of them than scarlet on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himself, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped. His daughter Fleetwood was humbled, and not exalted with these things, but the rest were insolent fools. Claypole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauched, ungodly cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness. His court was full of sin and vanity, and the more abominable, that they had not yet quite cast away the name of God, but profaned it by taking it in vain upon them."

established the influence of England abroad. He proposed to found a third university (Durham<sup>1</sup>), substituted the English language for French or Latin in official proceedings wherever practicable, abstained, in general, from interference with the ordinary course of the laws, and, except in the case of his Irish campaign, was perhaps as little stained with blood as any private man who ever forced his way to a throne<sup>2</sup>.

The era of the Commonwealth was marked by the appearance of many valuable works, hardly to be expected in a time of such confusion. "All the professors of true religion and good literature," says Bishop Kennett, in his *Life of Somner*, the antiquary, "were silenced and oppressed. And yet Providence so ordered, that the loyal suffering party did all that was then done for the improvement of letters and the honour of the nation. Those that intruded into the places of power and profit, did nothing but defile the press with lying news and fast-sermons; while the poor ejected Churchmen did works of which the world was not

worthy. I appeal to the *Monasticon*, *Decem Scriptores*, the *Polyglot Bible*, and the *Saxon Dictionary*;" to which the *Annals of the Old Testament*, and other productions of the learned Usher<sup>3</sup>, might have been added; the actual foundation of the chief learned society of England also dates from the same unpromising period. The fame of Selden as an author was gained before the civil war broke out; and perhaps the only really great literary name on the side of the Commonwealth is that of John Milton, and he is merely spoken of by Whitelock, as "one Mr. Milton, a blind man," who wrote Latin; so little did his own party appreciate his genius.

The royal arms were systematically defaced during the period of the Commonwealth, and the States' Arms substituted, being, after the reduction of Scotland, the cross of St. George first and fourth; the saltire of St. Andrew second, and that of St. Patrick third; the Cromwells placed their arms (a lion rampant gardant argent) on an escutcheon surtout, sable.

## NOTE.

### THE SILENCED CHURCH.

THE Universities in effect destroyed, the clergy dispersed, and the Book of Common Prayer prohibited under the severest penalties, it might appear to the triumphant

sectaries that the Church was indeed ruined; but such was by no means the case. Clergymen were found, all through the period of their tyranny, who continued

<sup>1</sup> This had been first proposed about May, 1650, when a representation had been made to the parliament, desiring "that the college and houses of the dean and chapter, being now empty and in decay, may be employed for erecting a college, school, or academy, for the benefit of the northern counties, which are so far from the Universities." The college was founded by letters patent, dated May 15, 1657, and was endowed with lands of the value of £900 a-year; it was empowered to grant degrees, and was to have a press. It was to consist of a provost and twelve fellows; Philip Hunton, rector of Sedgfield, being named the first provost. The other Universities, however, petitioned against the project, and it was abandoned.

<sup>2</sup> "He was not a man of blood," says Lord Clarendon, "and totally declined Machiavel's method, which prescribes upon any alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, that there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government, but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too much contempt of his enemies."

<sup>3</sup> James Usher, the great advocate of what has been invidiously termed "moderate episcopacy," was born in Dublin, Jan. 4, 1580, and he became

one of the earliest students of Trinity College, in that city. He distinguished himself in the Romish controversy, and gaining thus the favour of James I., he was in 1620 appointed to the see of Meath, whence he was in 1625 translated to the archiepiscopate of Armagh. Though a decided Calvinist in doctrine, Usher concurred in the adoption of the English Articles by the Irish Church (see A.D. 1635). He came to England in 1640, and the rebellion in the next year preventing his return to Ireland, he repaired to the king at Oxford, and, as a means of subsistence, was allowed to hold the see of Carlisle *in commendam*. He was greatly esteemed by the king, and was expressly summoned to assist him with his advice at the Treaty of Newport. Archbishop Usher produced many laborious works, written amid trouble and danger, and his learning and his virtues commanded the respect of many who were the avowed enemies of his order. Thus he was allowed to hold the preachship of Lincoln's Inn after the bishops' lands had been sold, and Cromwell listened to his earnest remonstrances in favour of the despoiled clergy, who owed some alleviation of their sufferings to him. Usher found a home in the house of the countess dowager of Peterborough for several years, and he died under her roof at Reigate, March 21, 1656. His remains were honoured with a public funeral, to the cost of which Cromwell contributed £200 by letter of privy seal, April 2, 1656.

to use the Common Prayer, and laymen, though ever in dread from spies, who received all the appointed ministrations of the Church"; some among them sought and obtained ordination from the sequestered bishops; and, as late as the end of the year 1655, the service of the Church was openly performed in at least one church in London (St. Gregory by St. Paul's), but after Christmas-day of that year this ceased. Dr. Wild on that day, as Evelyn says, "preached the funeral sermon of preaching," and "the Church was reduced to a chamber and a conventicle, so sharp was the persecution."

Still there were, as Evelyn informs us, occasional "meetings of zealous Christians, who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity." Such meetings were usually held in private houses, and one such at least, on Christmas-day, 1657, was broken in upon by the soldiery\*. Evelyn, who was one of the congregation, thus describes the scene:—

"Dec. 25.—I went to London with my wife, to celebrate Christmas-day; Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter chapel, on Micah vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the holy sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, and the countess of Dorset, Lady Hatton, and some others of quality who invited me. In the afternoon came Colonel Whaly, Goffe, and others, from Whitehall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to the marshal, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them)†, I durst offend; and particularly be at common prayers, which they told me was

but the mass in English, and particularly pray for Charles Stuart, for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Charles Stuart, but for all Christian kings, princes and governors. They replied, in so doing we prayed for the King of Spain too, who was their enemy, and a papist; with other frivolous and ensnaring questions, and much threatening; and finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight, and above ordinances, and spoke spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffered us to finish the office of communion, as perhaps not having instruction what to do in case they found us in that action. So I got home late the next day, blessed be God."

The rule of Puritanism was now happily very near its end. Cromwell's weak successor was soon displaced, and a military despotism was seen approaching, accompanied by all the fanatical licence of the Levellers, Anabaptists, Fifth Monarchists and a thousand other sectaries. Alarmed at this, the Presbyterian preachers chose to forget that their seditious sermons<sup>‡</sup> had been the original cause of very much of the mischief, and began to look, for their own safety, to the restoration of the monarchy. The royalists thus breathed again, and soon presented so bold a front, that Monk, who evidently meditated a dictatorship, saw he should best consult his own advancement by forwarding their views. Being at the head of an overwhelming force, he was able to do this without bloodshed, and thus, though neither a great nor a good man, he was the providential instrument of overthrowing a tyranny, both civil and religious, more grievous than any to which this country had ever before been subjected—the rule of those who "turn religion into rebellion."

\* Some instances of this may be given, extracted from "Archæologia Cantiana," Vol. v. They are selected from entries in the family Bible of Richard Fogge, esq., of Danes Court, in Tilmanstone, a Kentish squire who suffered from the parliamentary sequestrators. (See p. 389.)

† March 31, 1645. Jane [his third daughter] christened the following day after the new fashion according to the Directory, my sister Jane Darell and my cousin Mary Bolton godmothers, and Mr. Thomas Mouyns godfather, *only for a show*. She was christened by Nicholas Billingsley, rector of Tilmanstone, in the chamber over kitchen. My mother was that day buried after the new fashion by Mr. Billingsley, who then preached.

‡ Oct. 3, 1647. Richard [his third son] christened 14th Oct. following, by Mr. Thomas Russel, a great Cavalier, with the Book of Common Prayer, and signed with the cross. . . . N.B. He was christened in chamber over kitchen.

§ March 1, 1649. Christopher christened in above chamber by young Mr. Harrington.

|| 20 June, 1650. William baptized in above chamber by Parson Hart of Goodneston.

¶ Oct. 6, 1654. Cecily baptized in the old way *cum signo crucis* by Mr. Henry Gayn, schoolmaster of Northborne. . . .

\*\* 28 June, 1649. My sister Anne Fogge was married to Mr. Christopher Beys, son to Mr. Ed-

ward Boys, of Uffington, in the parish of Goodneston. Mr. Hart married them *the old way*, with the Book of Common Prayer, in Tilmanstone church."

† Christmas-day appears to have been particularly distasteful to the Puritans. They tried to convert it into a fast, and Calamy, preaching before the House of Lords in 1645, declared that he knew not which was the greatest, the superstition or the profanity of its observance. But they could not bring even the London citizens to their opinion, and as late as 1656, one Parker, a member of Cromwell's second parliament, complained of their shutting their shops "on this foolish day," quite as carefully as on the Sabbath. The parliament was then sitting on Christmas-day, as was their practice, and he spoke of introducing a bill to compel the people to keep their shops open; but nothing appears to have been done in the matter.

‡ Whitelock says that he advised Cromwell not to take this step, "as that which was contrary to the liberty of conscience, so much owned and pleaded for by him and his friends;" but the parliamentary ordinance prohibiting the observance of Christmas being relied on by the other party, "the Protector gave way to it, and those meetings were suppressed by the soldiers."

§ See p. 388.

|| See the dying declaration of Axtell, p. 461.



A.D. 1649.

Charles II. becomes king *de jure*, Jan. 30<sup>2</sup>. He is proclaimed at Edinburgh, Feb. 5, and the Scots generally begin to arm for him. The States of Holland covertly favour him.

The duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel escape from their prisons, Jan. 30, Feb. 1. They are soon retaken, and a court is constituted for their trial, and that of other royalists.

The members who had voted (Dec. 5, 1648) that the king's concessions were satisfactory<sup>a</sup>, formally excluded from the parliament, Feb. 1.

The House of Lords voted "useless and dangerous" by the Commons<sup>b</sup>, Feb. 6; the office of king declared "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, and therefore to be abolished<sup>c</sup>," Feb. 7.

The new great seal<sup>d</sup> declared to be the great seal of England<sup>e</sup>, Feb. 8; the law courts opened<sup>f</sup>, Feb. 9; a council of state, consisting of 41 persons, appointed, Feb. 14.

Colonels Blake, Dean, and Popham (already commissioners for the navy) nominated as admirals, Feb. 24.

The Scottish commissioners quit London secretly, Feb. 26, leaving behind them a paper containing "much scandalous and reproachful matter" against the late proceedings<sup>g</sup>.

Lilburne and the Levellers petition against the new Council of State, Feb. 26.

The duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and Lord Capel are executed<sup>h</sup>, March 9.

Bradshaw appointed president of the Council of State<sup>i</sup>, March 10.

Several regiments are chosen by lot to assist in the reduction of Ireland, and after a time Cromwell is appointed to the command, being also named lord-deputy.

The kingly office, and the peerage, abolished by acts of parliament<sup>j</sup>, March 17, 19.

Pontefract Castle surrenders, March

<sup>a</sup> On the same day, immediately after the execution of Charles I., proclamation was made in London, declaring it treason to give the title of king to any person without the assent of parliament.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 435.

<sup>c</sup> They had, on Feb. 1 and 5, sent to the Commons, desiring the appointment of a joint committee for settlement of the affairs of the kingdom, but their messengers were not called in.

<sup>d</sup> The decrees of parliament were from Jan. 16, 1649, no longer styled Ordinances, but Acts; they were now issued in the name of the Commons only: "The Commons assembled in Parliament . . . do enact and ordain."

<sup>e</sup> This seal, which was voted Jan. 9, bore on one side the cross of St. George and the saltire of St. Patrick, with the inscription, "The Great Seal of England;" and on the other a representation of the House of Commons, with "In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648." The great seal made in 1643 (see p. 426) was brought into the House and broken up.

<sup>f</sup> Bulstrode Whitelock, Richard Keeble, and John Lisle were appointed commissioners.

Bulstrode Whitelock, the chief commissioner, was the son of Sir James Whitelock, a judge. He was born in London in 1605, was educated at Oxford, and though once a courtier, when chosen a member of the Long Parliament he concurred in most of their violent proceedings. He was one of the managers of the impeachment of the earl of Strafford, but he declined to do so with regard to Archbishop Laud, from the remembrance of kindness received from him at college. He was repeatedly employed in negotiations between the king and parliament, and under Cromwell was sent ambassador to Sweden. After the fall of Richard Cromwell, Whitelock urged Fleetwood to offer to restore the exiled king, and thus anticipate Monk, but his advice was not taken. Having acted a prominent part in the events of the preceding twenty years, he experienced some difficulty in procuring the omission of his name from the list of parties excepted from the Act of Oblivion [12 Car. II. c. 11.]; having succeeded in this, he appeared at court, ap-

parently hoping for employment, but he was dismissed by the king himself, with the advice "to trouble himself no more with state affairs, but take care of his wife and large family." He, upon this, retired into Wiltshire, and lived in obscurity until his death, Nov. 12, 1688. He wrote, among other things, "Memorials of the English Affairs in the reign of King Charles I.," which, as the work of a well-informed contemporary, have been freely used by most subsequent writers on that period.

<sup>g</sup> Six of the judges consented to act, on an assurance that the ordinary laws should be maintained; but this pledge did not prevent the parliament from frequently acting as a court of judicature themselves, and also erecting arbitrary tribunals styled high courts of justice. The president of these was usually John Lisle, a lawyer, and one of the commissioners of the great seal. He acted so rigorously that he was obliged to flee at the Restoration; his estates were confiscated, and he was himself assassinated at Lausanne soon after. His widow (Alicia Lisle) was executed in 1685, on a charge of harbouring parties concerned in Monmouth's rebellion.

<sup>h</sup> Their intention was to proceed to Holland, to offer conditions to Charles II.; but they were seized at Gravesend, and sent under an escort to Scotland.

<sup>i</sup> They had, together with the earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen, been condemned by a high court of justice which sat from Feb. 10 to March 6. The earl's life was saved by the casting-vote of the Speaker, and Sir John's by the exertions of Colonel Hutchinson, one of the Council of State, who observed that he appeared totally friendless, "while there was such mighty labour and endeavour for the lords."

<sup>j</sup> "He seemed not much versed in such businesses," says Whitelock, "and spent much of their time by his own long speeches."

<sup>k</sup> The lord-mayor of London (Sir Abraham Reynardson) refused to publish the Act against the kingly office; for which he was removed from the mayoralty, fined £2,000, and imprisoned in the Tower.

21, after a siege of nearly ten months. Colonel Morris and four companions, being refused quarter, break through the enemy and escape<sup>k</sup>.

Lilburne attacks the government in a vehement pamphlet, called "England's new Chains discovered;" he and several other Levellers are committed to the Tower, March 27.

The marquis of Huntley (George Gordon<sup>l</sup>) is beheaded by order of the Scottish parliament, March 30.

Fairfax appointed commander-in-chief, March 31.

Prince Rupert, with the disaffected fleet<sup>m</sup>, makes many prizes in the Channel. He then threatens Dublin, but soon repairs to the harbour of Kinsale, where he is blockaded by Blake; he forces his way out, in October, and retires to Lisbon, where he sells his prizes.

The earl of Pembroke (Philip Herbert) takes his seat as a member of the parliament<sup>n</sup>, April 16.

The Levellers rise in arms in Oxfordshire, May 1. Fairfax and Cromwell disperse them with little trouble at Burford, May 15.

Dr. Dorislaus, the envoy of the Commonwealth, assassinated in Holland by the royalists, May 3.

England declared a "commonwealth and free state," only to be governed by the representatives of the people in parliament, and their ministers, without any King or House of Lords<sup>o</sup>, May 19.

Improprate tithes, first-fruits, and tenths vested in certain trustees for the support of "preaching ministers" and schoolmasters, June 8.

The personal estate of the royal family ordered to be sold, July 4.

Various offences declared treason, July 17. These were, to declare or publish the present government to be tyrannical, or that the Commons in Parliament are not the supreme authority, or to raise force against it; to raise mutiny, or invite foreigners or enemies to invade England or Ireland; to counterfeit the Great Seal, or to counterfeit or clip the coin. These offences were to be prosecuted within a year, and conviction as to coining was not to work corruption of blood. Attempts against the life of the Protector were added to the list of treasons in 1656, [Stat. No. 3].

The marquis of Ormond is defeated near Dublin, Aug. 2.

The Scotch parliament make overtures to Charles II., by an address, dated Aug. 7.

Cromwell lands in Ireland<sup>p</sup> with a force of about 16,000 horse and foot, Aug. 15. He storms Drogheda, Sept. 11, and Wexford, Oct. 9, committing such butchery<sup>q</sup> as intimidates Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, and other strong posts into a speedy surrender.

Charles II. lands in Jersey, Sept. 17, and remains there till Feb. 13, 1650.

John Lilburne is tried on the new statute of treasons, but defends himself so vigorously that he is acquitted, after a two days' trial, Oct. 26. He is nevertheless remanded to the Tower, but is released, Nov. 8.

Scotch commissioners arrive in Jersey to treat with Charles II., Dec. 16.

#### A.D. 1650.

The marquis of Montrose lands in the Orkneys, and erects the king's standard, in January<sup>r</sup>. He circulates a declaration, calling on all Scotsmen

<sup>k</sup> A promise had been given by Lambert that the governor should be safe from pursuit if he could escape to a distance of five miles, but he was nevertheless seized in Lancashire, condemned and executed at York in August following.

<sup>l</sup> See A.D. 1644.

<sup>m</sup> See A.D. 1648.

<sup>n</sup> The earl of Salisbury (William Cecil) and Lord Howard of Eskrick shortly after imitated his example.

<sup>o</sup> A declaration to this effect, called the Engagement, was tendered to all persons holding office, and was very generally taken.

<sup>p</sup> He was appointed lord-lieutenant, as well as general, by commission from the parliament, June 22, 1649.

<sup>q</sup> Cromwell thus describes his proceedings at Drogheda, in a letter to the parliament, dated Sept. 16, 1649: "It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at Drogheda; after battery, we

stormed it. The enemy were about 3,000 strong in the town. . . . We refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives; those that did are in safe custody for Barbadoes. . . . This hath been a marvellous great mercy. . . . I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one lieutenant, who, I hear, going to the enemy, said that he was the only man that escaped of all the garrison. The enemy were filled upon this with much terror; and truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, through the goodness of God." The parliament ordered a thanksgiving service on learning the news.

<sup>r</sup> Some parties ventured to proclaim Charles II. about this time at Blandford, and at Durham, but no rising took place.

to support him ; this is, by order of the Scottish parliament, burnt by the hangman, Feb. 9.

The parliament takes the style of "*Parliamentum Reipublicæ Angliæ*," or "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England," and forbids any other style to be used.

"The parliament," says Whitelock, "took upon them and exercised all manner of jurisdiction, and sentenced persons *secundum arbitrium*, which was disliked by many lawyers of the House (whereof I was one), and we shewed them the illegality and breach of liberty in those arbitrary proceedings, and advised them to refer such matters to the legal proceedings in ordinary courts of justice ; but the dominion and power was sweet to some of them, and they were very unwilling to part with it."

Blake, being refused permission to attack Prince Rupert in the Tagus, makes reprisals on the Portuguese\*, March.

Montrose crosses into Caithness, but is defeated in Corbiesdale, April 27, captured shortly after, and brought before the parliament, May 20. He is hanged at Edinburgh, with many circumstances of insult and cruelty, May 21.

Ascham, the envoy to Spain, is assassinated at Madrid†, May 27.

Charles II. arrives in Scotland, June 16, the expectation of which had occasioned the recall of Cromwell from Ireland‡, where Ireton was left as deputy.

The parliament resolve to anticipate

the expected attack from the Scots, by invading Scotland. Fairfax refuses to lead the invading army, and lays down his commission§, June 25. Cromwell is in consequence appointed lord-general, June 26, and leaves London for the field, June 29.

Cromwell crosses the Tweed, July 16, and advances to Edinburgh, which is strongly fortified.

The Scots forbid the king to appear in their camp, and extort from him a declaration of his assent to the Covenant, Aug. 16.

The English royalists form associations, but are betrayed, and many officers and gentlemen are executed.

Cromwell, finding his army suffering from sickness, prepares to retreat. David Leslie¶ is compelled, against his own judgment, to attack him at Dunbar, Sept. 3, when the Scots are totally defeated§. Edinburgh at once surrenders, but the castle holds out.

The princess Elizabeth dies a prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle, Sept. 8.

The king endeavours to escape from the Covenanters, in order to repair to the Highlands, Sept. 27. He is brought back, almost as a prisoner, to Perth¶, Oct. 6.

All law-books ordered to be translated into English, all legal documents to be in the same tongue, and written in an ordinary legible hand ; a committee also appointed to inquire into the salaries, fees, and unnecessary delays of the law, Oct. 25.

The royalists attempt a rising in Norfolk, but are defeated§, in November.

\* The Portuguese lost many rich ships, and were forced to recompense damages done to English merchants and to make important commercial concessions, to avoid a war. Prince Rupert repaired to Spain, where he was attacked in the road of Malaga by Blake. He escaped with three ships, cruised about for a while longer, visiting the West Indies, and, returning in 1652, sold his two remaining vessels to France ; his brother Prince Maurice perished at sea in the other.

† This murder was committed by some of the servants of Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, who was then in Spain as an envoy of the king, and who in his letters avows his wish that "all the rebels' envoys may have their throats cut."

‡ He arrived in London, May 31, was received with much pomp, and on June 11 gave an account to the House of his Irish campaign.

§ A committee, of which Whitelock was one, was appointed to wait on Fairfax, and endeavour to remove his scruples ; "and none of the committee," he says, "were so earnest to persuade the general to continue his commission as Cromwell and the soldiers ; yet there was cause enough to believe they did not over much desire it."

¶ Sometimes called Lord Newark. He had

served at Marston Moor, and defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh. See A.D. 1645.

§ Near 4,000 of the Scots were killed, with very slight loss to the English, and 10,000 prisoners taken, half of whom were at once released, and the rest sent into England. Many of these were confined in Durham Cathedral, where they tore down the banners taken at Flodden-field, and defaced the tomb of Lord Neville, who had commanded the English army at Neville's Cross, in 1346. The Presbyterians considered this as their own defeat, and refused to take part in the thanksgiving that was ordered by the Council of State.

¶ According to Whitelock, on the authority of letters received by the Council of State, "the Scotch army was now full of factions : one are those whom the Scotch laboured to remove out of the army as 'sectaries' ; another faction is the 'old malignants,' who would be revenged for the death of Montrose and other malignants ; others are against the kirk ; others are the 'new malignants.'"

§ The attempt was on a very small scale, but a high court of justice was erected for the trial of prisoners, when, out of twenty-four who were tried, twenty were executed.

Edinburgh Castle surrenders<sup>b</sup>, Dec. 24.

A.D. 1651.

Charles II. is crowned at Scone<sup>c</sup>, Jan. 1.

The Portuguese send an ambassador to excuse their sheltering Prince Rupert.

The Commonwealth endeavour, but without success, to form a close alliance with Holland<sup>d</sup>.

Twenty members of the Council of State displaced, and an equal number of new men chosen by ballot<sup>e</sup>, Feb. 11.

The Scilly Isles captured by Blake and Ayscue, May. A part of the fleet which had been employed against them sailed under Ayscue to the West Indies, where, before the end of the year, Barbadoes and the neighbouring islands were surrendered by Lord Willoughby of Parham<sup>f</sup>. Ayscue then steered for America, where Virginia was reduced with equal facility, and the authority of the Commonwealth was at once established in the other

plantations, though most of them, except New England, were principally colonized by fugitive royalists.

Christopher Love, a noted minister among the Presbyterians of London<sup>g</sup>, is convicted of correspondence with the royalists, June 5. He is executed<sup>h</sup>, with Mr. Gibbons, Aug. 22.

Cromwell passes the Forth, drives the Scots before him, and captures Perth, the seat of government, Aug. 2.

Charles in the meanwhile announces his intention of entering England. He starts from Stirling, July 31, passes rapidly through Cumberland, Lancashire<sup>i</sup>, Cheshire, and Shropshire, to Worcester<sup>j</sup>, which he enters Aug. 22.

Cromwell follows with speed<sup>k</sup> from Scotland, leaving General Monk in command there.

The Council of State proclaim the king and his adherents traitors, Aug. 25, and despatch forces from London to join Cromwell<sup>l</sup>.

The earl of Derby, endeavouring to join the king, is defeated by Colonel Robert Lilburne, at Wigan<sup>m</sup>, Aug. 25.

<sup>b</sup> "This," says Whitelock, "was related to be the first time that Edinburgh Castle was taken, being the strongest and best fortified and provided in Scotland."

<sup>c</sup> As might be expected, the ceremony "was not with much state," and it had been preceded by two solemn fasts, "one for the sins of the king and his family, the other for the sins of the kirk and state."

<sup>d</sup> Their ambassadors (St. John and Strickland) were insulted and menaced with assassination by the royalists. This was ascribed to the connivance of the States, and the negotiations were abruptly broken off.

<sup>e</sup> Bradshaw still continued president, with a salary of £2,000 a-year, and all the chief men were, by some management, retained; the changes were only among the inferior members.

<sup>f</sup> He had long been active on the parliamentary side, and when the army became mutinous in 1647 he endeavoured to oppose them, but failing in this he fled to Holland. Prince Charles made him his vice-admiral, and he commanded a fleet in the English seas that did much damage to his former associates. He was afterwards made governor of the West India colonies, and when he was obliged to surrender, he received very favourable terms, his estate, which had been long under sequestration, being restored to him. After the Restoration he returned to Barbadoes, and was accidentally drowned there in 1666.

<sup>g</sup> This man, born at Cardiff in 1618, was educated at Oxford, but went to Scotland, and received presbyterian ordination. Returning when the civil war broke out, he obtained a London living, where he became noted for his turbulence. He accompanied the parliamentary commissioners to Uxbridge, and by his furious sermons had some share in breaking off the conferences for peace held there in 1645. He was a member of the Assembly of Divines and minister of St. Lawrence Jewry, where he was buried. The Presbyterians spoke of him as a martyr, but the royalists con-

sidered him justly punished for the mischief he had formerly occasioned.

<sup>h</sup> He obtained a month's respite, in consequence of a petition from "divers ministers in and about London," praying the parliament, "if not totally to spare the life of our dear brother, yet to say of him, as Solomon of Abiathar, that at this time he should not be put to death." They also applied to Cromwell, but he declined to interfere. After the battle of Worcester, several other ministers were apprehended on a charge of having been concerned in Love's proceedings, but on making submission they were pardoned.

<sup>i</sup> His troops had a skirmish at Warrington with Lambert and Harrison, who endeavoured to delay their march that Cromwell might overtake them. The royalists knew this, and cried out as they charged, "Oh! you rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes!"

<sup>j</sup> Comparatively few English joined him on his march, as they distrusted the Scots.

<sup>k</sup> His vanguard, of 4,000 foot, marched for several days at the rate of twenty miles a-day, their baggage and arms being carried by the country people.

<sup>l</sup> A solemn fast was observed by the parliament, Aug. 26, and a letter from the king to the city of London was burnt by the common hangman.

<sup>m</sup> The earl, who had recently landed from the Isle of Man, though wounded, made his escape, but was taken after the battle of Worcester, and was beheaded at Bolton, Oct. 15; he died, Whitelock says, "with stoutness and Christian-like temper." An account of his death, published by his chaplain (H. Baggerley), who attended him on the scaffold, says, that just before he suffered, he requested the block to be removed so that it might face the church; and as he laid down his head he exclaimed, "I will look toward Thy sanctuary while here, O Lord, as I hope to live in Thy heavenly sanctuary for ever hereafter."

Cromwell reaches Worcester, Aug. 28. He repairs the bridges which the royalists had broken down, storms the forts, and at length gains a decisive victory<sup>a</sup>, Sept. 3.

The king flees in disguise, and, after many hazardous adventures, escapes to France, landing at Fécamp, Oct. 17. Great numbers of his followers are taken, who are sold into slavery in Africa<sup>b</sup> and America. The Presbyterians very generally refuse to observe the thanksgiving ordered for the victory.

Monk pursues the war in Scotland with vigour. He takes Stirling, where he seizes the regalia; surprises and captures the estates of the kingdom when in session; storms Dundee with great slaughter<sup>c</sup>, and reduces the country to subjection.

The council of officers of the army is re-established at Wallingford House<sup>d</sup>, Sept. 16.

Cromwell returns in triumph to London<sup>e</sup>, and takes up his residence in almost kingly state at Hampton Court, Oct. 12.

The Dutch send ambassadors to renew the negotiations; they are haughtily received. An act is passed, which greatly affects Dutch commerce<sup>f</sup>, the honour of the flag is claimed<sup>g</sup>, letters of marque are granted to merchants who have received injuries, and compensation is demanded for the murders at Amboyna<sup>h</sup> and other offences of long standing.

The parliament propose to reduce the army, and fix the 3rd November, 1654, as the date of their own dissolution.

The isle of Guernsey is reduced in October, Man<sup>i</sup> in November, and Jersey in December; but some of the royal party, now styled "picares," or pirates, harass the coasts with small vessels, and make many prizes<sup>j</sup>.

A.D. 1652.

The parliamentary commissioners<sup>k</sup> treat Scotland as a conquered country. Estates are confiscated, taxes imposed, the people disarmed, the preachers silenced, forts built and strongly garrisoned, and English judges are sent to administer the laws.

<sup>a</sup> Cromwell wrote a long letter to the parliament, part of which runs as follows. After informing them that he had taken prisoner "many officers of great quality, and some that will be fit subjects of your justice," he says, "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts; it is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the parliament to do the will of Him who hath done His will for it, and for the nation; whose good pleasure is to establish the nation, and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen people. But that the fear of the Lord, even for His mercies, may keep an authority, and a people so prospered and blessed and witnessed to, humble and faithful, that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you, as a thankful return to our glorious God; this shall be the prayer of, sir, your most humble and obedient servant, O. CROMWELL." The parliament ordered this letter to be read in all churches by the ministers, and resolved that an annual thanksgiving day should be held.

<sup>b</sup> Fifteen hundred of them were granted to the Guinea merchants, and sent to perish in the mines.

<sup>c</sup> The whole garrison, of 800 men, was put to the sword, and 80 women likewise lost their lives. The plunder also was very great; "some of the private soldiers," according to Whitelock's statement, "got in the storm £500 apiece."

<sup>d</sup> This assembly had been broken up by the exigencies of the war; now that it was resumed, the parliament soon fell before it.

<sup>e</sup> Commissioners from the parliament were sent

out beyond Aylesbury to meet him, and to them, in the insolence of victory, he presented, not only horses, but two of the Scottish prisoners, "gentlemen of good quality," to each, as "a present." Whitelock, who tells the tale, released his, but he does not lead us to believe that the other commissioners did so.

<sup>f</sup> This was the celebrated Navigation Act (numbered 22, and passed October 9, 1651,) which, with some exceptions, forbade the importation of goods, except in English vessels, or vessels of the country that produced them, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. It annihilated the carrying trade of the Dutch as far as England was concerned, and its principle was considered so sound that it was re-enacted after the Restoration, [12 Car. II. c. 18].

<sup>g</sup> See A.D. 1634.

<sup>h</sup> See A.D. 1619.

<sup>i</sup> The island was surrendered in spite of the opposition of the widowed countess of Derby, who had successfully defended Latham House (see A.D. 1644). She was confined for a while, but two of her children dying in their prison, her spirit gave way, and she petitioned to be allowed to enter into a composition with the ruling powers, which was allowed, on very hard terms, in Sept. 1653. The island was granted to Sir Thomas Fairfax, but restored to the Stanleys by Charles II., when the countess procured the condemnation of William Christian ("a notable seaman of King James' time") who had been the chief instrument in the surrender of the island, maintaining that the Act of Oblivion did not extend to the Isle of Man. She died soon after, in 1663.

<sup>j</sup> They were about 25 in number, and they obtained £100,000 in prizes, with which they found shelter at Brest and other French ports. The Commonwealth ships in return captured French vessels, but open war between the two countries was avoided.

<sup>k</sup> They were Chief-justice St. John, Mr. Sallo-way, and Alderman Tichborne.

Several conferences are held for the incorporation of the two countries into one commonwealth.

John Lilburne, being convicted of libelling the commissioners of sequestrations (Jan. 16), is, by act of parliament, sentenced to banishment for life. Many of his friends accompany him to the sea-side.

An act passed prohibiting the use of titles conferred since Jan. 4, 1642<sup>a</sup>.

An act of amnesty passed, Feb. 24. This, with some exceptions, pardoned all state offences prior to the battle of Worcester; and as it was granted at the desire of Cromwell, it gained him favour even among the royalists, and thus strengthened his hands against the parliament, which he was preparing to overthrow.

The Dutch war commences by Captain Young firing on the commander of a Dutch squadron, and compelling him to salute the English flag, May 14.

A battle is fought between the Dutch under Martin Tromp and the English under Blake and Bourn, off Dover, May 19. The Dutch are defeated, and lose two ships.

The parliament refuse to listen to the Dutch ambassadors, who are sent to accommodate the dispute. War is

declared July 8, and Blake captures a fleet of merchantmen, July 13.

The parliament endeavour to reduce the army. The council of officers, under the name of a petition, mark out a course of action for them (Aug. 13); and Cromwell devises a plan for their forcible dissolution.

Ayscue has an indecisive action with De Ruyter, off Plymouth, Aug. 16. The Dutch are totally defeated in the Downs by Blake and Penn, Sept. 28, and chased into their harbours.

Tromp appears in Dover roads, with a greatly superior fleet to that of Blake, Nov. 28. Blake's ships suffer severely, and are obliged to retreat into the Thames<sup>b</sup>.

During this time, "the parliament," Whitelock says, "were very busy in debate of several acts of parliament under consideration, but very little was brought to effect by them. The soldiers grumbled at their delays, and there began to be ill blood between them; the general and his officers pressed the putting a period to their sittings, which they promised to do, but were slow in that business."

The young duke of Gloucester is allowed to join his brothers, at the recommendation of Cromwell.

## IRELAND.

IRETON, who succeeded Cromwell in command of the parliamentary forces in Ireland, died of the plague in the same year (Nov. 26, 1650), but not before he had, by the capture of Limerick, all but terminated the war. About the same time the marquis of Ormond was obliged, by the clamour of the Irish, who attributed their ill success to treachery, to withdraw, leaving as his deputy the marquis of Clanrickarde (Ulick Burke, a Romanist), who, collecting what remained of the Irish forces, defended Galway for a considerable time after the rest of the country had been reduced to submission<sup>c</sup>.

Ireland was now committed to the

rule of four commissioners (Ludlow, Corbet, Jones, and Weaver), whose chief care was to dispossess the natives, and replace them by English settlers. Thousands were allowed to go into the service of foreign states; others (especially women and children) were shipped to the American plantations; those who were suffered to remain in the country were "transplanted" to Connaught; and the more fertile districts were partitioned between the soldiers in lieu of their arrears of pay, and the adventurers who had advanced money for the war<sup>d</sup>. The new settlers exerted themselves vigorously to improve their possessions; they rebuilt

<sup>a</sup> The patents were to be brought in to be cancelled, under a penalty of £50. Peers were to pay £100, knights £40, if they continued the use of such titles; and persons giving them, either by speech or writing, were to incur a fine of 10s. for each offence.

<sup>b</sup> The Dutch were so elated by this success, that Tromp carried a broom at his mast-head, in token

of his intention to sweep the seas of the English; the insult was signally avenged shortly after.

<sup>c</sup> It surrendered July 10, 1652, on terms similar to those granted to Limerick. In each case most of the defenders were allowed to enter into some foreign service. Clanrickarde retired to England, where he died shortly after.

<sup>d</sup> See A.D. 1642.

the towns, cultivated the fields, and in a short time effected a great change in the aspect of the country; a change facilitated by the appointment of Henry Cromwell, who, for a space of nearly five years (Aug. 1654, to June, 1659) exercised the supreme authority in a conciliatory spirit.

A.D. 1653.

The parliament, on the recommendation of the Council of State, take vigorous measures to retrieve their late failure at sea<sup>a</sup>, January.

Ambassadors arrive from France, Spain, and Sweden, to treat for alliances and commercial treaties.

The Dutch fleet, under Tromp, is attacked by Blake, off Portland, Feb. 18. The fight is continued for three days across the channel to Blanquenez (near Boulogne); the Dutch, having suffered great loss, escape, in the night, into the Scheldt.

Admiral Bodley has a severe but indecisive action with the Dutch fleet, near Elba, March 3.

The council of officers have great

differences with the parliament as to the constitution of the new legislature. At length Cromwell appears in the House, with a strong guard, and expels the members, April 20.

Cromwell forms a Council of State, consisting of himself and eight other officers, and four civilians, April 30, by which a new parliament is called, June 8.

Tromp sails into Dover roads, in the absence of the English fleet, and fires on the town, May 28.

The Dutch are again defeated, near the North Foreland, June 2 and 3, and obliged to take refuge at the Texel. They are blockaded there by Monk and Penn<sup>t</sup>, and Tromp, endeavouring to put to sea, is himself killed, and his fleet almost totally destroyed<sup>g</sup>, July 31.

Lilburne returns from banishment, June 14. By order of Cromwell he is tried<sup>h</sup>, but is acquitted by the jury<sup>i</sup>, Aug. 20.

The parliament<sup>k</sup> meets, July 4. Cromwell devolves the supreme authority to them until Nov. 3, 1654, when they were to be succeeded by a new assembly.

<sup>a</sup> They gave a month's pay as bounty; advanced subsistence-money for the families of the seamen; granted 40s. per ton and £6 per gun for every ship taken, and £10 per gun for every vessel burnt or sunk; and established hospitals at Dover, Deal, and Sandwich, with funds for their support, and for the relief of the sick or wounded who could not be removed from the fleet. "These and other encouragements," says Whitelock, "caused the seamen to come flocking into the service of the parliament; and although the Hollanders had prohibited the importing of pitch, tar, hemp, and other materials of navigation by any nation whatsoever, into England, a placard of sufficient insolvency, yet the Council of State had provided sufficient stores, and had prepared and equipped a gallant navy."

<sup>f</sup> Blake was ill on shore, and Deane had been killed in the first day's fight.

<sup>g</sup> Some few of Monk's letters relative to this war have been preserved, and they shew how readily he could adapt himself to the phraseology of Cromwell and his friends. In May he was cruising in search of Tromp, and he concludes a letter with, "Pray for us, that we may be carried out with the power and spirit of the Lord;" and when relating this victory, he says, "Great was the Lord, and marvellous, worthy to be praised by His appearance in our behalf. There were sunk five, and taken of them about thirty or forty sail . . . and I am in good hopes that the same mighty presence of the Lord will still follow us to the disabling, taking, or destroying of some more yet."

<sup>h</sup> The London apprentices petitioned the Parliament in his favour, for which six of their number were imprisoned.

<sup>i</sup> During the trial an attempt to rescue Lilburne was expected, and three regiments were kept under arms to prevent it. His partisans scattered about tickets, with an inflammatory distich,—

"And what, shall then honest John Lilburne die?  
Threescore thousand will know the reason why."

Van de Perre, one of the Dutch commissioners who were sent to negotiate for a peace, was in London at the time, and he says,—"There were six or seven hundred men at his trial, with swords, pistols, bills, daggers, and other instruments, that in case they had not cleared him they would have employed in his defence. The joy and acclamation was so great after he was cleared, that the shout was heard an English mile, as is said." The jury were summoned before the council, and threatened for their verdict, and Lilburne was carried to the Tower, guarded by a troop of horse, at 3 in the morning of Sunday, August 27.

<sup>k</sup> It consisted of 122 members for England, 6 for Wales, 5 for Scotland, and 6 for Ireland, and is ordinarily known by the name of "Barebones' Parliament," from a play on the name of one of its members (Praise-God Barbon, a leather-seller of London, and one of its seven representatives). They chose Francis Rous for their speaker, and, on his proposition, invited Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, and Tomlinson to take seats in the assembly.

Rous was a Devonshire man, educated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford. He sat in the several parliaments under Charles I., and had evinced a most bitter feeling against the Church, for which he was rewarded by the Long Parliament with the provostship of Eton College on the ejection of Dr. Richard Stewart; he was also one of the lay members of the Assembly of Divines, and he wrote several works, one of which (a metrical translation of the Psalms) was printed by the order of the House of Commons. Rous advocated in the present assembly a government in imitation of the theocratic rule of the Jews (he was henceforth nicknamed "the old Jew of Eton"), and finding this distasteful to his colleagues, advised the surrender of their powers to Cromwell, whom he affected to consider as greater than Moses and Joshua combined. He died Jan. 7, 1658, and was buried with much pomp in the college chapel.

The General Assembly of the Scottish kirk dispersed by the English soldiers, July 25.

Marriages ordered to be solemnized by the justices of the peace, and no other mode allowed to be valid, Aug. 24.

The parliament, which had been chosen by Cromwell and his officers from lists of persons "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness," furnished to them by the various churches, shewed little inclination to forward his views. It proposed to reform abuses in every department, to abolish unnecessary offices, enforce economy, improve the administration of the law, and do away with tithes, providing instead a fixed maintenance for the clergy. But matters of a widely different character were among the projects of the Anabaptists<sup>m</sup>, who formed the great majority, and they passed the time until December in discussing them. But on the 13th of that month Sydenham, an Independent, having mustered his friends before many of the other party had arrived, suddenly proposed, with the concurrence of the Speaker, that the parliament (which he described as useless and injurious to the Commonwealth) should resign its power into the hands of Cromwell. This he and his friends at once proceeded to do, and the few dissentients were expelled by a company of soldiers.

Cromwell professed to decline the offer, but on the writing containing it

being signed by a majority of the House, he consented, and an Instrument of Government was drawn up, which was solemnly published in Westminster Hall, whereby Oliver Cromwell was received as "His Highness the Lord Protector," Dec. 16.

Beside bestowing this dignity on Cromwell, the chief provisions of the Instrument were, that there should be triennial parliaments of 460 members; a council of 21 members; and a standing army of 30,000 men; also that taxes should be imposed and laws made only by the parliament. But as the meeting of this parliament was not to take place until Sept. 3, 1654, power was given to the Lord Protector and his council during the interval to do all acts necessary for the public service, and to make ordinances, which should have the force of laws.

A.D. 1654.

The Protector's elevation is repugnant to many of his former adherents. Some of the more prominent are committed to the Tower<sup>n</sup>. The royalists also plot against him, but are betrayed by spies<sup>o</sup>.

Middleton takes the command of the royalists in Scotland<sup>p</sup>, February.

Peace is concluded with Holland<sup>q</sup>, April 5.

Scotland is declared incorporated with England, by an ordinance of the Protector, April 12, and General Monk appointed to the chief command.

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the

<sup>l</sup> This act was distasteful to many, and real conscience with it was often avoided, by having the ceremony performed by the minister, whilst the justice merely stood by as a witness. Stephen Marshall, a well-known Presbyterian, married his daughter soon after the passing of the Act, according to the Liturgy, and then paid a fine of £5 for using any other form than that in the Directory. *ibid.* p. 388.

<sup>m</sup> They proposed to destroy the records in the Tower and elsewhere, styling them "badges of slavery," and to dispense with laws and magistrates, as not needed by the Saints.

<sup>n</sup> Among them were Harrison, formerly his intimate associate, and Feakes and Powell, two Anabaptist preachers, who had, at the council-board, charged him to his face with aspiring to absolute power.

<sup>o</sup> The Protector, through the management of his secretary, John Thurloe, contrived by these means to get information of the most secret resolves of the king and his council. Thurloe, born in 1616, the son of an Essex clergyman, was a lawyer, and acted as secretary to the parliamentary commissioners at Oxford, and in the same capacity accompanied St. John and others to Holland in 1651. Oliver Cromwell appointed him secretary of state,

and he held the same post under Richard. When he saw the Restoration approaching he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the royalists, but he was distrusted and his services declined: he was for a short time imprisoned, and then retired to Milton, in Oxfordshire, where he died in 1668. His State Papers have been published, and they attest his great powers for business of the most diversified kinds, and afford much valuable information.

<sup>p</sup> They took arms in the July of the preceding year under the earl of Glencairn, but feuds broke out among them, and Middleton was sent to appease their dissensions. Some few English royalists joined them, particularly Captain Wogan, who made his way through England with a small party of cavalry disguised as parliamentarians; he was killed soon after he reached Scotland.

<sup>q</sup> The Dutch were obliged to agree to give no shelter or assistance to the royalists. They also conceded the honour of the flag, and agreed to restore the island of Poleroon, and to pay a sum of above £270,000 as compensation to the East India Company, the Baltic merchants, and the heirs of the sufferers at Amboyna (see p. 381). They lost above 1,100 vessels in the course of this short war, but they contrived to evade delivering up Poleroon.



Portuguese ambassador, is beheaded on Tower-hill for murder<sup>1</sup>, July 10.

Mr. Vowell is hanged at Charing-cross, and Col. Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill, for a plot against the life of the Protector, July 10.

Monk breaks up the Scottish Assembly, July 20, and shortly after entirely disperses the royalist forces under Middleton<sup>2</sup>.

The Protector's parliament is opened by him with much state, Sept. 4<sup>3</sup>. They manifest a design to question his authority, when he summons them before him, and justifies his conduct, Sept. 12. They are required to sign an instrument pledging themselves not to attempt any alteration in the form of the government "as it is settled in one single person and a parliament;" about one-fourth of the number refuse, and are in consequence excluded.

The parliament still continues uncompliant. A motion to make the office of Protector hereditary in the family of Cromwell is negatived by a majority of two-thirds, Oct. 13.

Five hundred Irish land in the Hebrides, in November, when many of the Highland clans which had submitted resume their arms.

John Biddle, a Socinian, is imprisoned by the parliament<sup>4</sup>, Dec. 13.

A.D. 1655.

Two large fleets sail on secret expe-

ditions. Blake proceeds with one to the Mediterranean; the other, under Penn and Venables, repairs to the West Indies.

The Protector dismisses the parliament in anger, Jan. 31.

The republicans plot against the Protector. Many of their leading men are seized and imprisoned<sup>5</sup>.

The royalists make abortive risings in several counties. Sir Joseph Wagstaff surprises the judges at Salisbury, Sunday, March 11. He proposes to hang them, but to this his followers will not agree. Troops being sent against them, they retreat to South Molton, in Devonshire, where they are forced to surrender.

The Protector deals leniently with the republicans, but treats the royalists with extreme severity<sup>6</sup>.

Rigorous ordinances are made, by which one-tenth<sup>7</sup> of the property of the royalists is seized; and the sufferers are obliged, beside, to find security for their peaceable behaviour. The clergy are forbidden to act as schoolmasters (the only resource left to the majority); and the country is divided into fourteen districts, each ruled by a major-general with all but absolute power.

Blake enforces reparation for damages to English commerce from the grand duke of Tuscany<sup>8</sup>, and chastises the Barbary pirates; but cruises

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances of this case are very remarkable. In November, 1653, Don Pantaleon had a quarrel at the New Exchange in the Strand, with Col. Gerard, a royalist, and would have murdered him but for the interposition of Mr. Anstruther, a bystander. On the following day Don Pantaleon returned, with about fifty armed attendants, and mistaking a Colonel Mayo for Anstruther, killed him, as also a Mr. Greenaway, who chanced to be walking in the building. The Portuguese ambassador endeavoured to screen the murderers, but Cromwell, who in the interim had become Protector, refused to listen to him, had them tried by a special commission, executed Don Pantaleon and one of his party who was an Englishman, and pardoned the rest. By a strange coincidence, his intended victim, Gerard, was executed at the same place, and on the same day.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the prisoners were sold as slaves to the planters of Barbadoes. This greatly enraged the Highlanders, who, having afterwards taken some English soldiers, murdered them, telling them "they had no Barbadoes to send them to."

<sup>3</sup> The meeting of the parliament had been fixed for September 3, as the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. That day fell this year on Sunday, and the House assembled in Westminster Abbey and heard a sermon. Lenthall, the Speaker of the Long Parliament, was Speaker.

<sup>4</sup> Further steps would have been taken against him but for the dissolution of the parliament. Upon that event he was released, but he was soon again

seized, and sent to the Isles of Scilly, receiving for his support from the Protector a weekly pension of 10s., commencing Jan. 1, 1656. He was not set at liberty at the Restoration, but was brought to London, and died in Newgate, Sept. 20, 1662.

<sup>5</sup> One Major Wildman drew up a paper entitled "The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England now in arms against the Tyrant, Oliver Cromwell, Esq.," in which his hypocrisy, tyranny, and selfishness are denounced in vehement language; and Whitlock confesses that "many who viewed this Declaration knew there was too much of truth in it."

<sup>6</sup> Many were executed, and a still greater number sold for slaves to the planters in the West Indies. Arundel Penruddock, the widow of Colonel John Penruddock, one of the parties executed, however, had £200 granted to her out of his personal estate (March 23, 1657), "for the benefit of the younger son and five daughters of the said John." After the Restoration she petitioned for a licence for making glasses, and stated that, beside the loss of her husband, her family had suffered to the amount of £15,000 in the royal cause.

<sup>7</sup> This measure, usually known as the decimation of the royalists, was extended to all who had ever borne arms for the king, or had avowed themselves of his party, without any regard to compositions or pardons, and without any inquiry whether they had or had not been concerned in the recent risings.

<sup>8</sup> The sum of £60,000 was exacted.

in vain for the Spanish treasure-ships.

Penn and Venables recruit their forces among the royalist refugees in the West Indies. They make an unsuccessful attempt on Hispaniola, in April, but capture Jamaica, in May.

Lord Willoughby of Parham, formerly governor of Barbadoes, and other royalists, committed to the Tower, June.

Several ministers are "transported into Ireland to preach the Gospel<sup>b</sup>," June, July.

A part of the fleet from the West Indies returns in September, when the commanders are at once committed to the Tower<sup>c</sup>.

The council forbid any person to publish in print any matter of public news or intelligence without leave and approbation of the secretary of state<sup>d</sup>, Oct.

A committee of trade appointed<sup>e</sup>, Nov. 2.

A treaty of alliance is concluded with France, having for its object a joint war against Spain, Oct. 24. One article provides that Charles II. shall no longer be suffered to reside in France; he and his brother, the duke of York, in consequence retire to Flanders.

Manning<sup>f</sup>, one of Thurloe's spies, is detected, and shot by order of Charles II., Dec.

A proposition for the re-admission

of the Jews into England<sup>g</sup> is repeatedly discussed by the council, and by committees of divines and lawyers, but nothing is concluded<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1656.

Colonel Sexby, one of the Levellers, is employed by the Spaniards to get up a rebellion against the Protector. They also negotiate with Charles II., and take his brother, the duke of York, into their service.

The exactions of the majors-general occasion much discontent, and the Protector is obliged to summon a parliament.

A part of the Spanish treasure-fleet<sup>i</sup> is captured off Cadiz, by one of Blake's captains, Sept. 9.

The Protector's second<sup>k</sup> parliament meets, Sept. 17; Sir Thomas Widdrington, speaker. Many of the persons elected are arbitrarily excluded by the council<sup>l</sup>.

The parliament sentence James Naylor, a quaker, to severe punishment as a blasphemers<sup>m</sup>, Dec. 17.

The Protector successfully interferes with the duke of Savoy (Charles Emanuel II.) on behalf of the Vaudois<sup>n</sup>.

The Protector establishes a life-guard of 160 men.

A.D. 1657.

A committee appointed by the par-

<sup>b</sup> Such is the expression in the letters of privy seal: some received £100, others £50, for their outfit.

<sup>c</sup> They were released in a short time. Even before their return Cromwell had taken steps to render their conquest (Jamaica) valuable by sending settlers thither. As early as June 6, 1655, money was issued to prepare additional land forces, and in July he sent twelve ships with a regiment of soldiers to secure the island, which afforded a good position for future attacks on the Spanish dominions.

<sup>d</sup> This post was now held by Thurloe.

<sup>e</sup> "This," Whitelock, one of its members, remarks, "was a business of much importance to the commonwealth, and the Protector was earnestly set upon it."

<sup>f</sup> He was in the service of Hyde, who was in reality the prime minister of the exiled king, and was thus able to transmit important intelligence to his employers. Anne Manning, his widow, received a pension of 20s. a-week, from the Protector, by letter of privy seal, dated Oct. 31, 1656.

<sup>g</sup> For their expulsion, see A.D. 1691.

<sup>h</sup> See Note, p. 162.

<sup>i</sup> Major-general Kelsey was paid £230 by privy seal of Jan. 19, 1657, "for so much by him disbursed for coach-hire and other charges, in bringing up the Spanish plate from Portsmouth to London."

<sup>j</sup> Or third, if the Barebones' parliament is reckoned.

<sup>k</sup> Among them were Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Sir

Anthony Ashley Cooper (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury), and Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who became Speaker of the Convention which recalled Charles II., and was afterwards Master of the Rolls. These and others published a Remonstrance, in which they denounced those who sat without them as " betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the commonwealth."

<sup>m</sup> He was to be pilloried, whipped, branded with "B" for Blasphemer, and his tongue bored with a red-hot iron; then to be imprisoned, debarr'd from company, pen, ink, and paper, and kept to hard labour for his subsistence. He was released by the restored Long Parliament, Sept. 8, 1659.

<sup>n</sup> The agent employed was Samuel Morland, a man of doubtful character and versatile talents, to whom some have ascribed the invention of the steam-engine. He was born about 1625, in Berkshire, was educated at Cambridge, and was one of Whitelock's retinue on his embassy to Sweden. He resided for a while at Geneva, and printed a History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont. He was confidentially employed by Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, but at length fled to Charles II., to whom he divulged a plot said to have been formed to assassinate him. The information was probably false, but Morland was knighted, and he continued in favour after the Restoration, being prized by the king for his mechanical abilities, of which many singular stories are related. He died in 1696.

liament to consider of the translation of the Bible<sup>o</sup>, Jan. 16.

Syndercombe, an agent of Sexby, attempts to assassinate the Protector, Jan. 19. He is tried and condemned, Feb. 9, but dies in prison, Feb. 13.

A proposition is made in the parliament to give the title of King to Cromwell, Feb. 23. After considerable debate, an instrument called the Humble Petition and Advice is agreed to, March 25, which provides that the Protector shall govern "with a higher title," and "with the advice of two houses of parliament." Lambert and other officers strenuously oppose this, and at length Cromwell declines the title, May 8.

A charter, with ample powers, granted to the East India Company, March 16.

The Anabaptists attempt a rising in London, but are speedily suppressed<sup>r</sup>, April 9.

Blake destroys a fleet of Spanish treasure-ships at Santa Cruz, April 20.

A patent is granted (May 15) for the erection of a third university, at Durham.

Troops are sent to act with the French against the Spaniards, May.

The Humble Petition and Advice (giving Cromwell only the title of Lord Protector, but allowing him to name his successor, and to create a House of Peers,) is presented to the Protector, and accepted by him, May 26.

Cromwell is inaugurated as Lord Protector, with much pomp<sup>q</sup>, June 26. The parliament adjourns the same day.

Lambert refuses to take the oath to Cromwell, and is deprived of his post of general of the army.

Mardyke is captured by the English and French, Sept. 23.

Sexby comes into England<sup>r</sup>, is seized, and soon after dies in the Tower.

A.D. 1658.

The parliament meets, Jan. 20, being, in virtue of a provision in the Humble Advice and Petition, divided into two Houses. The new-made peers<sup>s</sup>, however, are not recognised by the commoners, and the parliament is dissolved, Feb. 4.

The marquis of Ormond visits England, and endeavours to prepare for a rising of the royalists in connexion with an invasion by the king from Flanders, Jan. and Feb. The design becomes known, and the Flemish coast is blockaded by an English fleet.

Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt are executed as concerned in the intended rising, June 8.

The English and French defeat the Spaniards at Dunkirk, June 4. The town is taken, June 17, and given up to the English, and Flanders is overrun.

The Protector falls ill, early in August. He dies, Sept. 3, at Whitehall. His public funeral is celebrated with great pomp in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster<sup>t</sup>, Nov. 23.

Richard Cromwell is declared Protector by the council, Sept. 3.

Fleetwood and the other officers begin to combine against him. To conciliate them, Lambert is restored to the command of the army, Oct. 14.

A parliament is summoned, in order to counteract the hostility of the army, Nov. 30.

<sup>o</sup> Whitelock says, "This committee often met at my house [at Chelsea], and had the most learned men in the Oriental tongues to consult with in this great business, and divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English; which yet was agreed to be the best of any translation in the world. I took pains in it, but it became fruitless by the parliament's dissolution." Among the members of this committee were Ralph Cudworth, and Brian Walton, who about the same time published his invaluable Polyglot Bible.

<sup>p</sup> Harrison, who was to have been their leader, had been seized the night before, and sent to the Tower.

<sup>q</sup> The coronation chair was brought from Westminster Abbey to the Hall for the occasion, its only known removal.

<sup>r</sup> He had distributed thousands of a pamphlet

entitled, "Killing no Murder," (probably written by Captain Titus, a royalist,) in which the assassination of the Protector was recommended; and he was supposed to come prepared to carry his doctrine into execution.

<sup>s</sup> They were sixty in number. Among them were Richard and Henry Cromwell; the earls of Cassilis, Manchester, Mulgrave, and Warwick, and Viscount Say and Sele; Monk and Montague (afterwards duke of Albemarle and earl of Sandwich); Lords Broghill, Fauconberg (Cromwell's son-in-law), and Wharton; Viscounts Howard and Lisle; Sir Arthur Haselrigge, and two other baronets; Whitelock, Glyn, and other lawyers; Desborough, the two Fleetwoods, Pride, Skippon, and Tomlinson.

<sup>t</sup> His body had been already buried there, Sept. 20. After the Restoration it was, to the disgrace of the Convention parliament, torn from its grave, and exposed on the gibbet.

A.D. 1659.

The parliament meets, Jan. 29; Chaloner Chute, Speaker. Not above half the new-made peers attend.

"A representation," says Whitelock, "was signed by all the officers of the army (April 6), and afterwards presented to his highness (Richard), setting forth their want of pay, the insolencies of the enemies, and their designs, together with some in power, to ruin the army and the good old cause, and to bring in the enemies thereof; to prevent which, and to provide against free quarter, they desire his highness to advise with the parliament, and to provide effectual remedy. Now there being nothing done hereupon, the army began to speak high and threatening. This was the beginning of Richard's fall, and set on foot by his relations—Desborough, who married his aunt, and Fleetwood, who married his sister, and others of their party; and the parliament disputed about the other House, but took no course to provide money, but exasperated the army, and all those named of the other House."

The army forms several councils, which the parliament votes illegal. After some delay the Protector, on a promise of military support, dissolves the parliament, April 22.

Fleetwood and the officers come to an agreement with the republicans, and by their wish recall the members of the Long Parliament dispersed by Cromwell<sup>a</sup>, who reassemble May 7. The members expelled in 1648<sup>x</sup> in vain claim admission.

"The great officers of the army," says Whitelock, "were advised to consider better of their design of bringing in the members of the old parliament, who were most of them discontented

for their being formerly broken up by Cromwell, and did distaste the proceedings of the army, and whether this would not probably more increase the divisions, and end in bringing in of the king; but the officers had resolved on it."

A Committee of Safety appointed, May 9; "most of them soldiers, except Vane and Scott," says Whitelock; "and ordered that all officers should be such as feared God and were faithful to the cause."

A Council of State, of thirty-one members, appointed, May 13; consisting of Lord Fairfax<sup>y</sup>, Lambert, Desborough, and twelve other soldiers; and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper<sup>z</sup>, Bradshaw, Whitelock, and thirteen other civilians.

The armies in Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders, and the fleet, signify their adhesion to this revolution, which displaces Richard Cromwell<sup>a</sup>.

Richard, in reply to the parliament, expresses his willingness to retire from office, May 25.

Fleetwood appointed lieutenant-general of the forces, June 4.

Henry Cromwell resigns the government of Ireland to the commissioners of the parliament, June 15.

The parliament endeavour to remodel the army, and thus lose their support. The royalists seize the opportunity for a rising. Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton appear in arms, and surprise Chester, early in August. They are defeated by Lambert at Nantwich, Aug. 19, which prevents a projected landing in Kent by the duke of York.

Fresh quarrels occur between the parliament and the army. Fleetwood and others are voted out of their commands, Oct. 12. They instead expel

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1653.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 435.

<sup>y</sup> His appointment was merely nominal, and he did not attend its sittings.

<sup>z</sup> He was born in 1621, was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and for a short time studied the law. On the breaking out of the civil war, he professed himself a royalist, but taking offence at the behaviour of Prince Maurice, he soon joined the Parliament, was an active man under the Commonwealth, and was employed by Cromwell, but was excluded from his second parliament. He entered into the plans for the king's restoration, was in consequence made a peer, and chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards created earl of Shaftesbury. He held the office of lord-chancellor for a year, and when dismissed became a vehement

opponent of the court, and laboured earnestly to exclude the duke of York from the succession, for which purpose he encouraged the belief in the Popish Plot. Shaftesbury is stigmatized under the name of Achitophel by Dryden, and he was evidently one of the most daring and unprincipled of political adventurers. His schemes, however, met with deserved failure. He was twice imprisoned in the Tower, and, warned by a narrow escape from trial for treason, he withdrew to Holland, where he shortly after died, Jan. 22, 1683.

<sup>a</sup> His authority entirely ceased when he dissolved the parliament, in April, but he was allowed to remain at Whitehall until August, when his debts (amounting to £29,642) were paid, and a present in ready money being made to him, he withdrew to the Continent.

the parliament, Oct. 13, and reassume the government, managing it by a Committee of Safety<sup>b</sup>, Oct. 23.

Monk prepares to march into England, under pretence of restoring the parliament<sup>c</sup>. Lambert is dispatched against him, but suffers himself to be amused with negotiations; meanwhile his troops desert him.

Riots occur in London, and the parliament is reinstated, Dec. 26.

A.D. 1660.

Lord Broghill and Colonel Coote<sup>d</sup> seize the castle of Dublin, expel the parliamentary commissioners, and make a tender of the services of the Protestants in Ireland to the exiled king.

Monk is joined by Lord Fairfax at York, early in January. He marches on London, where he arrives Feb. 3, and occupies the city with his troops.

An Engagement agreed on "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, and the government thereof in the way of commonwealth and free state, without a king, single person, or House of Lords," Feb. 13.

The excluded members of parliament are reinstated, with William Lenthall as Speaker, by desire of Monk, Feb. 21.

The parliament, consisting now

mainly of presbyterians and concealed royalists, appoint a Council of State favourable to the king, and release Sir George Booth and other prisoners, Feb. 22.

Monk appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, Feb. 25. He is also, in conjunction with Montague<sup>e</sup>, appointed to command the navy, March 3.

The Engagement repudiated, and all orders for taking it discharged, March 13.

The royalists shew themselves openly. Many ministers pray for the king by name; he is also proclaimed in some places.

The parliament dissolves itself, March 16, after appointing a new assembly (or Convention) to meet on April 25.

Lambert escapes from the Tower<sup>f</sup>, April 11, and endeavours to rekindle the war. He is defeated near Daven-try, April 21, and retaken.

The Convention parliament meets, April 25; Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Speaker. It consists of two Houses, the peers taking their seats without opposition.

A letter from the king<sup>h</sup> is delivered to both Houses<sup>i</sup>, May 1. It is re-

<sup>b</sup> This consisted of twenty-three members, of whom Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were the chief; Whitelock was prevailed on to join it, in order to counteract the designs of Vane and others, "who," he says, "had a design to overthrow magistracy, ministry, and the law."

<sup>c</sup> He had already written to the officers of the army expressing his dissatisfaction with their proceedings. Commissioners were sent to him to bring about an accommodation, "but they could have nothing but general and uncertain answers from him."

<sup>d</sup> Coote commanded in the north of Ireland. He was the son of Sir Charles Coote, who was killed in opposing the rebels in 1642, and was himself created earl of Mountrath. Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, a younger son of the first earl of Cork, had also served against the rebels, but being taken by the parliament forces he was, like Monk, induced to join them, and he had now the whole of the south of Ireland at his disposal. His services were rewarded with the title of the earl of Orrery; he took a considerable part in the affairs of Ireland under Charles II., and died in the year 1679, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. Lord Broghill was a man of letters, and his works are still regarded as valuable.

<sup>e</sup> This had been voted by the parliament, Sept. 3, 1659, during their quarrel with the army, but would appear not to have been enforced; it was now again voted, and Monk professed to acquiesce in it. It was, after the Restoration, burnt by the hangman, like the Solemn League and Covenant.

<sup>f</sup> Edward Montague, the grandson of Lord Montague of Boughton, was born in 1625. He raised

a regiment in the associated counties for the Parliament, and, though still a youth, fought at its head at Marston-moor and at Naseby. In 1652 he became one of the council of state, and was soon after appointed an admiral. Montague warmly embraced the cause of Charles II., and was by him created earl of Sandwich. He took possession of Tangier for England, chastised the Barbary corsairs, and served in both the wars against the Dutch, in the last of which he perished, in the battle of Solebay, May 28, 1672.

<sup>g</sup> He had been called on by the council to give security for his peaceable behaviour, and was committed on his refusal, March 6.

<sup>h</sup> It was brought by Sir John Grenville, the son of Sir Bevil Grenville, the Cornish commander, and who had himself defended the Scilly Isles against Blake. After the Restoration he was, in memory of his father's services as well as his own, created Viscount Grenville of Lansdown and earl of Bath. He died Aug. 22, 1701.

<sup>i</sup> "By this declaration [from Breda, dated April 4], the king grants a free general pardon to all that shall lay hold of it within forty days, except such as the parliament shall except, and a liberty to tender consciences, and that none be questioned for difference of opinion in matters of religion that do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; that differences, and all things relating to grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; and he will consent to acts for that purpose, and for satisfaction of the arrears to Monk's officers and soldiers, and they to be received into his Majesty's service and pay."

ceived with joy, and he is invited to return to his kingdoms.

Montague and the fleet declare for the king<sup>j</sup>, early in May, and sail to Holland to take him on board.

Charles II. is proclaimed by order

of the parliament, May 8<sup>k</sup>. Commissioners are sent to Holland to wait on him<sup>l</sup>. He lands at Dover, May 25, where he is received by Monk, and enters London in triumph, on his birthday, Tuesday, May 29.

<sup>j</sup> Montague himself fired the first gun, and cried "God save the king!"

<sup>k</sup> Notices of this are to be found in many parish registers, and one entry at least shews that the incumbent returned to the use of the Liturgy without delay. In the register of Whitworth, Durham, we read, "Charles II. proclaimed at London, May 8th, and at Durham, 12th May, 1660, on which day, I, Stephen Hogg, began to use again the Book of Common Prayer."

<sup>l</sup> They were six lords and twelve commoners; fourteen citizens and ten presbyterian ministers accompanied them. The peers were, the earls of Middlesex, Oxford, and Warwick; Viscount Hereford; and Lords Berkeley and Brooke. The commoners were, the Lords Bruce, Castleton, Fairfax, Falkland, Herbert, and Mandeville; Sir George Booth, Sir A. A. Cooper, Sir Henry Cholmeley, and Sir Horatio Townsend; John Holland and Denzil Holles.



Charles II., from his Great Seal.

## CHARLES II.

CHARLES, the eldest surviving son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria of France, was born at St. James's, May 29, 1630. In his ninth year he was created Prince of Wales; and when the civil war broke out, he accompanied his father at the battle of Edgehill. In 1644 he was the nominal head of the royal forces in the west of England, but on the decline of the cause he was obliged to retire to Scilly, to Jersey, and eventually to France. When matters appeared to be drawing to extremity with the king, several of the ships of the Parliament went over to the prince, who made some attempts to blockade the Thames, and even landed near Deal, but was soon obliged to withdraw to Holland, whence, in the hope of inducing them to spare his father's life, he dispatched to the intending regicides a sheet of

paper, signed and sealed, but otherwise blank, for them to insert their own conditions. No public notice was taken of this noble offer, though it is believed to have been debated, and the young prince became *de jure* king Jan. 30, 1649, but he could not obtain possession of his kingdoms till after the lapse of almost twelve years.

The Scots, though unquestionably accountable for much of the present state of affairs, were not satisfied with the proceedings of the new government in England, and, after fierce debates among themselves, they invited the king to repair to them; he at length did so, and was crowned at Scone, Jan. 1, 1651. Charles exhibited courage and conduct in opposing Cromwell's troops before Edinburgh, but his cause was hopeless from the first, owing to the discords

among his supporters<sup>a</sup>. He suddenly marched into England, and gained possession of Worcester, but there received so complete a defeat (Sept. 3), that he had great difficulty in escaping to the continent, and his cause seemed utterly ruined. He led a wandering life for the following nine years in France, Germany, and the Low Countries, sometimes relieved and sometimes repelled, according as the various sovereigns, or their ministers, threw off or yielded to their dread of Cromwell. He was accompanied by a few faithful adherents, but his little court was also beset by intriguing, turbulent men, and spies, who betrayed his counsels, and caused the numerous attempted risings of his friends, both in England and in Scotland, to end only in their own destruction. At length, on the death of Cromwell, the council of officers, headed by Lambert and Fleetwood, seized on the government; they were withstood by General Monk, who marched on them from Scotland, where he had long commanded, and by his able, though interested management<sup>b</sup>, the young king was invited to return to his dominions. He at once complied, and entered London in triumph on his birthday, May 29, 1660.

From this time Charles reigned for twenty-five years, but neither with peace at home nor with glory abroad. Warned by the fate of his father, he abstained from open contest with his parliaments, preferring to corrupt their leading men; and, to gain money for his profligate expenses, he became the pensioner of Louis XIV. of France, and aided him in his wanton attacks on Holland. Though he often professed himself more indebted for his restoration to the nonconformists than was really the case, he readily sanctioned severe laws against them, which in Scotland led to actual rebellion, and in England gave occasion to va-

rious plots, by which his throne was shaken, though not overturned. At last the violence of his opponents seemed to threaten a renewal of the civil war, when the nation generally abandoned their self-elected leaders, some of whom were condemned as traitors, while others were obliged to flee abroad, and the king was beginning to reign without opposition, when he died somewhat suddenly, Feb. 6, 1685. He was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, Feb. 14.

The reign of Charles II. is a very important era. Beside those remarkable events, the great Plague and the Fire of London, it was marked by many legislative enactments of the gravest kind. By the Act of Uniformity and some auxiliary statutes the Church was re-established, and was guarded, so far as human means can achieve such objects, from insincere ministers and unauthorized assemblies; disabilities were imposed on nonconformists, both Protestant and Romish, which have since been modified or removed; the onerous features of the feudal system were abolished; commerce was sought to be advanced by special laws, particularly relating to shipping; and the freedom of the subject was secured by the Habeas Corpus Act, which gives practical effect to a provision of Magna Carta (against illegal imprisonment<sup>c</sup>) that had been allowed almost to become inoperative.

Charles married in 1662 the infanta Katharine of Portugal, daughter of John IV.<sup>d</sup>, by whom he had no family. She lived in England until the year 1692, and then, returning to Portugal, governed that country during the illness of her brother Pedro II.; she died in 1705.

The king, both before and after his marriage, led a profligate life<sup>e</sup>, and he had a numerous illegitimate issue, of whom only one acted any conspicuous

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1651.

<sup>b</sup> The restoration of royalty was seen to be the only means to save the nation from the evils of a military government, and accordingly the leaders of the different factions vied with each other in endeavouring to bring it about. The Cromwellian settlers in Ireland apparently made the earliest offer to the king; Monk waited his time, keeping his ultimate intentions a secret; but when he found that Whitelock, Thurlow, and others in London were deliberating about imitating them, he spoke

out, and having an army at his back, and London in his power, he made his own terms, and accomplished the matter without difficulty.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1215.

<sup>d</sup> He received with her a rich portion in money, as well as the possession of Bombay and Tangier. She was a woman of sense, spirit, and virtue, yet he treated her with heartless neglect and insult.

<sup>e</sup> Two of his mistresses (created by him duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth) were political agents of France; another was an actress.



part in public affairs; this was James, duke of Monmouth, beheaded in 1685. A daughter, Mary, was the mother of James Radcliff, earl of Derwentwater, executed in 1716.

Charles employed the same arms, supporters, motto, and badges as his father had done.



Arms of Charles II.

This king, while in adversity, generally conducted himself well, and displayed some valuable qualities, but these seem to have vanished when he ascended the throne<sup>f</sup>; and though he sometimes exhibited a kind of easy good-nature<sup>g</sup>, he far more frequently proved himself destitute of honour or gratitude. He had talents for business, but he professed to believe that his father had interfered too much in the details of government, and he therefore left everything of the kind to his ministers; but where his own vicious indulgences were concerned, he stooped to the greatest humiliations, and practised the most scandalous dishonesty to procure means for riot and extravagance<sup>h</sup>. He allowed men to be sacrificed whom he professed to believe innocent, merely to avoid the risk of protecting them; and whilst he affected to join in the fears of his subjects as to the designs of the Romanists, and agreed to severe laws to restrain

them, was himself a member of their communion, and actively engaged in schemes to subvert the constitution both in Church and State.

A.D. 1649.

Charles II. succeeds *de jure* on the death of his father, Jan. 30<sup>i</sup>. He does not obtain possession of the throne until

A.D. 1660.

When, invited by the parliament (May 8), he returns, and makes his public entry into London, May 29.

The Long Parliament declared to be fully dissolved and determined, [12 Car. II. c. 1].

The regicides are summoned to surrender within fourteen days, in order to their trial, June 6.

The Breda declaration made public by proclamation, June 15.

Tunnage and poundage granted to the king from June 24, 1660, for the term of his life, [c. 4].

Sir Harry Vane committed to the Tower, July 7.

The king makes a speech to the peers, urging the speedy passing of the bill of indemnity, with no exception but of the regicides, July 27.

An act of "free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion"<sup>k</sup> passed, [c. 11]. All treasons and other state offences committed between Jan. 1, 1637, and June 24, 1660, are pardoned, except where the offenders are mentioned by name, or have embezzled the king's goods, or are Romish priests, or have been concerned in plotting, contriving, or designing the Irish rebellion of 1641.

A poll-tax levied for disbanding and paying off the army and navy, [cc. 9<sup>l</sup>,

<sup>f</sup> Evelyn, who knew King Charles well, writes thus feelingly on the occasion: "I think of it with sorrow and pity, when I consider of how good and debonnaire a nature that unhappy prince was, what opportunities he had to have made himself the most renowned king that ever swayed the British sceptre, had he been firm to that Church for which his martyred and blessed father suffered; and had he been grateful to Almighty God, who so miraculously restored him, with so excellent a religion; had he endeavoured to own and propagate it as he should have done, not only for the good of his kingdom, but of all the reformed Churches in Christendom, now weakened and near ruined through our remissness, and suffering them to be supplanted, persecuted and destroyed, as in France, which we took no notice of."

<sup>g</sup> His Secret Service accounts remain, and the sums that appear therein, as "the king's free gift

and royal bounty," are very considerable. They are bestowed on such sufferers for loyalty as were fortunate enough to get their petitions into his own hand, instead of intrusting them to his secretaries.

<sup>h</sup> His secret treaties with France, his pretences of going to war merely to obtain grants from his parliament, and his seizure of the bankers' money in the exchequer are ample proofs of this.

<sup>i</sup> His regnal years are dated from this day. Hence the first statute passed by the parliament that recalled him is known as 12 Car. II. c. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Words reviving the memory of the late differences were forbidden under penalties, on gentlemen, of £10, and on persons of lower degree, of 40s. for each offence.

<sup>l</sup> The payment ranged from £100 for dukes, down to 6d. for each person above sixteen not living on alms.

10, 20]; the mode of the disbandment regulated<sup>m</sup>, [c. 15, 27].

The parliament petitions that the lives of Vane and Lambert may be spared, Aug. 30.

An act passed for a perpetual anniversary thanksgiving on May 29, the day of the king's restoration<sup>n</sup>, [c. 14].

The survivors of the ejected clergy restored to their benefices<sup>o</sup>, [c. 17].

An act passed for the encouragement of navigation<sup>p</sup>, [c. 18].

A tax on beer and other liquors granted to the king for life, [c. 23].

The Court of Wards and Liveries taken away, feudal tenures and purveyance abolished, and a revenue settled on the king instead, [c. 24].

The judges of the late king (described as "wicked and active instruments" in his murder) attainted<sup>q</sup>, [c. 30], whether living or dead; their lands, tenements, goods, and personal estate forfeited to the crown.

Marriages irregularly contracted after May 1, 1642, confirmed<sup>r</sup>, [c. 33].

A general post-office established in London, [c. 35].

Twenty-nine of the king's judges are tried and condemned, Oct. 9-13. The lives of nineteen, who had surrendered in obedience to a proclamation, are spared; the remaining ten are executed, Oct. 13-19.

The king issues a declaration (Oct. 25), intended to reconcile the Presbyterian and Independent ministers to episcopacy, and promising an examination of their objections to the Liturgy.

He also issues a declaration for the settlement of Ireland, Nov. 30. It promises that the innocent shall be reinstated in their lands, and that no actual possessor shall be removed without compensation.

The English hierarchy is again completed. Juxon, bishop of London, and Frewen, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, are translated to the primacies, six other bishops are restored to their sees, and the remaining dioceses are supplied by new consecrations<sup>s</sup>.

The convention parliament is dissolved, Dec. 29.

## NOTE.

### THE REGICIDES.

THE government of the Restoration cannot be justly accused of acting vindictively towards these men; it was the Convention

Parliament, in which sat many quite as guilty as themselves, that thirsted for the blood of the living, and dug up the bodies

<sup>m</sup> The order in which the regiments were to be disbanded was determined by lot, but the garrisons in Hull, Berwick, and Carlisle, and the guards of the royal dukes and the lord-general were to be the last. The disbanded soldiers were allowed to exercise trades, as if they had been apprenticed thereto, [c. 16]. The garrisons to be maintained were twenty-six in number, which came into pay Oct. 1, 1660.

<sup>n</sup> This act was repealed in 1859.

<sup>o</sup> The intruders were to leave by Christmas, 1660, but to receive half the income up to Michaelmas, 1661; and, if not "scandalous, ignorant, or insufficient," the rightful incumbents might allow them to remain. Where the ejected ministers were dead, the present holders were allowed to retain the benefices, though very many of them had not been episcopally ordained, unless they had petitioned to bring King Charles to trial, or had preached against infant baptism; all such were expelled.

<sup>p</sup> This re-enacts the chief provisions of the Commonwealth act of 1651, and its principle continued in force until the repeal of the navigation laws in 1850.

<sup>q</sup> Colonel Hutchinson, though one who had signed the warrant for the king's death, was omitted from this act. He had, as a leading man under the Commonwealth, done many kindnesses to the royalists (as Sir John Owen, see A.D. 1649; Lord Wilmot, Lord Newark, Sir George Booth, and others), which were gratefully remembered by some, and he was only disqualified from holding office by the Act of

Oblivion; but Clarendon (according to Mrs. Hutchinson's questionable account), indignant that he would not become a witness against his former associates, eventually procured his ruin.

<sup>r</sup> Those celebrated before justices of the peace, according to the act of 1653, (see p. 450) were thus rendered effectual in law.

<sup>s</sup> An admirable sermon was preached from Titus i. 5, at one of these consecrations (Dec. 2), by Sancroft, then chaplain to Bishop Cosin, and eventually metropolitan. Morley, Sanderson, Cosin, and Walton were among the new bishops, but there was associated with them one man of doubtful character. This was John Gauden, the reputed author of *Ikon Basilike*. He was born at Mayfield in 1605, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and became chaplain to the earl of Warwick. He preached before the parliament, to their satisfaction, and was rewarded with the deanery of Bocking; he also sat in the Assembly of Divines. He, however, ventured to remonstrate against the proposed murder of the king, and afterwards published his celebrated book; and at the Restoration these matters were deemed to excuse his former subserviency to the parliament. He was first made master of the Temple, then bishop of Exeter, and in 1662 succeeded Morley at Worcester, but died very shortly after, (Sept. 20, 1662), little regretted. He had grievously impoverished his first see by improvident leases, and was popularly said to have died of vexation at being refused Winchester, aversion being the leading feature of his character.

of the dead. Disqualification from office was the only penalty imposed on Lenthall, Hutchinson, and eighteen others, and though fifty-six more were attainted (Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride being dead), but twenty-nine were brought to trial, and of these ten were executed<sup>1</sup>. A slight notice of the demeanour of these last, both at the bar and at the scaffold, will shew that they were men of a resolute, unbending spirit, inspired by the fiercest fanaticism, which could not be conciliated, any more than it could be safely despised.

Harrison, who had brought King Charles from the Isle of Wight, Axtell, the colonel of the guard at the court, and Hacker, who commanded at the scaffold, were all executed; as were Cook, the solicitor who urged the charge against the king, Carew, Scott, Clement, Scroop, and Jones, members of the court, and Peters, who was considered its chaplain<sup>2</sup>. When called on to plead, Harrison would only say that he would be tried "by the laws of the Lord;" Peters only "by the word of God;" Carew pleaded "saving to our Lord Jesus Christ His right to the government of these nations;" and others refused to plead at all until the attorney-general moved for the judgment of *peine forte et dure* against them. They all defended themselves with vigour and address, and not a single word expressive of compunction or fear was observed to escape from any one of their number.

Harrison was executed on the 13th of October; Carew on the 15th; Cook and Peters suffered together on the 16th; Scott, Clement, Scroop, and Jones on the 17th; and Axtell and Hacker on the 19th; all spoke of themselves as martyrs.

Thus Harrison "rejoiced to die for the good cause;" and Cook wrote to his wife, just before he suffered,—“Farewell, my dear lamb, I am now going to the souls

under the altar, that cry, ‘How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge my blood on them that dwell on the earth?’ and when I am gone, my blood will cry and do them more hurt than if I had lived.” And in the same spirit he endeavoured to encourage his fellow-sufferer Peters, who appeared cast down:—“Come, brother Peters, let us knock at heaven-gate this morning. God will open the doors of eternity to us before twelve of the clock.”

Scott declared on the scaffold,—“God hath engaged me in a cause not to be repented of—I say, not to be repented of;” and Axtell, who spoke in the name of Hacker also, bore the testimony of a dying man against those Presbyterian divines whom some writers represent as the restorers of the monarchy:—

“I must truly tell you, that before these late wars it pleased the Lord to call me by His grace through the work of the ministry; and afterwards keeping a day of humiliation in fasting and prayer with Mr. Simeon Ash<sup>3</sup>, Mr. Love<sup>4</sup>, Mr. Woodcock, and other ministers, in Lawrence-lane, they did so clearly state the cause of the parliament, that I was fully convinced in my own conscience of the justness of the war, and therefore engaged in the parliament service, which, as I did and do believe, was the cause of the Lord, I ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it.”

Those of the regicides who surrendered themselves were imprisoned in various places for the remainder of their lives; two others (Barkstead and Okey) were seized in Holland by the zeal of Sir George Downing, formerly one of their own party, and were executed; but it is evident that no very strict search was made for the rest. George Fleetwood escaped to New England, as did Dixon, Goffe, and Whalley; and Charles Fleetwood remained unmolested in England, until his death in the year 1681.

A.D. 1661.

A small body of Anabaptists, headed by their preacher, (Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper,) appear in arms in Lon-

don, Jan. 6. They are suppressed with some difficulty<sup>5</sup>.

A party of 150 horse attempts to surprise Newcastle, Jan. 9.

John Bramhall<sup>6</sup>, bishop of Derry,

<sup>1</sup> Hewson, a sergeant, believed to have been the executioner, was condemned, but some doubt arising, he was not executed.

<sup>2</sup> Some time after the rest, Sir Harry Vane was brought to trial, and was executed, at the express desire of the parliament; but the life of Lambert, who was condemned with him, was spared.

<sup>3</sup> He was chaplain to the earl of Manchester, and was a very principal agent in the “regulation” of the University of Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> See A.D. 1651.

<sup>5</sup> Though not above eighty in number, they fought desperately, and killed many of the soldiers brought

against them. Venner and sixteen others were executed, Jan. 19 and 21.

<sup>6</sup> He was born at Pontefract in 1593, was educated at Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, became chaplain to Mathew, archbishop of York, and rendered himself conspicuous by his skill in disputation with Romish priests. He was afterwards a member of the High Commission Court, then went with Lord Wentworth to Ireland, and by his influence was soon raised to the see of Derry. On the breaking out of the Irish rebellion Bramhall was in great danger, but escaped to the Continent; and, on account of his activity and zeal in the

is translated to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, Jan. 18, and by his exertions the Church in Ireland is re-established<sup>b</sup>.

Twelve bishops consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, Jan. 27.

The bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, which had been disinterred<sup>c</sup>, are exposed at Tyburn, afterwards beheaded, and the trunks buried under the gibbet, Jan. 30.

The Scottish parliament meets, Jan. 1. It repeals all the acts of its predecessors since 1639, renounces the Covenant, and declares the king supreme over all persons, and in all cases<sup>d</sup>. The marquis of Argyle is condemned as a traitor, and is executed, May 27.

Guthrie, one of the most violent of the preachers<sup>e</sup>, is also condemned, and suffers death, June 1.

The king is crowned, April 23.

Conferences are held at the Savoy, between certain of the bishops and clergy and some Presbyterian divines<sup>f</sup>, from April 15<sup>g</sup> to July 25. The dissenters' objections are generally disallowed<sup>h</sup>, but some alterations are recommended to be made in the Prayer-book.

The parliament meets May 8, and sits till July 30<sup>i</sup>. Sir Edward Turner is chosen Speaker.

An act passed for preservation of the king and government, [13 Car. II. stat. 1, c. 1]. Persons devising or intending any bodily harm to the king were declared traitors; those who called him heretic or papist were disabled from office; the Covenant was pronounced unlawful, and no legislative power allowed to the parliament, except in conjunction with the king.

Act for "a free and voluntary present to His Majesty," [c. 4]. This "benevolence" it is expressly provided shall not be drawn into example for time to come, and is only meant as allowing those who were able and willing to assist the king in paying the numerous claims arising from the troubles of former years, as a testimony of their affection, and for the relief of poorer subjects. No sum exceeding £400 was to be received from a peer, nor more than £200 from a commoner. The commission for receiving these gifts was to expire on June 24, 1662, and no similar commission was again to issue, except by the authority of Parliament.

king's cause, he was excepted by name from pardon by the parliament. He, however, ventured to return to Ireland in 1648, but was soon obliged to withdraw. At the Restoration he became speaker of the Irish House of Lords, as well as primate, and exercised a commanding influence in public affairs for the short remainder of his life. He died of palsy, June 25, 1663.

<sup>b</sup> Among the prelates who owed their promotion to Archbishop Bramhall, the most eminent was Jeremy Taylor, who was born of humble parentage at Cambridge in 1613. He was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, and was afterwards elected a fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford: he became chaplain to Charles I., and accompanied him in his campaigns. On the decline of the royal cause Taylor retired into Wales, and lived generally unmolested, but being imprisoned in 1655, on his release he went to Ireland, and in 1661 was made bishop of Down and Connor. He held the see for nearly seven years, dying Aug. 13, 1667, and leaving behind him the character of one of the most pious and amiable of men, as well as the most learned and graceful of writers.

<sup>c</sup> This revolting act was perpetrated in obedience to an order of the parliament, which was then mainly composed of Presbyterians, their former associates. Afterwards the bodies of Cromwell's mother and daughter, of Admiral Blake, and near twenty others, were removed from Westminster Abbey and buried in the churchyard.

<sup>d</sup> The earl of Middleton (the royalist general in 1654) was the lord-commissioner, but the real direction of affairs rested with the earl of Lauderdale (John Maitland), once a zealous Covenanter and one of the Scottish commissioners to the Long Parliament, but who having joined Charles II., was taken at Worcester, and imprisoned until the Restoration; Cromwell allowed him a pension of

£5 a-week during part of the time. In 1672 he was made lord-commissioner, but was in 1675 driven from office by the general complaints of his rapacity and cruelty, though he still retained much influence. He died Aug. 24, 1682.

<sup>e</sup> Guthrie, as moderator of the synod of Merse and Teviotdale, signed one of the petitions to the Scottish Parliament (Oct. 24, 1645), urging the execution of such of the adherents of Montrose as were then prisoners, having been taken at Philiphaugh a month before.

<sup>f</sup> This was by virtue of a royal commission, dated March 25, directed to the archbishop of York (Accepted Frewen) and twelve other bishops, Calamy, Baxter, and ten other dissenters, and eighteen assistants. One of the bishops, however, (Keynolds of Norwich) belonged to the Presbyterian party.

<sup>g</sup> The first meeting was to have been on March 25, but it was, for some reason not now known, deferred for three weeks.

<sup>h</sup> These objections, which are very numerous, may be seen *in extenso* in Baxter's own account of the conference. The great majority must be regarded as mere idle cavils, but some are of such a nature that they could not have been entertained without reducing the Church to something akin to the Genevan model. What could have been the result if the time-honoured and orderly Services of the Church had been allowed to be superseded by a crude Liturgy which Baxter drew up in a fortnight?

<sup>i</sup> This parliament continued in being until Jan. 24, 1679, and so many of its members betrayed their trust for the sake of bribes, received indifferently from the king, from Louis XIV., and from other foreign powers, that it well deserved the opprobrious name of the Pension Parliament, by which it is commonly known.

Tumultuous assemblies, under pretence of drawing up or presenting petitions, forbidden, [c. 5]. Petitions were to be, in the first instance, approved of by three justices, or the majority of the grand jury of a county, or of the corporation of London; and not more than ten persons were to attend to present them.

The command of the militia declared to be solely vested in the crown, [c. 6].

Articles of war for the government of the navy established, [c. 9].

William Lord Monson, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harington, Robert Wallop, and John Phelps, regicides, degraded from their rank, their estates confiscated, and themselves sentenced to imprisonment for life, [c. 15].

Corporations regulated, office-bearers therein being obliged to take "the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England," to renounce the Covenant, and to abjure that "traitorous position" of taking arms by the king's authority against himself or his officers, [stat. 2, c. 1].

The clergy in convocation agree to certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer; they also grant a subsidy to the crown.

A charter, with very extensive powers, granted to the East India Company, April 3. They were allowed to make peace or war with "any prince or people not being Christians," to exercise

civil and criminal jurisdiction, and to remove all persons trading to certain districts without their licence.

Episcopacy is restored in Scotland; an archbishop and three bishops being consecrated by Sheldon, bishop of London<sup>k</sup>, Dec. 15.

A.D. 1662.

The parliament meets Feb. 22, and sits till May 19.

Quakers assembling for public worship to be fined £5, and for the third offence to abjure the realm or be transported<sup>l</sup>, [14 Car. II. c. 1].

An act passed for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments<sup>m</sup>, [c. 4].

By this act the Book of Common Prayer, as recently amended in the convocation and approved by the king<sup>n</sup>, was received. Episcopal ordination was required of all persons holding ecclesiastical preferment, who were to declare their unfeigned "assent and consent" to the contents of the book; and they were beside (for a limited period) to formally renounce the Covenant, and protest the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatever. The act received the royal assent May 19, and came into operation on St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24), when a large number of incumbents resigned their livings, rather than comply with its provisions.

#### NOTE.

##### THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

THIS statute has been censured in unmeasured terms, as contrary to the king's declaration from Breda<sup>o</sup>; but such is not really the case, for in that document all

such questions were by him expressly reserved for the decision of the parliament. The measure, which was procured mainly by the exertions of Bishop Sheldon and

<sup>k</sup> The archbishop was James Sharpe, a Presbyterian who had conformed, afterwards murdered by the Covenanters; one of the bishops was Leighton, son of the Dr. Leighton already mentioned. See A.D. 1630, 1640.

<sup>l</sup> They were looked on as akin to the Anabaptists, whose turbulence had recently disturbed the capital (see A.D. 1661), and some at least of their number conducted themselves in a manner very unlike what is now usually seen of them. They laboured vehemently to gain proselytes, published controversial writings, and behaved in an insulting manner to the authorities, whether civil or religious, whenever they came in contact with them.

<sup>m</sup> An act of a similar nature was passed by the Irish parliament in 1665, [17 & 18 Car. II. c. 6].

<sup>n</sup> There remains in the library of Lambeth palace a Prayer-book of the time of Charles I., in which the alterations made are all entered, with a memorandum in the handwriting of Sancroft that they amount to 600. The majority, however, are merely verbal, and the character of the whole is fairly described in the Preface of the present book, which is attributed to Bishop Sanderson, as designed for "the preservation of peace and unity in the Church; the procuring of reverence, and exciting of piety and devotion in the public worship of God; and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church."

<sup>o</sup> See p. 455.

Hyde, earl of Clarendon, was, humanly speaking, essential to the restoration of the Church, as much the greater portion of the dissentients had neither the episcopal ordination nor the learning which would entitle them to hold office therein; others, too, were men of scandalous character. The number who left their cures, added to those already removed to make way for the former incumbents, is usually stated to have been near 2,000, though not really more than about 1,400. Among so many as even the lowest number there must have been some estimable men, whose sufferings are to be regretted; but several of those who had withdrawn, ultimately joined the Church, and it does not admit of a question that the nonconformists in general fared very much better than the episcopal clergy had done twenty years before.

Many writers, though allowing that some such statute was necessary for the formal re-establishment of the Church, have yet represented the Act of Uniformity as the cause of great hardship to a large body of pious men, to whom the king was principally indebted for his peaceable restoration; but that this statement is totally inaccurate may be easily shewn from the testimony of Dr. Calamy, who, in his abridgment of the *Life of Baxter*, has recorded the sufferings of the "Bartholomew confessors," and in so doing has also made a number of admissions which prove that the measure was neither devised nor carried out in a persecuting spirit.

The impression usually sought to be conveyed by the complaints against the Act is, that the whole body of Presbyterian, Independent, and Anabaptist preachers, cordially united in re-establishing the monarchy, and were in reality its principal agents; that they were all pious and estimable men; and that through the ingratitude of the government they were all reduced to abject poverty: the first of these assumptions is so notoriously contrary to fact that it need not be discussed; and the other two are contradicted by their own historian.

Edmund Calamy, the grandson of one of the ejected, amplified one chapter of the *Life of Baxter* into three volumes, which he published (1713, 1723) under the title of an "Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, &c., ejected or silenced after the Restoration in 1660." He speaks of them as "2,000 preaching ministers, who were unwearied in their endeavours to spread knowledge, faith, and holiness."

The list commences with, "From St. Austin's [was removed] good old Mr. Simeon Ash<sup>4</sup>. He went seasonably to heaven, at the very time when he was cast out of the Church. He was buried the very even of Bartholomew-day." Turning the work over at random we find, among the London preachers, that Tobias Conyer was "a very learned and extraordinary person;" William Hook, "a very worthy, useful man;" Matthew Haviland, "a man mighty in prayer, and a savoury preacher;" and Thomas Brooks, of St. Mary Magdalen, Fish-street, "a very affecting preacher, and useful to many. And though he used many homely phrases, and sometimes too familiar resemblances, which to nice critics appear ridiculous, yet" (in his biographer's opinion) "he did more good to souls than many of the exactest composers." He was thus a popular favourite, as was also, among others, George Griffith, of the Charterhouse, but he is confessed to have outlived his renown. "He was much followed in his younger days, and reckoned a man of great invention and devotion in prayer; but when he grew old his congregation declined."

In the country we find, Francis Chandler, of Coopersale, "a very serious, bold, and awakening preacher;" and John Lavender, of High Ongar, who "was all love to Christ, in life and in death; a holy, heavenly divine, of a very sweet disposition, much and great in prayer and spiritualizing occurrences."

Such is the general laudatory tone of these notices, which makes the contrary admissions the more trustworthy.

I. Hundreds of instances occur in Dr. Calamy's list which shew that the nonconformists, as a body, lost very little, in temporal matters, by their ejection. Unlike the royalists, who, when driven out ten or twenty years before, could only appeal to the charity of nobles and gentlemen almost as impoverished as themselves, the dissenters had numerous wealthy patrons, among whom the earls of Bedford, Denbigh, Devonshire, and Lauderdale, and Lords Shaftesbury and Wharton, the countesses of Exeter and Warwick, the Ladies Fienes and Wilbraham, are named, and from them they received every kind of countenance and support. Thus many were entertained as chaplains, (as by the earl of Donegal, Lords Fairfax and Holles, and Sir John Maynard); others were chosen as ministers to the English factories at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, Middelburg, Utrecht, and in the East Indies; several repaired, not

<sup>4</sup> Richard Culmer, the desecrator of Canterbury cathedral (see *Laud's Troubles and Trial*), may be mentioned as one; Zachary Crofton as another.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 461.

as exiles, but as honoured guests, and with recommendations from their patrons, to the American plantations, to Scotland, and to Ireland. Nor were they by any means universally expelled from the ministerial office in England. Many patrons were of similar views, and either suffered them to remain in their cures, or presented them, when ejected, to peculiars, donatives, and other places where, from any cause, there was difficulty in exercising episcopal control. Chaplaincies in gaols and hospitals and almshouses, livings in the Channel Islands, tutorships in public schools, many of them were allowed to hold unquestioned, in despite of the law.

According to Dr. Calamy, a very liberal allowance to "tender consciences" was made, after all. Thus Mr. Rolt, of Tempsford, was "connived at" by Bishop Laney, "having been episcopally ordained, and reading a little of the Liturgy." One Milburn, in the same county, "conformed in part, and yet so little (as far as I can understand) that he ought to be ranked with the nonconformists." And John Chandler, of Bromley Parva, in Essex, kept the living, as "he read some of the Common Prayer, and now and then wore the surplice; but was threatened for not using all the ceremonies." Such men can hardly be called sufferers for conscience' sake.

Many, it is true, were silenced, and for a living some practised as physicians, or kept academies, or became lawyers, and, from the patronage of their party, they rather gained than lost by the exchange. Others were amply provided for by charitable contributions; and numbers returned to the occupations which they had unwisely quitted. Among these are enumerated a brewer, several maltsters, a publican, a tobacco-merchant, and a tobacco-cutter; a merchant, a factor in Holland; a land-steward; a bookseller, a farmer, a grocer, a ploughman, a pattern-drawer, a skinner, a stay-stitcher, and a woolmonger; the clergy had years before been driven to similar shifts for a living, but without the advantage which these men possessed, of a previous knowledge of such callings.

Many of the ejected were still more favourably circumstanced. Near forty of them are mentioned by Dr. Calamy as possessing competent estates, or receiving handsome legacies, and several others made rich mar-

riages. One has had the candour to record the prosperity which he enjoyed. In a Catalogue of Remarkable Providences, Richard Jennings, ejected from the living of Combe, in Suffolk, writes, "Whereas in August, 1662, when I laid down, I was in debt about £160, and had but little coming in for myself, wife, and five children, and was also some years after unjustly forced to discharge a bond of £50, and the educating and disposing of my three sons stood me in about £200, yet by God's merciful providence by degrees I discharged all my debts." These particulars shew the fallacy of the charge that all the nonconformists were reduced to abject poverty.

II. Equally ill-founded is the assumption that they were all men of eminent piety, "burning and shining lights." Their own historian confesses that upwards of twenty among them were Anabaptists, Millennaries, or other fanatics; that at least as many more were men of distempered imaginations; and that not a few were scandalous in their lives<sup>t</sup>. From his statements it is evident that they expected by combination to coerce the government, and when this failed, many of the most vehement preached a furious discourse against the Church on one Sunday, and then conformed the next. Some persuaded others to resist, but conformed themselves. Of those who determined to secede, many printed "farewell sermons," abounding in invectives and lamentations, and fully entitling their authors to be ranked with those who "turn religion into rebellion."

The number of actual seceders is probably overstated at even the lowest estimate that has been made, as their historian confesses that many who refused obedience in the first instance, afterwards conformed; and, it may be feared, from the character of some, that this was not always owing to proper motives. Among them were men who had openly justified the murder of the king, had pertinaciously withheld the pitiful allowance of the fifths, and had in other ways abused the influence they possessed, and they now became equally vehement against the party that they had left, and thus gave some ground for complaints of persecution. Indeed, whatever there was of severity exercised against the nonconformists was the work of these men, and not, as is too often said, of the king, or of

\* As a proof of the habitual irreverence that had grown up under the teaching of these men, it may be mentioned, that it is recorded as something extraordinary, that when the Common Prayer was re-established at Taunton, "there was not one man to be seen with his hat on, either at the prayers or the sermon."

<sup>t</sup> What those who are allowed to have been

scandalous must have been, may be judged from the fact, that when the notorious Richard Culmer, (who had been obliged to give place to the rightful incumbent,) died, one Thoroughgood, the intruding minister of Monkton, preached his funeral sermon, and took for his text, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord."

the judges, or of the bishops. It appears, on the contrary, that Charles frequently interfered personally in their favour; that the judges (as Chief Justice Hale, and Mallet) often dismissed complaints against them; and that the bishops after conviction many times procured relief from the penalties of the law for men who seem to have courted persecution.

Happily, there is a more favourable aspect in which we are able to contemplate a number of the ejected preachers of St. Bartholomew's Day. Many of them (generally those who, having episcopal ordination, might have been expected to remain) quietly withdrew rather than renounce the Covenant, but continued in communion with the Church, and constantly attended the ministrations of their successors; indeed, in several instances, friendships sprang up between them; in some cases

the dissentients were allowed to remain in the rectory-house, and the legal incumbents became lodgers with them; in other cases they were voluntarily allowed a pension from their forfeited benefices; and they even sometimes officiated in the churches without any proceedings being taken against them: facts, these, which shew how unjust is the charge of a persecuting spirit when made against the clergy of the Restoration. Men thus treated could hardly retain permanently a hostile feeling against the Church, and accordingly we find many of them bringing up their sons for the priesthood. Bishop Fowler, of Gloucester; Dean Massey, of Christ Church; Benjamin Calamy, and several other clergymen of less note, all were sons of men who left their benefices on St. Bartholomew's Day.

A severe law passed against the "mass-troopers in the north", [c. 22].

The earl of Strafford's attainder reversed, [c. 29].

Printing regulated by statute, all books being obliged to be licensed by persons appointed, [c. 33]. As in the Star-chamber decree of 1637<sup>a</sup>, unlicensed printing is prohibited, and the number of printers is limited, but forfeitures of £5, or of the prohibited books, and disability to follow the occupation, and for a second offence corporal punishment "not extending to life or limb," appear instead of the severe penalties of the preceding reign.

The king marries Katharine of Braganza, receiving a large sum of money as a portion, the fortress of Tangier<sup>7</sup>, in Africa, and the island of Bombay, May 20.

Sir Harry Vane and Lambert are, by the wish of the parliament, brought to trial in June and convicted. Vane is executed June 14, but the life of Lambert is spared<sup>8</sup>.

A rising projected by Ensign Tongue and others, June. It is detected, and Tongue and three of his associates are executed, Dec.

Dunkirk and Mardyke given up to the French<sup>9</sup>, Nov. and Dec.

## IRELAND.

ON the fall of the Protectorate in England, the officers of the army in Ireland took the government into their own hands. They called a Convention at Dublin, in which none but their own partisans were allowed to appear, and made an offer of establishing Charles II. on the throne on condition of the possessions which they

had won with the sword being secured to them. The king closed with the proposal, utterly neglectful of the fact that a very large portion of the lands had been wrested from his own adherents. On the Restoration, the duke of Albemarle was appointed lord-lieutenant, and Lord Robartes, a Parliamentarian, his deputy, but neither

<sup>a</sup> A further act was passed against them in 1666 [18 & 19 Car. II. c. 3], by which they were rendered liable to transportation for life to the American plantations.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 411.

<sup>8</sup> The maintenance of Tangier, which mainly served as a prison for some of the regicides and other dangerous characters, was found so expensive, from the constant hostilities of the Moors, that it was abandoned in 1683. Bombay, on the contrary,

has become one of the most valuable of the British possessions.

<sup>8</sup> He was first imprisoned in Guernsey, and afterwards at Plymouth, where he died in 1683, aged 64.

<sup>9</sup> The surrender of these places was very distasteful to the nation, and it formed a chief article of accusation against the earl of Clarendon a few years later. A splendid house which he built was popularly styled "Dunkirk House," as if paid for by bribes received for giving them up.



went to Ireland, and in 1662 the difficult task of adjusting the thousand conflicting claims which twenty years of war and illegal government had produced, was entrusted to the duke of Ormond.

By his Declaration of 1660<sup>b</sup> the king had promised to reinstate the dispossessed proprietors who had not borne arms against him, and also to compensate the intruding holders who might in consequence be removed; but he put these acts of common justice out of his power by lavish grants of forfeited lands to his brother the duke of York, the duke of Ormond, the duke of Albemarle, and others<sup>c</sup>. The Cromwellian soldiery observed this, and being in possession, they determined not to part with their spoil. They or their nominees formed the majority of the Irish Parliament, and all claims were in consequence sacrificed to theirs. Thus the Act of Settlement [14 & 15 Car. II. c. 12] was passed, by which, on the payment to the king of a slight fine<sup>d</sup>, nearly the whole of the cultivable land of

Ireland was legally assured to men whose loyalty was at best precarious, to the utter neglect of thousands who had suffered in the king's cause.

A Court of Claims, however, sat, and in a few months it pronounced several hundred of the dispossessed proprietors innocent of all concern in the rebellion of 1641, and consequently entitled to restitution. The Cromwellians became alarmed, and to stop its proceedings agreed to pass an Act of Explanation [17 & 18 Car. II. c. 2], by which they gave up one-third of their former grants to fulfil the purposes of the king's Declaration<sup>e</sup>. This, however, was done but very insufficiently. Forty-nine Protestant royalist officers received payment of their arrears incurred prior to the year 1649, and the earl of Westmeath and fifty-three other noblemen and gentlemen obtained each 2,000 acres of land<sup>f</sup>, but the great body of those who had lost their estates, from whatever cause, since 1641, were left absolutely without redress, and in most cases in abject poverty.

#### A.D. 1663.

The parliament meets, Feb. 18, and sits till July 27.

The profits of the post office and wine licences granted to the duke of York, [15 Car. II. c. 14.]

The clergy grant a subsidy to the crown<sup>g</sup>.

The republican party attempt an in-

surrection in the north, in the summer but are speedily suppressed<sup>h</sup>.

Archbishop Juxon dies, June 4. He is succeeded by Sheldon, bishop of London<sup>i</sup>.

The Dutch and English trading companies on the coast of Africa quarrel, which eventually gives rise to a war.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 455.

<sup>c</sup> The duke of York received 170,000 acres, being the Irish lands that had been held by Cromwell and sixty-eight other regicides; 260,000 acres were allotted to the duke of Ormond and his family; £7,000 a-year to the duke of Albemarle; beside smaller amounts to others, many of whom had no connexion with the sufferings or losses of the Irish war. Lands to the yearly value of £4,300 were granted to improve the revenue of various sees; £2,000 for the foundation of a new college, called King's College; £300 for Trinity College, Dublin, and £1,000 for a founding hospital.

<sup>d</sup> The adventurers paid one year's, the soldiers a half-year's, value of the lands.

<sup>e</sup> One year's rent was also levied on the lands, to raise the sum of £300,000; of which £100,000 was a gift to the king, £50,000 for the duke of Ormond; and the remainder was meant to afford a money compensation for those who did not receive lands; but it was never paid to them.

<sup>f</sup> This was the maximum, though the estates of many had been very much greater; where they were less, they only received the exact amount; and no compensation was even pretended to be made for manor-houses destroyed, timber and stock carried off, or the loss of any property other than land.

<sup>g</sup> This is the last instance, though their right to assess themselves has never been formally abandoned. They are now taxed, with the rest of the community, by their representatives in parliament; a change which has extinguished the political power of the convocation.

<sup>h</sup> Many arrests followed, particularly of Colonel Hutchinson, (see A.D. 1660,) who was carried first to the Tower, and afterwards removed to Sandown Castle, near Deal, where he died, Sept. 11, 1664.

<sup>i</sup> Gilbert Sheldon, a native of Staffordshire, had been warden of All Souls' College, Oxford, but was expelled by the parliamentary visitors. On the Restoration he was made dean of the chapel royal, then bishop of London, and was now advanced to the primacy. He had as bishop of London shewn himself disposed to give full effect to the Act of Uniformity, and he acted a consistent part in maintaining the lawful supremacy of the Church, though without any failure in charity to its opponents. His liberal patronage of learning endowed the University of Oxford (of which he was chancellor) with its Theatre, and his munificence in private life was unbounded. The archbishop died, deeply regretted, Nov. 9, 1677.

Guineas<sup>k</sup> are first coined in England.

A.D. 1664.

Sir Robert Holmes, dispatched by the African Company, captures several Dutch settlements on the African coast, early in the year. In the summer he crosses the Atlantic, and reduces New Amsterdam (now New York), Aug. 27. De Ruyter retaliates on the English in Guinea and in the West Indies.

The parliament meets, March 16, and sits till May 17.

Great numbers of Dutch vessels are captured in the narrow seas, and the parliament votes funds for war.

An act passed for triennial parliaments, [16 Car. II. c. 1].

An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles, [c. 4]. This act, which appeared necessary to give effect to the Act of Uniformity, declares the statute of Elizabeth "to retain the Queen's subjects in obedience"<sup>l</sup> to be still in force, and that it ought to be put in due execution. Any person above sixteen years of age being present at an unlawful assembly<sup>m</sup>, was to incur fine or imprisonment: £5 or three months, £10 or six months, for the first two offences; but to be transported for seven years for the third, unless he paid a sum of £100. Married women were liable to be imprisoned for twelve months, instead of being transported. Those transported were to pay the cost of the same by the sale of their goods, or in default were to be bound to merchants as labourers for the term of five years; and if they escaped, or returned to England with-

out leave, they were declared felons without benefit of clergy<sup>n</sup>.

A.D. 1665.

War is declared against the Dutch, Feb. 22.

The English fleet, commanded by the duke of York, (assisted by Prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich,) puts to sea in April, and blockades the Dutch ports. It is at length driven off by bad weather, when the Dutch put to sea, but are defeated with great loss in Solebay (off Lowestoft<sup>o</sup>), June 3, and pursued to their own shores.

London is ravaged by the plague, of which 100,000 persons die in the course of the year<sup>p</sup>.

A Dutch merchant fleet of great value takes refuge in the harbour of Bergen. It is unsuccessfully attacked there by the English, Aug. 3, but is rescued by the pensionary De Witt<sup>q</sup>.

Many of the English republican party take refuge in Holland, and plan an invasion. Eight persons are executed on such a charge, Sept. 1.

An act passed for restraining non-conformists, [17 Car. II. c. 2]. By this, which is commonly known as the Five-mile Act, persons who had enjoyed ecclesiastical preferment, and who refused to take the oath of non-resistance, were forbidden to come within five miles of any corporate town, except in travelling; they were also disabled to keep schools.

The publication since known as the "London Gazette," commenced at Oxford<sup>r</sup>, Nov. 7.

Louis XIV. of France joins the Dutch in their war against England. He formally declares war, Jan. 16, 1666.

<sup>k</sup> They had their name from the gold being brought from Guinea by the African Company, of which Prince Rupert was at the head.

<sup>l</sup> See A.D. 1593.

<sup>m</sup> To detect these, houses might be broken open; and the owner who knowingly suffered conventicles, even though not present, was to be proceeded against as well as the rest. The act was to continue only three years, but it was renewed.

<sup>n</sup> The reason of this act is said to be "the growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and other disloyal persons, who under pretence of tender consciences do at their meetings contrive insurrections, as late experience hath shewed." "A certain sect called Quakers, and other sectaries" are said to hinder the administration of justice by obstinately refusing to take oaths, for which they also are rendered liable to transportation.

<sup>o</sup> Many of the young courtiers had embarked in the admirals' ships, and there were killed of them

the earls of Falmouth and Portland, Lord Muskerry, Mr. Boyle, son of the earl of Burlington, and several others of less note. The earl of Marlborough (who commanded the Old James) was also killed, and Sir John Lawson, an admiral under the Commonwealth, was mortally wounded.

<sup>p</sup> In July the deaths were 1,100 weekly, but this number increased to 10,000 in September, and Evelyn, having about the middle of the month to pass through the city, remarks in his Journal—"a dismal passage and dangerous, to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, now thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mournful silence, as not knowing whose turn might be next."

<sup>q</sup> De Witt was the head of the republican party, which had abolished the stadtholdership. He was a man of talent and courage, but he needlessly embroiled his country with both France and England, and he at last fell a victim to popular vengeance.

<sup>r</sup> The king then held his court in that city, in consequence of the plague.

## NOTE.

## LOUIS XIV., HIS MINISTERS, GENERALS, AND ADMIRALS.

SOME brief notice of these men appears to be necessary, as their actions had an important influence on English affairs from at least the time of the Restoration down to the accession of the House of Brunswick.

Louis XIV., the son of Louis XIII. of France and Anne of Austria, was born September 5, 1638. He succeeded to the throne in 1643, and in his childhood and youth the possession of his person, in order to exercise authority in his name, was fiercely contended for by a variety of factions. The young king's education was superintended by Cardinal Mazarin, who inspired him with a thirst for universal dominion. When Louis grew up, he endeavoured to carry this into practice, and the whole of his long reign was employed in encroachments on his neighbours, utterly regardless of the most solemn treaties, and trying to attain his ends by carrying on war in the most barbarous spirit\*. Both Charles and James of England meanly submitted to become his tools, but William of Orange boldly withstood him, and became the head of a league composed of almost every European state, formed for the avowed purpose of obliging him to respect the rights of his neighbours. Louis, however, had able ministers and generals, and for a long time he was successful in most of his undertakings. He seized on the Spanish Netherlands and on several districts of Germany, brought the Dutch to the very brink of ruin, coerced alike the Algerines, the Genoese, the pope, and the kings of Spain and Portugal, established an influence among the Christians of the East which France has never since lost, and created such fleets and armies as had never before belonged to any French king. But he lived to experience bitter reverses. His revocation of the edict of Nantes (see A.D. 1598) gave a heavy blow to the rising commerce of his country, by driving into exile hundreds of thousands of industrious artisans; his fleets were defeated, and at length obliged to seek shelter in their harbours from the attacks of Admirals Russell, Rooke, and others; and though he succeeded in obtaining the Spanish monarchy for his grandson, this was the effect rather of the dissensions in the palace of Queen Anne, than of his arms, as his greatest generals had at length found their

superior in Marlborough, and his armies had been ruined by the terrible defeats of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. Louis died soon after the close of the war of the Spanish succession, Sept. 1, 1715, and he, *le Grand Monarque*, who had so long afflicted all nations by his mad ambition, was pursued to the grave by the execrations of his own people.

The chief statesmen of Louis were Colbert and Louvois; of whom the first, by a wise commercial policy, provided the funds which the other dissipated in war.

*Jean Baptist Colbert*, the comptroller-general of finance, was born at Reims in 1619, of humble parentage. He was first employed by the chancellor, Le Tellier, then by Mazarin, and was by the latter recommended to the king. On the disgrace of Fouquet, the finance minister, Colbert was called to his place, and he shewed himself a patron alike of trade and manufactures, and of arts and sciences; he may be said to have been the founder of the French marine, and he improved the interior of France by the formation of roads and canals. His services were such that he retained the royal favour, although refusing to abjure Protestantism, and he died in office in 1683.

Francis Michael Le Tellier, marquis *Louvois*, the son of Colbert's early patron, was born in Paris in 1641, and came into office, as minister of war, at the age of twenty-five. He was a talented, but cruel man, and though his measures caused many of the early successes of Louis, they were the direct cause of the great league eventually formed against him. Louvois is said to have devised the barbarous ravage of the Palatinate with fire and sword; he also was a strenuous advocate for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but his schemes failed, his master's troops were checked, the minister fell into disgrace, and died so suddenly, in the year 1691, that the event was ascribed to poison. After his death, the king no more gave such unbounded power as Louvois had possessed into the hands of any of his ministers.

Of Louis' generals†, one of the most able was Francis Henry de Montmorency Bonteville, duc de *Luxembourg*. He was born in 1628, was aide-de-camp to the Prince of Condé, followed him in his quarrels with the court, but was afterward

\* As one instance may be mentioned the merciless ravage of the Palatinate in 1688.

† Other generals and admirals not inferior in re-

nown to those here noticed are omitted, as not being connected with English history; for instance, Condé, Turenne, and Duquesne.

taken into favour, and had a prominent part in the conquest of Franche Comté in 1668, and in the campaign in Holland in 1672. Luxembourg, who was of a spirited, generous temper, had fierce quarrels with the imperious Louvois, was in consequence for a while imprisoned in the Bastille, but being reinstated in command, he gained the victories of Fleurus, Steenkirke and Landen, (the last two against William III.), and died in 1695.

Louis Francis, duc de *Boufflers*, born in 1643, is renowned for his defence of Namur in 1695 against William III., and of Lille in 1708 against Marlborough. Though he lost both posts, he gained credit for his courage and skill, and he was through life distinguished for his amiable manners, and his humane endeavours to alleviate the horrors of war. He died in 1711.

Louis Joseph, duc de *Vendôme*, a descendant of Henry IV., was born in 1654, and during the lifetime of his father was styled duc de Penthievre. He was sent to Catalonia, and by the capture of Barcelona so alarmed the Spaniards that they the more readily acceded to the peace of Ryswick. When war again broke out, Vendôme was sent to repair the faults of Villeroy in Italy, but he was successfully opposed by Prince Eugene, and being afterwards employed in Flanders, he was there signally defeated at Oudenarde. In Spain he was more successful; by the victory of Villa Viciosa he re-established Philip V. on the throne, and was preparing to reduce Catalonia, when he died suddenly, in 1712, and was buried with royal honours in the Escorial.

Camille d'Hostun, duc de *Tullard*, born in 1652, was successful in the early part of the war in Germany, but was defeated and taken at Blenheim, and remained a prisoner for several years in England. On his return to France he became a member of the regency, was afterwards the minister of Louis XV., and died in 1728.

Francis de Neufville, duc de *Villeroy*, born in 1643, was a personal favourite of Louis XIV., and was in consequence intrusted with several commands to which he shewed himself unequal. He was surprised and captured at Cremona, by Prince Eugene, and being soon after contemptuously set at liberty, he was appointed to command in Flanders, where he was utterly defeated at Ramillies, and was obliged to retire into private life. He died in 1730.

Louis Hector, duc de *Villars*, (born 1653, died 1734.) was an adroit ambassa-

dor as well as an able general. He had a rival in Villeroy, and met with many mortifications from the courtiers, being of a frank, impetuous temper, and caring little to conciliate them. He reduced the insurgent Protestants of the south of France as much by gentle management as by arms; was defeated by Marlborough at Malplaquet, but in his turn worsted Prince Eugene, and was at last employed to negotiate a peace with him<sup>b</sup>, which he speedily effected, and thus brought the war of the Spanish succession to a close.

The aggressive measures of Louis were greatly aided by the talents of the famous engineer *Sebastian Leprestre de Vauban*, a member of a decayed noble family, who was born in Burgundy in 1663. He served with Condé in his rebellion, and was taken prisoner, but his skill in fortification was made known to Mazarin, and he was pardoned and taken into the royal service. He accompanied Louis in his campaigns, directed numerous sieges, especially in Flanders, and constructed a chain of fortresses (as Kehl, Landau, &c.) on or near the Rhine, which covered the French frontier, and proved most serviceable when the allies pressed hard on France. His last achievement was the capture of Brisach in 1703, and he died in 1707. Vauban was a man of noble and disinterested character; he evinced great respect for his formidable opponent Cohorn, and being highly esteemed by Louis, he had the courage to oppose any of his designs which he thought unwise or unjust, and offered counsel which the king would have done well to have taken. Menno, baron *Cohorn*, was born in Friesland in 1641, and died in 1704; he defended Namur in 1691 against Vauban, but being desperately wounded, the place was surrendered. These two eminent men were the authors of the systems of fortification known by their names; that of Vauban is regarded as best fitted for attack, that of Cohorn for defence; but both have received very considerable modifications in modern times.

Of the French admirals connected with English history may be mentioned, Anne Hilarion du Cotentin, comte de *Tourville*: he was born in Normandy in 1642, and was a Knight of Malta. He defeated the English and Dutch at Beachy Head, and though vanquished by them at La Hogue, did afterwards great damage to their commerce, and was made a marshal of France shortly before his death, which happened in 1701.—*Jean Bart*, born at Dunkirk in 1651, and *René du Guai Trepin*,

<sup>b</sup> Both were men of superior talents, who felt that they suffered from envious rivals, and they easily came to an agreement. On their first inter-

view Villars exclaimed, "Sir, we need not be enemies to each other, we have each of us too many already; you at Vienna, and I at Versailles."

born at St. Malo in 1673, were both originally common sailors, but raised themselves to notice by their daring enterprises with squadrons of privateers from their native towns. Bart, among other exploits, landed at, and burnt part of Newcastle in

1696; he was in consequence created a noble, and died in 1702. Du Guai Trouin, who survived till 1736, captured Rio de Janeiro in 1711, and in 1731 severely chastised the piracies of the Algerines.

A.D. 1666.

The English fleet, under the orders of Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle (George Monk), have a four days' fight with the Dutch, in the Downs, June 1—4, in which the victory is doubtful. On July 25 the Dutch are defeated with great loss off the North Foreland, and chased into their harbours. Near 200 sail taken or burnt at Schelling soon after<sup>a</sup>.

The Dutch and French fleets are prevented from forming a junction by Prince Rupert.

London is almost totally destroyed by fire<sup>y</sup>, Sept. 2<sup>z</sup>—6. A day of fasting and humiliation is kept in consequence, Oct. 10.

An act passed for the orderly rebuilding of the city of London<sup>a</sup>, [18 & 19 Car. II. c. 8].

An insurrection breaks out in the west of Scotland, in November<sup>b</sup>. The insurgents attempt to surprise Edin-

burgh, but are defeated on the Pentland-hills, Nov. 28. Many are subsequently executed.

A Dutch squadron is captured off the coast of Norway, Dec. 25.

A.D. 1667.

The Dutch fleet attacks Burntisland, without success<sup>c</sup>, April 29. They next threaten the Yorkshire coast, but do not attempt a landing.

The united Dutch and French fleet defeated by Sir John Harman, in the West Indies, May 10. He also captures Surinam.

Negotiations for peace are opened at Breda, May 14. In consequence the equipment of the English fleet is neglected.

Instigated by the English refugees in Holland, De Witt sends De Ruyster with a strong fleet into the Thames. He destroys the unfinished fort at

<sup>a</sup> One Laurence van Heemskerck, a Dutch opponent of De Witt, was the proposer of this.

<sup>y</sup> The king, his brother the duke of York, the duke of Albemarle, and many gentlemen of the court laboured zealously to stop the progress of the fire, which was at last effected by blowing up houses with gunpowder. John Evelyn, (who, as a commissioner of the navy, had charge of several hospitals filled with sick and wounded seamen,) passed on foot through the extent of the burnt city on September 7, and remarks in his Diary, "At my return I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church St. Paul's now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico, for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long repaired by the late king, [see A.D. 1631.] now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining entire but the inscription in the architrave, shewing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defaced. .... It is observable that the lead over the altar at the east end was untouched, and among the divers monuments, the body of one bishop remained entire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, beside near a hundred more. The lead, iron-work, bells, plate, &c., melted; the exquisitely wrought Mercers' chapel, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabric of Christ Church, all the companies' halls, splendid buildings, arches, entries, all in dust; the fountains dried up and ruined, whilst the very waters remained boiling; the voragoes of subterranean cellars, wells and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke, so that in five or six miles' traversing about, I did not see one load

of timber unconsumed, nor many stones but what were calcined white as snow. .... I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed, and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss, and though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld."

<sup>z</sup> It began soon after midnight of Saturday, Sept. 1.

<sup>a</sup> All ground cleared by the fire was to be built on within three years, or else sold by the corporation and the money paid to the owner; the mayor and aldermen were empowered to regulate the price of labour, and to suppress combinations; labourers working were to become freemen; there were to be four different classes of houses, and any built contrary to rule were to be pulled down; no timber buildings were to be allowed, except the Waterhouse near London-bridge. Further powers, chiefly relating to the rebuilding of St. Paul's and other churches, were given in 1670, by stat. 22 Car. II. c. 11.

<sup>b</sup> This was avowedly caused by hatred of Archbishop Sharpe, but, as had been the case thirty years before, the insurgents' views extended far beyond the abolition of episcopacy.

<sup>c</sup> According to a letter in the Public Record Office, they cannonaded it from so great a distance, that they did very little damage. The writer (Robert Mein) says, they fired 1,500 shot, but only killed one sow.

Sheerness<sup>a</sup>, June 11. The duke of Albemarle sinks ships in the Medway, to prevent the advance of the Dutch. They, however, burn several vessels at Chatham<sup>e</sup>, June 13, but fail in an attack on Upnor Castle, and lose five of their ships.

The Dutch advance nearly to Gravesend, June 29, but are driven off by Sir Edward Sprague<sup>f</sup>, and retire to their own coast.

Peace is concluded with the Dutch, July 21.

The earl of Clarendon falls into disgrace. He is deprived of his office, Aug. 30, is impeached by the Commons, Nov. 12, and retires to the continent, by command of the king<sup>g</sup>, Nov. 29.

A new ministry, termed the King's Cabal<sup>h</sup>, is formed, on the dismissal of Clarendon. Its principal members are the duke of Buckingham<sup>i</sup>, Lord Arlington<sup>k</sup>, and Sir William Coventry, a commissioner of the treasury. Lord Ashley and Sir Thomas Clifford<sup>l</sup> are associated with them.

The earl of Lauderdale continues at the head of affairs in Scotland.

A.D. 1668.

A treaty of triple alliance is con-

cluded between England, Holland and Sweden, to restrain the aggressive proceedings of Louis XIV.<sup>m</sup>, (Jan. 13, April 25).

Louis XIV. and the Emperor Leopold agree to a treaty for the eventual partition of the Spanish monarchy.

The parliament meets, Feb. 10. A quarrel occurs between the two Houses, on the case of Thomas Skinner<sup>n</sup>, and they adjourn May 8, without transacting any business of importance.

Bishop Wilkins, Sir Matthew Hale, and others, endeavour to bring about a Comprehension of the dissenters. Baxter and his friends, however, make the same extravagant demands as at the Savoy Conference<sup>o</sup>, and nothing is effected<sup>p</sup>.

Buckingham, having become prime minister, endeavours to remove the duke of York from his post of lord high admiral.

The king carries on secret negotiations with Louis XIV. in order to obtain money. This was at length accomplished, and Charles became the pensioner of the French king, bound to assist him in his designs against the Dutch, and expecting assistance

<sup>a</sup> This was meant to replace the strong castle of Queenborough, which had been unwisely destroyed under the Commonwealth, leaving that part of the coast defenceless.

<sup>e</sup> A chain that had been placed to check their progress gave way at the first shock, having been treacherously cut and tied together again by some of the people of the dockyard, who had served under the Commonwealth, and were notorious sectaries.

<sup>f</sup> It was apprehended that they might try to reach London, and at least one ship (the "Leinster") was sunk at Blackwall to hinder them. It was valued at £1,477 2s., according to the Secret Service accounts of Charles II.

<sup>g</sup> The charges against him were chiefly, venality in the discharge of his office (said to be proved by the sale of Dunkirk, and the vast fortune that he had acquired), betraying the king's secrets, and an intention to introduce military government. An act was passed [19 & 20 Car. II. c. 2] commanding him to appear to take his trial in a limited time; illness prevented his compliance, and he became, in consequence, liable to banishment for life. He died at Rouen in 1674.

<sup>h</sup> The name is usually taken as a word arbitrarily formed of the initial letters of the names of the principal members, with the addition of L for Lauderdale, but it is found in the works of Whitelock, Evelyn, and Pepys, of earlier date, and merely means any select committee; it is in fact equivalent to the "cabinet" of later times.

<sup>i</sup> George Villiers, born Jan. 30, 1628. He lost his estates as a royalist, but recovered them by marrying the daughter of Lord Fairfax. He is the "Zimri" of Dryden's satire. After a long course of profligacy he died in comparative poverty, April 16, 1687.

<sup>k</sup> Henry Bennett, born in 1618. He was edu-

cated at Christ Church, Oxford, served in the king's army, afterwards went abroad, and acted as the agent of Charles II. in Spain. He became secretary of state soon after the Restoration, was created an earl in 1672, was driven from office in 1674, and died in 1685.

<sup>l</sup> He was of an old Devonshire family, was born in 1630, and was brought forward by Arlington. His activity in the House of Commons, and his opportune conversion to Romanism, recommended him at court; he was created a peer, (Lord Clifford of Chudleigh), and supplanted his patron. He became lord treasurer, but was driven from office by the operation of the Test Act, in 1673, and died soon after.

<sup>m</sup> Louis claimed the Spanish Netherlands, in right of his wife, Maria Theresa of Spain. Though she had formally renounced the succession, he invaded them, and nearly achieved their conquest.

<sup>n</sup> Skinner was a trader, who, complaining to the king's council of injuries sustained from the East India Company, was referred to the House of Lords for redress. The Lords adjudged him compensation; the company, in a petition to the Commons, denied the jurisdiction of the Peers. The Commons voted that whoever should put in force the order of the Peers as to Skinner was an infringer of their privileges; the Peers declared the petition a scandalous libel, and all intercourse between the Houses was broken off. The quarrel was not accommodated until 1670, when the votes on each side were cancelled, and Skinner was left uncompensated.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 1661.

<sup>p</sup> The House of Commons, instead of favouring the scheme, addressed the king desiring that the laws against the nonconformists should be strictly enforced.

in establishing arbitrary government in England<sup>a</sup>.

James Mitchell, one of the Covenanters, attempts to assassinate Archbishop Sharpe, July 11. By accident he wounds Honeyman, bishop of Orkney<sup>r</sup>.

The government issues an "indulgence," in virtue of which many of the Scottish ministers conform to the episcopal government. The more vehement, however, refuse, and persist in holding field-meetings, which the troops are ordered to disperse.

The island of Bombay granted to the East India Company. They are allowed in 1677 to establish a mint there.

A.D. 1669.

The duke of York avows his conversion to Romanism.

The parliament meets Oct. 19. The case of Skinner being revived, the disputes of the two Houses prevent any business being transacted, and they are prorogued Dec. 11.

Captain John Kempthorne, in the "Mary Rose," beats off seven large Barbary corsairs in the Straits of Gibraltar<sup>s</sup>, Dec. 29.

A.D. 1670.

The parliament meets, Feb. 14, and sits till April 11.

A new act passed against seditious conventicles<sup>t</sup>, [22 Car. II. c. 1].

Mead and Penn<sup>u</sup>, two quakers, tried

under the recent Conventicle Act, are acquitted, Sept. 5; the jurors are fined, and imprisoned, as are the quakers, for alleged contempt of court, in refusing to uncover their heads<sup>x</sup>.

The parliament meets Oct. 24.

An attempt is made to assassinate the duke of Ormond, in London<sup>y</sup>, Dec. 6.

The Hudson's Bay Company established by charter, Prince Rupert being its great promoter.

A.D. 1671.

An act passed to prevent malicious wounding and maiming<sup>z</sup>, [22 & 23 Car. II. c. 1]; the offence is declared a capital felony.

A quarrel as to a claim by the Peers to alter money-bills occasions the premature prorogation of the Houses, April 22.

Colonel Blood attempts to carry off the regalia from the Tower<sup>a</sup>, May 9.

A.D. 1672.

The king, probably at the instigation of Lord Ashley<sup>b</sup>, seizes on the bankers' funds in the Exchequer, Jan. 2, and thus prepares for war.

An unsuccessful attempt is made to capture the Dutch Smyrna fleet, March 3. England and France declare war against the Dutch, March 17.

The king issues a declaration of indulgence dispensing with the laws against nonconformity<sup>c</sup>, Mar. 15.

<sup>a</sup> A scandalous treaty, for these purposes, was signed at Dover, May 22, 1670.

<sup>r</sup> He escaped to Holland, but returning to Scotland in 1674, was imprisoned for a while, tortured, and at length executed Jan. 18, 1678.

<sup>s</sup> This gallant action is commemorated by a picture in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, with the inscription,—

"Two we burnt, and two we sunk, and two did run away,

And one we brought to Leghorn roads, to shew we'd won the day."

<sup>t</sup> The penalties of the act of 1664 were reduced to 5s. for the first, and 10s. for every future offence. A meeting of five persons constituted the offence: the owner of any house suffering a conventicle was to pay £20; the preacher was to pay £20 or £40, and if he was not able to pay, or had fled, the penalty was to be levied on his hearers.

<sup>u</sup> Penn was the son of Sir William Penn, the admiral, who captured Jamaica. He afterwards became the founder of the settlement of Pennsylvania, was a confidential agent of James II., and was in consequence exposed to much odium after the Revolution. He died in 1718, aged 74.

<sup>x</sup> The presiding judge was George Jefferies. This man, whose name has become a byword for all that can disgrace the judicial character, was born in Denbighshire, about 1640, was bred to the bar, and became recorder of London. In the dis-

putes with the city he joined the court party, and he was promoted to the office of chief justice, in 1683. By James II. he was made lord-chancellor, in Sept. 1685, as a reward for his exertions in punishing the adherents of the duke of Monmouth. His conduct on the bench had long been distinguished for coarseness; but in his "campaign," as the king himself called it, Jefferies displayed such atrocious cruelty as rendered him the object of abhorrence. On the flight of his master he attempted to flee also, but was taken at Wapping disguised as a sailor, Dec. 13, and being with difficulty saved from summary execution, was lodged in the Tower, where he died, April 18, 1689.

<sup>y</sup> The leader of the party was a Colonel Blood, an Irish adventurer, who soon after attempted to steal the regalia from the Tower of London.

<sup>z</sup> This act was occasioned by an outrageous attack on Sir John Coventry, (Dec. 21, 1670,) by some of the royal guard, in consequence of an observation which he had made on the profligate life of the king. The duke of Monmouth, Charles' natural son, was the instigator of the attack, but he escaped punishment.

<sup>a</sup> Blood was pardoned by the king, and even received a grant of lands in compensation for losses during the civil war; he eventually died in the King's Bench Prison, in 1681.

<sup>b</sup> Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was soon afterwards created earl of Shaftesbury.

<sup>c</sup> This declaration was known to be issued on the

The English fleet defeats the Dutch in Southwold-bay, May 28, and chases it into harbour<sup>d</sup>, May 30.

Louis XIV. overruns great part of Holland, having with him a body of English troops under the duke of Monmouth.

The stadtholdership re-established in Holland, in the person of William, prince of Orange<sup>e</sup>; the brothers De Witt, his great opponents, are murdered by the populace, Aug. 4.

Sir Edward Sprague severely represses the Barbary pirates.

The earl of Shaftesbury is made lord-chancellor, Nov. 17.

A.D. 1673.

The parliament meets, Feb. 4. They complain of the king's declaration of indulgence, which he at length consents to withdraw, May 8.

The Test Act [25 Car. II. c. 2] passed, by which all persons holding office are obliged to take the sacrament according to the mode of the English Church, and also to subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation. The duke of York, Lord Clifford, and others, in consequence resign their posts.

Prince Rupert takes the command of the English fleet, in place of the duke of York.

The Dutch are defeated on their own coast, May 28 and June 4. The

English blockade the mouth of the Maes, when they are attacked by the Dutch, Aug. 11, and being deserted by the French, suffer considerable loss<sup>f</sup>, and are driven off.

The parliament adjourned, Nov. 4.

The earl of Shaftesbury is deprived of the chancellorship<sup>g</sup>, Nov. 9. He again becomes the leader of the opposition.

The island of St. Helena is recaptured from the Dutch<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1674.

The parliament meets, Jan. 7.

The ministers are driven from office, by votes of the parliament. Viscount Latimer (Thomas Osborne<sup>i</sup>, afterwards earl of Danby) becomes chief minister.

Peace is concluded with Holland, Feb. 9. A large sum of money is paid to the king by the Dutch, and the honour of the flag<sup>j</sup> is conceded.

Shaftesbury and others commence intrigues with the purpose of excluding the duke of York from the succession to the throne, and substituting the duke of Monmouth.

A.D. 1675.

The king, by the advice of Danby, publishes proclamations for putting in force the laws against nonconformists.

The parliament meets April 13. Danby is threatened with impeach-

ment of Clifford and Ashley, and as one was an avowed Romanist and the other an infidel, it was justly regarded as meant rather to injure the Church than to serve the nonconformists.

<sup>d</sup> The duke of York commanded the English, who, though victors, being much inferior in number to the Dutch, suffered severely; the earl of Sandwich perished, with many others. A French squadron, professedly the allies of the English, stood off, and took no part in the action.

<sup>e</sup> It had been in abeyance since the death of his father in 1650, and was now re-established in consequence of the alarm excited by the progress of the French. The young prince (afterwards William III. of England) was successful against the invaders, who retired precipitately before the close of the next year.

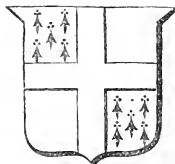
<sup>f</sup> Among the killed was Sir Edward Sprague, who had driven the Dutch from the Thames in 1667. Captain Kemphorne, who had been knighted for his gallantry in the Mediterranean (see A.D. 1669), greatly distinguished himself, and was in consequence made an admiral.

<sup>g</sup> He was succeeded by Sir Heneage Finch (afterwards earl of Nottingham), who retained the office till his death, Dec. 13, 1682.

<sup>h</sup> It had been taken by them very shortly before.

<sup>i</sup> He was the son of Sir Edward Osborne, of Kiveton, in Yorkshire, a noted royalist. He came early to court, was knighted, made a peer. (Viscount Latimer in 1673, earl of Danby in 1674,) and when Lord Clifford retired in consequence of the

Test Act, succeeded him as lord-treasurer. His conduct as a minister was honest and able; he endeavoured to secure the Church against danger from either nonconformists or Romanists, and he opposed the king's disgraceful treaties with France; but he was driven from office by the intrigues of Shaftesbury, and was only saved from the effects of an impeachment by a dissolution of the parlia-



Arms of Osborne, earl of Danby.

ment. He suffered, however, a five years' imprisonment in the Tower (1679—1684). Danby favoured the designs of the prince of Orange, was created marquis of Caermarthen and duke of Leeds, and took an active part in public affairs under William III. He died July 26, 1712.

<sup>j</sup> See A.D. 1320, 1634.



ment for corruption<sup>k</sup>, but the proceeding fails.

Conferences for peace are opened at Nimeguen, July.

Many English vessels are captured by the French on the charge of carrying Dutch property, on which war with France is loudly demanded<sup>l</sup>.

A quarrel as to hearing of appeals arises between the two Houses, and at length the parliament is prorogued (Nov. 22) for a period of fifteen months.

The London coffee-houses are closed by royal proclamation, as being the resort of "disaffected persons, who spread false, malicious, and scandalous reports, to the defamation of his majesty's government, and the disturbance of the quiet of the realm," Dec. 29. This step is much clamoured against, and the proclamation is withdrawn.

A.D. 1676.

The king concludes a secret treaty with Louis XIV., by which he secures a large annual pension (probably of £100,000), on condition of entering into no engagements with foreign powers without the consent of France, Feb. 17. With the money thus procured he passes the time in idle luxury, apparently quite regardless of public affairs.

Sir John Narborough represses the piracies of the Barbary States<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 1677.

The parliament reassembles, Feb. 15.

The duke of Buckingham, Lords Salisbury, Shaftesbury, and Wharton, offend the House of Peers by contending that the long prorogation amounted to a dissolution of parliament, and are committed to the Tower<sup>n</sup>, Feb. 17.

The better observance of the Lord's Day provided for by statute, [29 Car. II. c. 7].

The statutable punishment of burning for heresy<sup>o</sup> abolished, [c. 9].

William, prince of Orange, marries the princess Mary, daughter of the duke of York, Nov. 4.

Archbishop Sheldon dies, Nov. 9. He is succeeded by William Sancroft<sup>p</sup>, dean of St. Paul's.

The corporation of the Sons of the Clergy founded.

A.D. 1678.

The king forms a treaty with Holland, Jan. 26, by which he engages to withdraw the English auxiliaries from the French army<sup>q</sup>.

The king forms another secret treaty with France, May 17, and in consequence recalls the troops which he had, as a threat to Louis, recently sent to Flanders.

The peace of Nimeguen is concluded, under the mediation of the king, Aug. 10, which establishes a temporary peace between France, Spain, and Holland.

Titus Oates, a man of infamous character<sup>r</sup>, informs the king of an al-

<sup>k</sup> The mover was Lord Russell, executed in 1683, as concerned in the Rye-house Plot.

<sup>l</sup> A petition, presented by certain merchants in August, 1676, stated that fifty-three ships had been thus seized since December, 1673.

<sup>m</sup> On the 14th January the boats of his squadron, under the command of Cloudesley Shovel (then a young lieutenant), burnt four large ships of war in the harbour of Tripoli; he afterwards cannonaded the town, destroyed their naval stores, and obliged them to agree to abstain from piracy. Soon after he visited Algiers, and brought the dey to a similar temporary submission. Two years after he was similarly employed, and either captured or destroyed almost every vessel belonging to the Algerines.

<sup>n</sup> The others petitioned for their release, and obtained it in June, but Shaftesbury, who had applied to the courts of law, was confined until February, 1678, when he was released upon begging pardon on his knees in the House.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 1401.

<sup>p</sup> He was born at Fresingfield, in Suffolk, in 1616, of a good family, and was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He was ejected in 1649, and travelled abroad until the Restoration, when he was made master of his college, dean of York, then of

St. Paul's, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. His passive resistance in this high post to the arbitrary measures of James II. had a great effect in producing the expulsion of that monarch, but the archbishop having once sworn allegiance to him, conscientiously felt himself unable to acknowledge William and Mary as his successors, and preferred to suffer instead the deprivation of his office. He retired to a small property at his native place, and died there, Nov. 24, 1693.

<sup>q</sup> They were about 8,000 strong, and were commanded by the duke of Monmouth; John Churchill (afterwards duke of Marlborough) served among them. Louis parted with them unwillingly, and bribed Shaftesbury and others to complain that they were brought to England to establish arbitrary power. In consequence, a part were sent to Flanders to assist the Spaniards, but matters were so arranged they never came in contact with their former associates.

<sup>r</sup> He was born at Oakham about 1620, his father being then incumbent of All Saints, Hastings. He became an Anabaptist, but conformed to the Church at the Restoration, held two or three curacies, and served at sea as a chaplain. At length he went abroad, and professed conversion to Romanism, but was expelled from the English college at St. Omer,

leged Popish Plot, Aug. 13. His statements are discredited by the king and his council, but are eagerly adopted by Shaftesbury and his associates<sup>1</sup>.

Oates swears to the particulars of the plot before Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, a magistrate, who is shortly after found dead (Oct. 15). Godfrey is alleged to have been murdered by the Romanists, and receives a public funeral, Oct. 31.

The parliament meets Oct. 21. A committee is appointed to examine into the plot; they report themselves satisfied as to its existence, and numerous arrests follow.

The excitement occasioned by the statements of Oates enables Shaftesbury and his party to procure the passing of an act "for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government by disabling papists from sitting in either House of Parliament," [30 Car. II. stat. 2, c. 1].

The earl of Powis<sup>2</sup>, lords Stafford, Petre, Arundel, and Belasyze, Romanist peers, are committed to the Tower, October<sup>3</sup>.

Coleman<sup>4</sup>, the duke of York's secretary, is condemned, Nov. 27, and executed Dec. 3. Whitbread and four other priests are tried Dec. 17. Three are convicted<sup>5</sup>, and are executed Jan. 24, 1679.

The earl of Danby is impeached by the Commons, Dec. 21, but the proceedings are stopped by the proroga-

tion of the parliament, Dec. 30, which is soon after (Jan. 24, 1679) dissolved.

A.D. 1679.

Bedloe, an accomplice of Oates, gives further particulars of the plot, and endeavours to shew that the queen is concerned in it. Hill, Green, and Berry, three of her servants, are executed as the murderers of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, Feb. 21, 27.

The duke of York goes abroad, immediately before the meeting of the new parliament, which assembles March 6.

The king grants a pardon to Danby, to which the parliament objects, as "illegal and void," and he is committed to the Tower, April 16.

A new council, containing many members of the country party, is formed, of which the earl of Shaftesbury is the president, April 20.

An act passed "for the better securing the liberty of the subject, and for prevention of imprisonments beyond the seas," [31 Car. II. c. 2]. This, the invaluable Habeas Corpus Act, was the only important measure perfected by the parliament. A bill to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the throne was brought forward, but was frustrated by the dissolution of the parliament<sup>6</sup>, May 27.

The Covenanters in the west of Scotland manifest a disposition to take up arms. To bridle them, large

on charges of immorality; he had, however, gained a knowledge of the names and circumstances of the chief Romanists in England, whether clerical or lay, which he speedily turned to account in a way that cost many innocent persons their lives.

<sup>1</sup> The plot is often represented as a pure invention on the part of Oates and his associates, but Dryden, after his conversion to Romanism, said more accurately,

"Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies."

Both the king and the duke of York, as is now well known, indulged in schemes to establish Romanism and arbitrary power, and the latter especially had intriguing and fanatic partisans, whose views probably went far beyond his own. Charles only acted with his customary duplicity when he attempted to turn the matter into ridicule, by saying that "he was accused of being in a plot against his own life."

<sup>2</sup> The intention of Shaftesbury was to pave the way for the exclusion of the duke of York from the throne; but he was foiled, as "Provided always that nothing in this act contained shall extend to his Royal Highness the Duke of York" is written on a separate schedule to the original act, with the word "Agreed" in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> William Herbert, Lord Powis, was created an

earl in 1666. He was released without trial from the Tower, early in 1684, was called by James II. to the privy council, and created marquis of Powis in 1687. He conducted James's queen and son to France, and died there, outlawed, in 1696. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of the marquis of Worcester, and left an only son, William, who regained the title of Lord Powis.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Tower Records, Lord Petre was committed on October 26; Lords Arundel, Belasyze, and Stafford on October 31. The date of the committal of the earl does not appear, the first entry regarding him being on April 8, 1679. His wife also was a prisoner in the Tower from Nov. 4, 1679, to Lady-day, 1680, or perhaps longer, as the date of her release does not occur.

<sup>5</sup> This man had been employed in the distribution of bribes from Louis to the members of parliament, and he had, apparently without authority, written a variety of letters in his master's name, which bore out many of the statements of Oates.

<sup>6</sup> Whitbread and Fenwick were acquitted, but they were detained in custody, again tried the next year, and executed.

<sup>7</sup> The opposition then endeavoured to prevail on the king to declare the duke of Monmouth his successor, but their designs failed, although they bribed his mistress, the duchess of Portsmouth, to advocate it.

bodies of Highlanders are placed at free quarter among them<sup>a</sup>, who are soon withdrawn, but the country is continued under martial law.

Archbishop Sharpe is murdered at Magus-muir, in Fifeshire, May 3; the assassins retire towards Glasgow. Receiving reinforcements, they appear in arms at Rutherglen, May 29, and defeat a small body of cavalry under Graham of Claverhouse<sup>b</sup>, at Drumclog, June 3<sup>c</sup>. The duke of Monmouth is sent against them, and defeats them at Bothwell-bridge, June 22. Great numbers of prisoners are taken, who are leniently treated. Some few keep in arms under Cameron and Cargill, two of their preachers.

The prosecutions regarding the Popish plot are still carried on. Whitbread and Fenwick and three other Jesuits are condemned, June 13, and Langhorne, a lawyer, June 14. They suffer, June 20, and eight priests are executed in different parts of the country<sup>d</sup>; but Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and three Benedictine monks, tried July 18, are acquitted.

The parliament adjourned, July 10, and shortly after dissolved.

The duke of York returns, is well received, and the duke of Monmouth

banished. The duke of York soon repairs to Scotland, as lord high commissioner, and Monmouth is recalled to court.

Shaftesbury is removed from the presidency of the council. In revenge, by his means, the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's accession (Nov. 17) is celebrated with extraordinary demonstrations of hostility to the Romanists.

Shaftesbury and his friends procure numerous addresses to the king, praying for the speedy meeting of the parliament<sup>e</sup>; the court party bring forward other addresses, expressing abhorrence of this, as interfering with the king's prerogative<sup>f</sup>. The two parties receive, in consequence, the names of Addressers and Abhorrrers, which are afterwards changed for Whig and Tory<sup>g</sup>.

A.D. 1680.

The duke of York returns from Scotland in February. He is, by the earl of Shaftesbury and others, presented at the Middlesex sessions as a Romanish recusant, (June 26 and Nov. 29).

A proclamation issued against the publication of "news-books and pamphlets of news" without licence, May 12.

Lord Castlemaine (Robert Palmer) is tried for high treason, but acquitted<sup>h</sup>, June 23.

<sup>a</sup> This, under the name of "the coming of the Highland host," is the subject of grievous, but evidently exaggerated complaint in Wodrow and other Scottish writers.

<sup>b</sup> John Graham, afterwards Viscount Dundee, was the son of Sir William Graham, and a kinsman of Montrose, whose chivalrous devotion to the royal cause he avowed his determination to emulate. He was educated at St. Andrews, and then served as a volunteer in the French army; next he joined the horse-guards of the prince of Orange, and he gained a commission by his daring valour at the battle of Seneff in 1674. Returning to Scotland he was appointed to raise and command an independent troop of horse against the insurgents, and, irritated by his defeat, he acted with so much severity that their writers usually style him "the bloody Claverhouse." He was afterwards made sheriff of Wigton, his brother David being associated with him, and next appointed to the royal horse guards; he now rose rapidly in military rank, and in 1684 was admitted, though with some hesitation, (on account of his wife belonging to the "fanatic family" of the earl of Dundonald), to the Scottish privy council. By James II. he was created a peer, and he died in his cause.

<sup>c</sup> This event is still celebrated by an annual sermon on the battle-field.

<sup>d</sup> Four also died in prison, one of them from injuries received from the pursuivants who captured him.

<sup>e</sup> The king was exceedingly incensed at these addresses, looking on them as the prelude of a civil war, which, however, he was quite ready to meet. "It is their petitioning has enraged him," says a private letter of the time, "and he swears by God, they may knock out his brains, but shall

never cut off his head." (Letter of Robert Nelson to Dr. Mapletoft, Dec. 12, 1679.)

<sup>f</sup> A literary controversy arose out of this matter, in which the views of the court were maintained chiefly by Sir Roger L'Estrange, a loyalist who had suffered severely in the civil war, while those of the country party were upheld by Gilbert Burnet, the author of several important though much criticised works. He was born at Edinburgh in 1643, had been a professor in the university of Glasgow, and a popular preacher, but had quitted Scotland in consequence of a quarrel between his patron, the duke of Hamilton, and Lauderdale, the royal commissioner. In England he was made chaplain to the king, and afterwards preacher at the Rolls, and was for a while a court favourite, but forfeited all by a great parade of intimacy with Lord Russell and other parties to the Rye-house plot. He in consequence went abroad, where he found a protector in the prince of Orange, and, according to his own account, bore a very important part in the intrigues which resulted in the Revolution. Burnet accompanied the prince to England, and was rewarded with the see of Salisbury, in possession of which he died, March 17, 1715, after a life more turbulent than became his function.

<sup>g</sup> These well-known names were originally terms of reproach applied to the Scottish Covenanters and the Irish freebooters.

<sup>h</sup> The principal witness against him was one Thomas Dangerfield, who pretended to have been employed to assassinate the king; he first said the Presbyterians were the plotters, then the Romanists. Some papers relating to the matter were found concealed in a meal-tub, whence the name by which it is commonly known.

Cameron and a few of the Covenanters formally renounce allegiance to the king. They are shortly after dispersed, when Cameron is killed<sup>1</sup>, July 20.

The duke of York returns to Scotland.

The parliament meets, Oct. 21, and proceeds with severity against the Abhorers.

A law to exclude the duke from the succession is passed by the Commons, Nov. 11, but is rejected by the peers, mainly through the influence of the earl of Halifax (George Savile<sup>k</sup>).

William, Viscount Stafford, is tried and convicted of being concerned in the popish plot (Nov. 30—Dec. 7). He is executed<sup>l</sup>, Dec. 29.

The East India Company commence their trade with China.

A.D. 1681.

The parliament is dissolved, Jan. 18. By the king's command, a new parliament meets at Oxford, March 21. The earl of Shaftesbury, and many of the leaders of the country party, with large bodies of followers, attend it armed<sup>m</sup>. It is suddenly dissolved, without transacting business, March 28.

The king justifies his dissolution of the parliament by a declaration, April 8; and finding it well received, he takes steps against the popular leaders.

Captain Morgan Kempthorne<sup>n</sup> beats off a fleet of Barbary corsairs, but is killed in the action, May.

Oliver Plunket, titular archbishop of Armagh, is executed as concerned in the popish plot<sup>o</sup>, July 1.

The earl of Shaftesbury is committed to the Tower, on a charge of subornation of perjury<sup>p</sup>, July 2. An indictment subsequently preferred against him for high treason is rejected by the Middlesex grand jury, Nov. 24, and he is set at liberty.

Cargill, the Cameronian preacher, is executed, July 26.

The duke of York holds a parliament in Scotland, July, August. A test is imposed, binding all persons not to attempt any alteration in the government in Church or State. It is very generally taken, but the earl of Argyle<sup>q</sup> objects. He is summoned before the council, when he explains the sense in which he is willing to take it. This is considered as "leasing-making<sup>r</sup>," a capital offence in Scottish law; he is imprisoned, tried, and

<sup>1</sup> Cargill, another preacher, after this solemnly excommunicated the king and his adherents. He was captured, and executed, and several of his followers also suffered, but the greater number were transported to America, or sent to serve in a Scottish regiment in the pay of the king of Spain. The sect, however, survived, and under the title of Cameronians were very active in Scotland against the Jacobites after the Revolution. The 26th regiment of Foot was formed from them, and still bears their name.

<sup>k</sup> He was the son of a Yorkshire baronet, and was born in 1630. In 1668 he was created Viscount Halifax, earl in 1679, and marquis in 1682; in the same year he was made lord privy seal, and he remained in office for a short time after the accession of James II. Halifax was a man of talent, but of a strangely fickle character, which led him to join in turn, and soon after forsake, every party in the state. He avowed that he preferred expediency to conscience, and he thus gained the name of the *Trimmer*, which he professed to consider no disgrace. First he was mainly instrumental in defeating the Exclusion Bill; then he endeavoured to procure the recall of the duke of Monmouth, and next he laboured successfully to drive James from the throne. Halifax was by William restored to his office of lord privy seal, and was for some time apparently at the head of affairs, but the *Trimmer* was distrusted by both Whigs and Tories, and he was driven into retirement in less than a year after the Revolution. He died April 5, 1695.

<sup>l</sup> The king professed his belief in his innocence, yet did not venture to spare his life. He, however, mitigated the ordinary sentence of treason to beheading, and the sheriffs and others had the barbarity to question his power to do so; Lord William Russell and Henry Cornish (both subsequently executed) were among the number.

<sup>m</sup> Among them was one Stephen College, who was called by his party "the Protestant joiner." He had long been known as a vehement mob orator, and he passed as the inventor of a "Protestant flail" to beat out the brains of papists. He now made himself personally obnoxious to the king as the reputed author of coarse rhymes, which were sung in Charles's hearing at Oxford.

<sup>n</sup> He was the son of Sir John Kempthorne already mentioned. See A.D. 1669, 1673.

<sup>o</sup> There suffered with him one Fitzharris, a desperate intriguer, who had accused various persons, and even the duke of York, of a design to kill the king; he had, however, before this issued a pamphlet, calling on all true Protestants "to take up arms against their popish king," and for this he was condemned as a traitor.

<sup>p</sup> His papers had been seized, and he was so alarmed thereby that he petitioned to be allowed to withdraw to the American plantations, but his prayer was rejected. Among the papers was the plan of a treasonable confederacy, which much resembled the Solemn League and Covenant; but a still more important document was a list of his friends and opponents in every shire, drawn up alphabetically, and classed as "worthy men" and "men worthy" ("of hanging" was understood), which enabled the government to discover many false friends and unsuspected adversaries.

<sup>q</sup> Archibald Campbell, son of the marquis executed in 1661.

<sup>r</sup> The crown lawyers held that he had endeavoured to plant discord between the king and his subjects, by insinuating that an oath imposed by parliament could need explanation; that he had defamed the legislature thereby; and had usurped sovereign power by presuming to add anything of his own to an act of parliament.

convicted, but makes his escape to Holland.

Stephen College is tried at Oxford Aug. 17. He is found guilty of appearing in arms against the king during the Oxford parliament, and is executed Aug. 31.

A.D. 1682.

The duke of York visits England. He is shipwrecked on his voyage back to Scotland, May 5, and returns to England in June.

The duke of Monmouth makes a progress through the country, with great pomp, which gives offence, and he is held to bail.

The king's party gain a decided ascendancy in the city of London. Many of the popular party are prosecuted for riotous conduct and libels, and heavily fined.

The earl of Shaftesbury in alarm flees in disguise from London, Oct. 19. He dies in Holland Jan. 22, 1683.

Francis North, Lord Guilford, appointed lord-keeper<sup>8</sup>, Dec. 20.

Chelsea Hospital founded for invalid soldiers<sup>1</sup>.

A.D. 1683.

The city of London is declared to have forfeited its charters, in consequence of imposing an illegal toll,

and libelling the king, June 12. The magistracy is remodelled, but the franchises are in general left untouched<sup>2</sup>.

A plot, termed the Rye-house Plot, is discovered. The earl of Essex (Arthur Capel<sup>3</sup>), William Lord Russell (son of the earl of Bedford), Lord Howard of Eskrick<sup>4</sup>, Algernon Sydney<sup>5</sup>, and others, are taken, but the duke of Monmouth makes his escape. All these parties seem to have fully agreed on an insurrection in England and Scotland, with the intention of securing the succession to the throne to the duke of Monmouth. Some of the conspirators had also a design to assassinate the king and the duke of York, but whether with or without the privy of the others is uncertain<sup>6</sup>. The earl of Essex was found dead in the Tower July 13; on which day also Lord Russell was tried and convicted of treason<sup>7</sup>. He was executed July 21; and several of the meaner agents suffered about the same time.

The University of Oxford publishes a decree (July 21) asserting the necessity of passive obedience, and condemning several works containing contrary propositions to be burnt<sup>8</sup>.

Tangier is dismantled, and the garrison brought to England, where they are kept in pay.

Algernon Sydney being convicted

<sup>8</sup> He had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, attained celebrity as a lawyer on the Norfolk circuit, and had held the posts of solicitor and attorney-general, and judge. He died Sept. 5, 1685, and was succeeded by Jefferies.

<sup>1</sup> See a notice of Queen Mary's intended foundation at p. 323, and of King James' theological college, at p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Much the same course was taken in each of the next five years against various obnoxious corporations. The effect of the change generally was to confine the power of returning members of parliament to the mayors and aldermen, who were the nominees of the Crown.

<sup>3</sup> Son of Lord Capel, beheaded in 1649. He had been lord-lieutenant of Ireland from 1672 to 1676, and was a vehement supporter of the factious proceedings of Shaftesbury.

<sup>4</sup> William Howard. He had in 1674 been engaged in treasonable designs, but had earned pardon by betraying his associates; he acted in a similar manner on this occasion.

<sup>5</sup> He was the second son of Robert Sydney, earl of Leicester, and was born in 1617. He bore a part in most of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, but though named as one of the king's judges he did not attend the trial. He professed the sternest republicanism, and was therefore regarded with jealousy by Cromwell; but on the fall of the protectorate he again took part in public affairs, and he was employed on an embassy to the north of Europe when the Restoration took place. He lived in voluntary exile until the year 1679, when he was permitted to return to England on a general promise

of peaceable behaviour, which he did not keep. Sydney was a man of a fierce, unbending temper, and an unbeliever; he was also, in spite of his professed republicanism, a pensioner of France. Though probably guilty, he was convicted by unjustifiable means, an unpublished writing found in his desk being illegally taken as the second witness required in charges of high treason; and his demeanour before the brutal Jefferies was firm and dignified; hence he is usually, though most erroneously, regarded as an illustrious sufferer in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

<sup>6</sup> This question has been very warmly debated, especially in the case of Lord Russell, but there can be hardly a doubt that Sydney was an assassin in intention, like Rumbold and Ayloffe.

<sup>7</sup> Lord Howard of Eskrick, the principal witness against him, did not charge him with assenting to the design against the king's life; and his attainer was reversed in the first parliament after the Revolution.

<sup>8</sup> Twenty-seven propositions were thus authoritatively condemned, as contrary to Holy Scripture, the decrees of councils, the writings of the Fathers, the faith and profession of the primitive Church; also destructive of kingly government, the safety of the royal person, the public peace, the laws of nature, and the bonds of human society. Some of them were taken from Romanist writers (as Bellarmine), some from Hobbes, Milton, Baxter, Owen, Godwin, Buchanan, Knox, and other sectaries; and two were from a work by Whitby, the commentator on the New Testament. Whitby, who was chaplain to the bishop of Salisbury, made a public retraction.

of participation in the plot, Nov. 21, is beheaded, Dec. 7.

The duke of Monmouth is pardoned, and returns to court. He was, however, obliged to make a confession of his offences, which he afterwards endeavoured to explain away; the king then banished him from his presence, and he fled to Holland early in the next year.

A.D. 1684.

Mr. Hampden<sup>d</sup>, one of the insurrectionary party, is convicted of a misdemeanour<sup>e</sup>, and is fined £40,000, Feb. 6.

The Rev. Samuel Johnson is heavily fined and imprisoned for writing and publishing "a very scandalous and seditious book, called Julian the Apostate<sup>f</sup>," Feb. 11.

The earls of Danby and Powys, and lords Arundel and Belasyze, are released from the Tower, on bail<sup>g</sup>, Feb. 12.

Sir Samuel Barnardiston, a rich

London merchant, is fined £10,000 for "scandalous and seditious reflections against the government," April 19. Less wealthy parties, for similar offences, are placed in the pillory.

Sir Thomas Armstrong and Halloway, two parties to the Rye-house Plot, are seized abroad<sup>h</sup>, sent to England, and executed, May, June.

Titus Oates, convicted of libelling the duke of York, is sentenced to an enormous fine, and is imprisoned in default of payment.

The king dispenses with the Test Act, and restores the duke of York to his office of lord high admiral, and his seat in the council.

The marquis of Halifax intrigues unsuccessfully for the recall of the duke of Monmouth.

A.D. 1685.

The king dies at St. James's, Feb. 6, having been previously reconciled to the Church of Rome<sup>i</sup>. He is buried at Westminster, Feb. 14.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
The Stadtholdership abolished in Holland . . . . .	1650	Candia taken by the Turks . . . . .	1669
The Venetians defeat the Turks in the Dardanelles . . . . .	1655	Poland invaded by the Turks, and forced to cede several provinces . . . . .	1672
Ducal Prussia becomes independent of Poland . . . . .	1656	The Swedes lose most of their German possessions . . . . .	1677
Peace of the Pyrenees, between France and Spain . . . . .	1659	First war between the Russians and the Turks . . . . .	1678
Denmark changed from a limited to an absolute monarchy . . . . .	1660	Peace of Nimuegen . . . . .	1678
The Turks defeated at the Raab . . . . .	1664	Absolute power established in Sweden . . . . .	1680
Louis XIV. seizes the Spanish Netherlands . . . . .	1667	Siege of Vienna by the Turks . . . . .	1683

<sup>d</sup> He was the grandson of the celebrated opponent of ship-money; was a man of indifferent character, and at length died by his own hand.

<sup>e</sup> The duke of Monmouth had been subpoenaed to give evidence against him, but fled to the continent instead. This prevented Hampden's trial for treason, two witnesses being necessary, and there being no writings which the crown lawyers could turn to their purpose, as they had recently done with Sydney.

<sup>f</sup> He had been chaplain to Lord Russell. His book, which was considered as a libel on the

duke of York, was ordered to be burnt by the hangman.

<sup>g</sup> Lord Petre, committed with the other Romanist lords in 1678, had died in confinement a few weeks before.

<sup>h</sup> Armstrong was seized in Holland, Halloway in the West Indies.

<sup>i</sup> This was done by a Benedictine monk, John Huddleston, who had forwarded Charles' escape after the battle of Worcester, and had, ever since the Restoration, been in consequence excepted by name from the penalties occasionally denounced by proclamation against Romish priests.



James II., from his Great Seal.

## JAMES II.

JAMES, the second surviving son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, was born at St. James's, Oct. 15, 1633, and was immediately created duke of York. He accompanied his father during the civil war, and was captured by Fairfax on the surrender of Oxford, but contrived to escape, disguised as a girl, to Holland, in the year 1648. He served with reputation in both the French and Spanish armies, and was ready to take the command of a force for the invasion of England if the rising of Sir George Booth and others in 1659 had been successful. The duke returned to England with his brother in 1660, and having a great aptitude for sea affairs, he acted as lord high admiral until, having become a Romanist, he was displaced by the Test Act in 1673. The popular commotion on

the Popish plot induced him to retire abroad, but he was soon recalled, and appointed to the government of Scotland, which he administered with harshness. His enemies in England laboured earnestly to exclude him from the throne, but ineffectually, and he became king on the death of his brother, Feb. 6, 1685.

James commenced his reign with disclaiming any intention of interfering with the Church, and promising a legal course of government; but his acts were not in accordance with his declarations, and his opponents, who in the last years of his brother's reign had found an asylum in Holland, at once began to concert measures for an invasion. Accordingly the duke of Monmouth landed in England, and the earl of Argyle in Scotland, but

both failed, and the attempt of the former especially was punished with extreme severity. James was emboldened by this success to proceed with hasty steps in a design which he had unhappily formed of restoring Romanism<sup>a</sup>.

He had at the commencement of his reign made arrangements with that view in Scotland and Ireland, and he now ventured to extend them to England. He claimed a power of dispensing with the penal laws, dismissed his parliament when it shewed a resolution to oppose him, exhausted every effort to gain converts, called such, as well as Romish ecclesiastics, to his councils, laboured to procure the repeal of the Test Act, and for-

bade the controversial sermons which the clergy, justly alarmed at his proceedings, felt it their duty to deliver. This injunction was disregarded, and to enforce it (in defiance of a positive enactment to the contrary<sup>b</sup>), a new court of Ecclesiastical Commission was established, which suspended the bishop of London<sup>c</sup> from his office, and afterwards perpetrated the most flagrant injustice on both Universities. The Church, through these harsh and illegal measures of James, was exposed to a severe trial during his reign, but happily the prelates were (with some few exceptions that are easily accounted for<sup>d</sup>) eminently fitted for their posts, and their passive resistance

<sup>a</sup> He retained for a time in office the marquis of Halifax, Lord Rochester (his brother-in-law), and others who were esteemed friends of legal government, but it was soon found that his confidence was given to men of a very different description. Of these, the most prominent was Robert Spenser, earl of Sunderland, born in 1641, and son of the peer killed in the first battle of Newbury. He had been employed by Charles II. in various embassies, and first became distinguished in parliament by opposing the Exclusion Bill; he afterwards favoured it, but being of a supple, insinuating nature, he procured a reconciliation with the duke of York, and, most unhappily, was placed by him at the head of affairs when he became king. He professed himself a convert to Romanism, and urged the most destructive measures, being all the while, as is now known, not only a pensioner of France, but in correspondence with the ministers of the prince of Orange; who, when he obtained the crown, after a short interval of apparent disgrace did not scruple to employ him, though the action was most unpopular. Sunderland died in 1702, leaving a character of almost unparalleled baseness. Another adviser of the king, though probably a mere tool of Sunderland, was Edward Petre, a Jesuit; a few Romanist peers were also called to his councils, but it is evident, from the king's own account in his *Memoirs*, that their advice was more moderate than that of Sunderland or Petre, who were mere political adventurers.

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1641.

<sup>c</sup> Henry Compton, a younger son of Spencer Compton, earl of Northampton, was born in 1632. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, then travelled awhile, and on the Restoration became a cornet of horse; but he soon quitted the military life, and resumed his studies. In 1669 he was made a canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and afterwards master of the hospital of St. Cross, Winchester. He, however, did not reside there, but was a constant attendant at court, and was entrusted with the education of the princesses Mary and Anne. In 1674 Dr. Compton was made bishop of Oxford, and in 1675 he was translated to London. He now incurred the king's displeasure by declining to proceed in an extrajudicial way against Dr. Sharp, who had disregarded the royal order against controversial sermons. The bishop was suspended from the exercise of his function, and after a time he joined with the earl of Danby and others in inviting the prince of Orange to England. The bishop conducted the princess Anne to join the prince, and otherwise exerted himself in his cause; he also assisted at the coronation of William and Mary, and favoured William's views for a comprehension of the dissenters, expecting, as his enemies said, to

succeed to the archbishopric of Canterbury, when Sancroft should be deprived; but, if such was his view, he was disappointed. He took little further part in public affairs, and died, after holding the see of London thirty-eight years, July 7, 1713.

<sup>d</sup> Crewe, Sprat, Cartwright, and Parker, all avowed puritans at one period of their lives, are alluded to. The first two sat on the Ecclesiastical Commission; the next laboured to procure addresses of thanks from his clergy for the declaration of indulgence; and the last usurped the presidency of Magdalen, a step which threatened the property of every man in the country, and precipitated the Revolution.

*Nathaniel Crewe* was born of a noble family in the north of England; he was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, of which he became rector in 1668, was in 1669 made dean of Chichester, in 1671 bishop of Oxford, and in 1674 translated to Durham. He was excepted by name from the general pardon in 1690, but eventually made his peace with the new rulers, and held his see till his death, Sept. 18, 1722.

*Thomas Sprat*, a Devonshire man, born in 1636, and educated at Wadham College, Oxford, wrote a poem on the death of Oliver Cromwell, likening him to Moses and his son to Joshua. At the Restoration he professed to study science, thus gained favour at court, was made dean of Westminster in 1683, and bishop of Rochester in 1684. He wrote an account of the Rye-house Plot, and was in great favour with James, but at length he became alarmed, and declined to act on the Ecclesiastical Commission; and he readily took the new oaths to William and Mary. In 1692 he was taken into custody on suspicion of intriguing in favour of his old master, but was soon released. Sprat died May 20, 1713, with the character of an elegant writer, but a weak, time-serving man.

*Thomas Cartwright*, the son of an Essex school-master, was born at Northampton, Sept. 1, 1634. He was brought up a puritan, was intruded by the parliamentary visitors on Queen's College, Oxford, and became vicar of Walthamstow. Professing great loyalty at the Restoration, he was appointed chaplain to the duke of Gloucester, next prebendary of St. Paul's, chaplain to the king, prebendary of Durham, and dean of Ripon. James II. made him bishop of Chester, in October, 1686; and he so heartily supported all the king's worst measures that he feared to remain behind him, and so joined him in France. Early in 1689 he accompanied James to Ireland; he died there shortly after (April 15), and was buried in Christ Church, Dublin. A professed opponent (Burnet) allows that he was "a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning;" but he adds, that "he was ambitious



eventually procured for the nation relief from his misgovernment, though several of their number became eminent sufferers for conscience' sake.

The king induced the judges to give a decision in favour of the dispensing power, and he followed this up by forming a camp on Hounslow heath, the officers in which were chiefly Romanists, and where mass was openly said; he also publicly received an envoy from the pope, and dismissed from office all who ventured to disapprove of his proceedings. He had already published a Declaration for liberty of conscience, and sedulously courted the Protestant nonconformists; but they in general mistrusted him, and declined to forward the restoration of Romanism by joining in his attack on the Church; this did not warn him, and he published the Declaration a second time, adding a command that it should be read in all churches. A humble petition against this order, presented to him in his own closet by the primate and six other prelates, was by his advisers pronounced a libel, and the bishops were sent to the Tower; they were soon after put upon their trial, and were acquitted (June 30, 1688), an event which brought the reign of James virtually to a close.

William, prince of Orange, the son-in-law of James, had long taken a lively

interest in the affairs of England, and had watched the growing discontents, which, indeed, he is by some writers accused of fomenting. He had put himself forward as the champion of Protestantism, and the opponent of the gigantic schemes of conquest planned by Louis XIV. of France; and he easily persuaded the States of Holland to supply him with a force which might enable him to procure for the people of England that protection to their religion and liberties only to be expected from a free parliament, and also to secure the right of his wife to the throne in case the king should die without male issue. A son was born to the king about the very time of the acquittal of the bishops, but doubts were expressed as to his legitimacy, and the prince landed in England, Nov. 5, 1688.

The king, who had neglected the warnings given him, now attempted to retrace his steps. He reinstated Bishop Compton, made such reparation as he could to the Universities, and dismissed his most obnoxious counsellors; but he could not regain the confidence of his people. His army melted away, and the prince advanced towards London; his daughter the Princess Anne, her husband Prince George, his nephews the duke of Grafton and Lord Cornbury, and his favourite, Lord Churchill\*, alike forsook

and servile, cruel and boisterous; and by the great liberties he allowed himself, he fell under much scandal of the worst sort."

*Samuel Parker*, also of a puritan family, was born at Northampton, in 1640. His father was a lawyer, and was one of the barons of the Exchequer in the last days of the Commonwealth. He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, where, being committed to the care of a presbyterian tutor, "he did," says Anthony à Wood, "according to his former breeding, lead a strict and religious life, fasted, prayed, with other students, weekly together, and for their refection feeding on thin broth, made of oatmeal and water only, they were commonly called Gruellers." At the Restoration he forsook the puritan party, and made himself remarkable for his bitter attacks on them. He became chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, prebendary and archdeacon of Canterbury, and eventually bishop of Oxford, and a privy councillor; soon after which he was forcibly intruded into the office of president of Magdalen. He died March 20, 1688, leaving the character of a voluminous and acute writer, but a dishonest man. Parker was succeeded in the see of Oxford by Timothy Hall, an obscure Londoner, also bred a presbyterian, whose only claim to the king's favour was that he was one of the very few clergy who read his Declaration. Hall came to Oxford in October, 1688, but no one recognised his authority, and he died poor and despised, at Hackney, April 10, 1690.

\* John Churchill, son of Sir Winston Churchill,

a Dorsetshire gentleman, was born June 24, 1650, and when very young was brought to court, when he became page to the duke of York, and was favoured and preferred by him. He soon received a commission in the Guards, served at Tangier and in France, accompanied the duke to Scotland and the continent, and in 1682 was, at his solicitation, created a Scottish peer (Lord Eyemouth), and made colonel of a regiment of the Guards. When James became king he raised him to the dignity of Lord Churchill, and made him second in command of the force employed against Monmouth. He had in the meantime (1681) married Sarah Jennings, an attendant on the Princess Anne, who possessed unbounded influence over her mistress, and he had begun to accumulate a fortune, an object which he steadily pursued through a long life, little regarding, apparently, any other consideration. Hence he deserted his benefactor at the most critical moment, and applied himself to gain the favour of the new king, but his motives were known, and he was not trusted, though he was created earl of Marlborough, and was for a time employed both in Ireland and in Flanders, on account of his great military talents. His dealings with the exiled king were discovered, and he was thrown into the Tower, but soon released. As duke and duchess of Marlborough, he and his wife were in effect rulers of the state during the greater part of the reign of Queen Anne, under which period some further account of their character and conduct will be found.

him; with difficulty he sent his queen and infant son to France, and endeavoured to follow them, quitting Whitehall, Dec. 11, 1688, in disguise. He was, however, seized near Faversham, and brought back to London, whence in a few days he was removed under a guard of Dutch soldiers to Rochester, and was then allowed to escape to France, landing at Ambleteuse on Christmas-day.

Louis XIV. received him with kindness, and engaged warmly in his quarrel. He mainly supplied the means for an attempt which James made to establish himself in Ireland, and when this failed continued a liberal pension to him to the day of his death, which event occurred Sept. 6, 1701, at St. Germain's; he was buried in the Benedictine monastery at Paris.

James, while duke of York, married Anne Hyde, daughter of the chancellor, Clarendon. She died, a convert to Romanism, March 31, 1671, having borne him four sons and two daughters who all died young, and two daughters, MARY and ANNE, who both ascended the throne. In 1673 he married Mary Beatrice d'Este, sister of the duke of Modena; she bore him a son and four daughters who died young, and one son, James Francis Edward, who is known in history as the Old Pretender, or, more courteously, as the Chevalier de St. George. The queen, who was a woman of gentle and pious disposition, lived in comparative poverty, and almost monastic seclusion, in the nunnery of Chaillot after the death of her husband, and expired, May 7, 1718, at St. Germain's. James left also, by Miss Churchill<sup>f</sup>, the sister of the duke of Marlborough, a natural son, James duke of Berwick, who served with much distinction in the French army, and was killed at the siege of Philipsburg in 1734.

James employed the same arms and

insignia as his father and brother had done.



Arms of James II.

The conduct of this king has been censured by all parties, and it appears undeniable that he was justly excluded from the rule that he had so abused<sup>g</sup>. He was fond of arbitrary power, and being naturally of a stern and resolute temper, he was too ready to listen to dishonest advisers, and to attempt to compass his ends by violent means; he was in consequence far less successful than his brother, who had relied on address and corruption. Yet he was personally a better man than his predecessor. He had in earlier life displayed courage and activity, and was even laborious in his attention to the duties of the high offices that he filled<sup>h</sup>; but when he became king, it appeared that not only was his temper soured, but even his mind in some degree affected by the vexations and disappointments that he met with. His private life was vicious, though less openly scandalous than that of Charles; but he is allowed, even by his enemies, to have been a kind parent, and hence not to have merited the treatment he met with at the hands of his daughters<sup>i</sup>. His conversion to Romanism is often looked on as the cause of all his difficulties, but this may reasonably be doubted; his very nature seems to have been tyrannical; and he is conceived to have adopted his new creed rather from political than from

<sup>f</sup> She also bore him two daughters, of whom one died a nun, and the other, Henrietta, married Sir Henry Waldegrave, afterwards Lord Waldegrave. Katherine Sedley, another of his mistresses, bore him a daughter, who married, first, James Annesley, earl of Anglesey, and secondly, John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham.

<sup>g</sup> Many of the Jacobites, as they were afterwards termed, held this opinion, and would willingly have supported a regency; but they would go no further, as they questioned the justice of excluding the son for the fault of the parent.

<sup>h</sup> His exertions while lord high admiral, assisted

by the indefatigable Pepys, the secretary of the navy, raised the fleet which afterwards won the battle of La Hogue, and his camp at Hounslow was the nursery for the victorious army of Marlborough.

<sup>i</sup> It has been alleged in their defence that their father had an intention of disinheriting them in favour of a Romanist successor; but there is every reason for believing that this is nothing more than a malignant invention of the Dutch envoys, who were sent by William of Orange to intrigue with James's discontented subjects.

religious motives, being persuaded that it was more favourable than any other to the rule of an absolute monarch.

A.D. 1685.

James succeeds to the throne, Feb. 6, and is crowned April 23. He professes his intention to defend and support the Church of England, and to observe the laws; yet he goes in royal state to mass, forms a secret council of Romanists<sup>k</sup>, opens a negotiation with the pope (Innocent XI.), and levies taxes by his own authority.

Many Romanists, and some Protestant nonconformists, are discharged from prison by the king's order<sup>l</sup>.

The duke of Ormond is deprived of the government of Ireland, Feb. 24. After a time the office of lord lieutenant is given to the earl of Clarendon<sup>m</sup>, but the real power is entrusted to Richard Talbot<sup>n</sup>, created earl of Tyrconnel.

The Scottish parliament meets April 23. It passes rigid laws against the Covenanters, who are at the same time harassed by the soldiery under Graham of Claverhouse<sup>o</sup>.

The various bodies of exiles in Holland resolve on the invasion of both England and Scotland, April.

The triumph of the government in the latter years of the reign of Charles II. had driven men of very different classes to seek refuge abroad; and when they met to concert their measures they found that they agreed in

little beside their hatred to the English government. Unfortunately for themselves, the duke of Monmouth and the earl of Argyle seemed pointed out by their rank for leaders, though neither of them possessed the strength of mind necessary to control the turbulent men by whom they were surrounded; and they suffered themselves, against their better judgment, to become the nominal heads of expeditions, the fate of which was hopeless from the very beginning, as every thing was betrayed by a spy<sup>p</sup>. The followers of Monmouth, though there were several republicans and Rye-house plotters among them, professed a wish to make him king, and therefore treated him with outward deference, which he ill repaid by being one of the first to flee from the field. Argyle, on the other hand, was denied the authority necessary to the commander of any warlike expedition; he was controlled in every step by a council which could never come to a decision; and he was abandoned to his fate, when a few militia-men appeared in arms against him.

Titus Oates is convicted of perjury in relation to the Popish plot, May 9. He is fined, degraded, sentenced to be whipped and put in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for life<sup>q</sup>.

The parliament meets May 19. It settles tunnage and poundage and other duties on the king for life, [1 Jac. II. c. 1].

The earl of Danby, and the Romanist lords committed to the Tower on the

<sup>k</sup> This consisted of Petre, the Jesuit; Richard Talbot and Henry Jermyn, soon after created earls of Tyrconnel and Dover; Lords Arundel and Belasyze, and the earls of Castlemaine and Powis.

<sup>l</sup> Romanists and quakers were the only parties who benefited by this, as it was limited to those who were confined for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; persons imprisoned for offences against the Conventicle Act, or for refusing to pay tithes, were not released.

<sup>m</sup> Henry Hyde, the eldest son of the chancellor. His brother Lawrence was earl of Rochester.

<sup>n</sup> He was a younger son of an old English family of the Pale, which had been concerned in the Irish rebellion; but he had joined Charles II. while in exile, and had ever since been a dependant on the court. Lord Clarendon gives a very unfavourable character of him, and he appears to have been a man of a violent nature, rough and boisterous in his behaviour, and utterly destitute of honourable principle. According to the statement of Oates, he was concerned in the Popish plot, but he escaped prosecution; one of his brothers (Peter Talbot, a Jesuit,) died a prisoner on a similar charge, in 1680.

<sup>o</sup> Many of the stories related of the cruelty of Claverhouse may be safely regarded as monstrous exaggerations of what were merely the military precautions always considered necessary in a hostile country. The Covenanters were in communication with the exiles in Holland, who were avowedly planning an invasion, and such itinerants as "the Christian carrier," and others who are said to have been shot in cold blood, were really, and justly, executed by martial law as spies and traitors.

<sup>p</sup> This is believed to have been Robert Ferguson, a fugitive presbyterian minister, who was perpetually urging the most violent measures on his companions, and venturing into the most dangerous situations, but who always escaped without harm, while those who had followed his counsel died in the field or on the scaffold.

<sup>q</sup> The whipping was inflicted with such severity, that it seemed the intention to flog him to death. He, however, survived it, and was released at the Revolution; and though the House of Lords, bearing in mind his infamous character, refused to reverse the judgment, he received a pension, which he enjoyed until his death, in 1705.

charge of Titus Oates<sup>7</sup>, are brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and discharged, May 19.

Richard Baxter, the nonconformist, is tried, May 30, for reflections on the Church contained in his Paraphrase on the New Testament. He is sentenced to fine and imprisonment, June 29<sup>8</sup>.

Dangerfield is convicted of libel, and sentenced to severe punishment<sup>9</sup>, May 30.

The earl of Argyle sails from Holland, May 2. He lands in the Orkneys, May 6, and next proceeds to Lorn and Cantyre, but is opposed by the militia. His followers disperse, and he attempts to flee. He is captured June 17, brought into Edinburgh June 20, and beheaded on his former sentence<sup>10</sup>, June 30<sup>2</sup>.

The duke of Monmouth leaves Holland with a small force, (82 in all,) but with equipments for an army. He lands at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, June 11; the Devon militia retire from Axminster before him. He is

joined by the common people<sup>7</sup>, and moves on to Taunton, where he assumes the title of king<sup>2</sup>, June 20. The king's troops advance against him under the earl of Faversham<sup>2</sup>.

The duke attacks the royal army at Sedgemoor (near Bridgwater) in the morning of July 6; on meeting with a check, he forsakes his partisans and attempts to escape to the coast. He is captured in Cranborn Chase, July 8, is brought to London July 13, and has on the same day an interview with the king. Having been attainted shortly after his landing [1 Jac. II. c. 2<sup>b</sup>], he is beheaded on Tower-hill July 15.

Severe military execution is done on the insurgents, by Colonel Kirk<sup>c</sup> and others. A special commission is also issued for the trial of offenders, which is carried out by Jefferies with great barbarity<sup>d</sup>.

Jefferies is appointed lord-chancellor, Sept. 28.

Several persons are convicted and executed as having been concerned

<sup>7</sup> See A.D. 1678.

<sup>8</sup> Baxter had been imprisoned on this charge from Feb. 28. When he appeared to plead (May 18), Jefferies likened him to Titus Oates, who was then in the pillory before the court, and expressed a wish that he could send him to bear him company. On the trial Jefferies displayed the same insolent coarseness; he silenced the counsel with threats that "he would set a mark on them," and addressed the prisoner with, "Oh Richard, Richard, thou art an old rogue! . . . times are changed now; no more of your binding kings in chains and nobles in fetters of iron!"—an allusion to a favourite text with the fanatic preachers during the Rebellion.

<sup>9</sup> He had been a witness against Lord Castlemaine (see A.D. 1680), and had published, under the authority of parliament, a Particular Narrative of the meal-tub plot, which was now pronounced to contain many defamatory statements concerning the king and other Romanists. Dangerfield was put in the pillory, and was also whipped. On his way back to prison he was assaulted by a Romanist lawyer named Francis, and died a few days after. Francis was hanged for the murder.

<sup>10</sup> See A.D. 1681.

<sup>2</sup> Rumbold and Ayloffe, two of the Rye-house plotters who were in his company, were also taken and hanged.

<sup>3</sup> Evelyn says, in his Diary, "Most of his party were Anabaptists, and poor clothworkers of the country, no gentlemen of account being come in to him."

<sup>4</sup> On landing at Lyme he declared his opponents traitors, ordered the taxes to be levied in his name, as "King James II.," and offered a reward for the apprehension of "James, duke of York," against whom he made the monstrous charges of having caused the fire of London, procured the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, and poisoned King Charles.

<sup>5</sup> Louis Duras, marquis of Blanquefort, in France; he had married Mary, daughter of George Sondes, earl of Faversham, and succeeded him in the earldom in 1677. He died April 8, 1709.

<sup>6</sup> This statute is one of the briefest on record. It runs thus:—"Whereas James, duke of Monmouth,

has in an hostile manner invaded this kingdom, and is now in open rebellion, levying war against the king, contrary to the duty of his allegiance, Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in this parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said James, duke of Monmouth, stand and be convicted and attainted of high treason, and that he suffer pains of death, and incur all forfeitures as a traitor convicted and attainted of high treason." It was passed and received the royal assent in a single day (June 13), on the strength of a letter from Gregory Alford, the mayor of Lyme, announcing the landing of Monmouth at that port, and the testimony of three witnesses who brought the letter, and were sworn to the truth of its contents on their own knowledge.

<sup>c</sup> Percy Kirk had long served at Tangier, and the troops under his order were mainly from that garrison. His services were not required to his satisfaction, and he was one of the first to join the prince of Orange.

<sup>d</sup> The commission, dated Aug. 24, 1685, was directed to Jefferies and four other judges. They had a large military escort, the command of which, with the rank of lieutenant-general, was given to Jefferies; James himself styled the expedition, "Jefferies' campaign." Upwards of 300 persons were executed, (in most cases in a few hours after their trial); near 1,000 were sold as slaves to the West Indian plantations; many were whipped and imprisoned; others, who had not taken arms, but were supposed to be disaffected, were ruined by heavy fines. One of these was John Touchin, the son of a rich trader, who for seditious words was sentenced to imprisonment for seven years, and to be whipped yearly in every market-town in Dorsetshire (eighteen in number). He petitioned to be hanged instead, and falling ill of the small-pox, the whipping was remitted for a large bribe, but he was imprisoned until the Revolution. He wrote an account of Jefferies' proceedings, called The Bloody Assize, and also several vehement pamphlets on political questions. He died in 1707.

in the Rye-house Plot. Among them are Henry Cornish (formerly sheriff of London<sup>e</sup>), who suffered Oct. 20, and some others who had harboured rebels escaped from the battle of Sedgmoor<sup>f</sup>.

Louis XIV. revokes the Edict of Nantes<sup>g</sup>, Oct. 12. In consequence, many French Protestants seek refuge in England.

The marquis of Halifax is deprived of office, Oct. 21.

The parliament reassembles, Nov. 9. The king claims the power of keeping Roman Catholic officers in his service, contrary to the provisions of the Test Act<sup>h</sup>. The Houses dissent from his view, and are dismissed in anger, Nov. 20.

Lord Grey, an accomplice of Monmouth, receives a pardon<sup>i</sup>, Nov. 12. He is afterwards employed as a witness against his former associates<sup>k</sup>.

A.D. 1686.

The earl of Stamford (Thomas Grey), Lord Delamere (George Booth), Lord Gerard of Brandon (Charles Gerard), Mr. Hampden<sup>l</sup>, and others, are prose-

cuted either as concerned in the Rye-house plot, or in Monmouth's rebellion.

Many persons profess conversion to Romanism. Among them are some few clergymen<sup>m</sup>, to whom the king grants dispensations allowing them to hold benefices without complying with the requirements of the Act of Uniformity<sup>n</sup>.

The king seeks to procure the repeal of the Test Act, by application to the Scottish parliament, but the measure is coldly received. He also issues directions in England for preachers to abstain from controversial topics<sup>o</sup>, March 5.

Dr. John Sharp<sup>p</sup>, rector of St. Giles, London, disobeys the order, and his diocesan (Henry Compton, bishop of London,) does not silence him as ordered.

The judges solemnly affirm the dispensing power claimed by the king<sup>q</sup>, June 21.

The League of Augsburg is formed, to restrain Louis XIV.<sup>r</sup>, July.

A new court of Ecclesiastical Commission<sup>s</sup> is erected (July 14), which

<sup>e</sup> See A.D. 1680.

<sup>f</sup> One was Alicia Lisle, widow of John Lisle, the president of the arbitrary high courts of justice under the Commonwealth. See p. 442.

<sup>g</sup> See A.D. 1598.

<sup>h</sup> He declared that the conduct of the militia in the late insurrection had shewn that they were not to be depended on; he had therefore been obliged to employ regular troops, and having been benefited by the services of Romanist officers, he neither could nor would part with them.

<sup>i</sup> Forde Grey, Lord Grey of Werke, was the grandson of the lord Grey who sat in the revolutionary Council of State of 1649. He was a warm partisan of the Exclusion Bill, and was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower; but he made his escape by bribing his keepers, and joined Monmouth in Holland. Having earned his pardon by bearing witness against his fellows, he was released; and in 1695 he was created earl of Tankerville. He had long before abandoned his wife for the company of her sister, Lady Henrietta Berkeley, and he died without legitimate issue in 1701.

<sup>k</sup> Two more of the insurgents (Wade and Goodenough) who had been captured, earned their pardon in a similar way; and Ferguson (see p. 483) was suffered to escape to the continent, although to save appearances a reward was offered for his apprehension, and a description of him circulated, which runs thus:—"A tall lean man, dark-brown hair, a great Roman nose, thin-jawed, heat in his face, speaks in the Scotch tone, a sharp piercing eye, stoops a little in the shoulders; he hath a shuffling gait that differs from all men, wears his periwig down almost over his eyes; about forty-five or forty-six years old."

<sup>l</sup> Stamford was released, after a long imprisonment, without having been brought to trial; Gerard and Hampden were convicted of treason, but saved their lives by paying heavy bribes to Jefferies and other courtiers; Delamere was tried and acquitted.

<sup>m</sup> John Massey and Obadiah Walker are the best

known of these men. The former was made dean of Christ Church in 1686, and at the Revolution escaped to the continent, where he died in 1716; but the latter, who had been master of University College from 1676, was apprehended, and though he was released after a long imprisonment, was excepted by name from the general pardon in 1690; he died in abject poverty in 1699. Another of the converts (Edward Sclater, incumbent of Putney) made a formal recantation in the church of St. Mary-in-the-Savoy, May 5, 1689.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 463.

<sup>o</sup> At the time that these directions were issued, the Romanists were encouraged to print largely in favour of their creed; great favour was also manifested to the various classes of dissenters, and Penn, the quaker, (see A.D. 1670) was received at court, and employed on confidential missions.

<sup>p</sup> He was born at Bradford in Yorkshire, and was in 1681 made dean of Norwich. At the Revolution he was appointed dean of Canterbury, and in 1691 he was raised to the archbishopric of York. He died Feb. 2, 1714.

<sup>q</sup> This arose on a feigned action brought against Sir Edward Hales, a Kentish baronet and a convert to Romanism, for a penalty incurred by accepting a military command without taking the oath prescribed by the Test Act. He pleaded a dispensation, which the judges held to be lawful; but their judgment was as hurtful to the king as the decision in favour of ship-money had been to his father.

<sup>r</sup> This league, formed by the exertions of William of Orange, was at first composed only of the princes of the Empire (including among them the kings of Spain and Sweden), but the States of Holland, the duke of Savoy, and even the pope (Innocent XI.) eventually joined it.

<sup>s</sup> It was composed of seven members, viz., the lord-chancellor (Jefferies), whose presence was essential; the archbishop of Canterbury (Sancroft), who excused himself from attending; the bishops

summons Bishop Compton for contempt (Aug. 3), and eventually suspends him from office, Sept. 6.

The earl of Powis (William Herbert), and other Romanist peers, and Father Petre, a Jesuit, are made privy councillors, by virtue of the dispensing power, July 17.

A camp is formed on Hounslow Heath, the officers of which are generally Romanists<sup>1</sup>. The king passes much of his time there.

The public profession of Romanism is restored by the king's order, and several bodies of monastics settle in London<sup>2</sup>.

Obadiah Walker, the Master, opens a chapel in University College, Oxford, where mass is first publicly celebrated, Aug. 15.

The Rev. Samuel Johnson<sup>3</sup> is convicted of publishing an address to the soldiers at the camp, which is pronounced libellous and seditious, Nov. 16; he is degraded from the priesthood, placed in the pillory, and publicly whipped through London, Nov. 21.

John Massey, a Romanist, is installed as dean of Christ Church, Oxford, Dec. 29.

A.D. 1687.

The king publishes declarations for liberty of conscience in Scotland,

Feb. 12, and in England<sup>4</sup>, April 4 and 27.

The earl of Clarendon is recalled from Ireland, and Tyrconnel appointed lord-lieutenant. He proceeds with the disarmament of the Protestants, increases the army, and applies for permission to hold a parliament<sup>5</sup>.

The king, finding the intrusion of Massey acquiesced in, follows up his attack on the rights of the Universities. He demands from Cambridge an academical degree for Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, Feb. 7; the vice-chancellor (John Peachell, Master of Magdalene,) declines compliance, and is deprived of his office by the Ecclesiastical Commission, May 7.

The king recommends an unqualified person (Anthony Farmer) as President of Magdalen College, Oxford. The fellows decline compliance, and elect Dr. John Hough<sup>6</sup>, April 15; they are summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and at length expelled from their college, Dec. 10.

The earl of Devonshire (William Cavendish) is fined £30,000 for assaulting a Colonel Colepepper in the palace<sup>7</sup>.

The camp is again pitched on Hounslow Heath<sup>8</sup>, June.

The king dissolves the parliament, July 2, trusting to corrupt dealing

of Durham and Rochester (Crewe and Sprat); the lord-president (Sunderland), the lord-treasurer (Rochester), and the chief-justice of the King's Bench (Sir Edward Herbert).

<sup>1</sup> It was commanded by the earl of Faversham and Lord Dunbarton (George Douglas), who had mass celebrated in their tents. There were about 13,000 troops and 26 pieces of cannon.

<sup>2</sup> The Benedictines established themselves at St. James's, the Augustinians in Clerkenwell, the Franciscans in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and the Carmelites in the city. New chapels were built at Whitehall and in Bucklersbury, and the Jesuits opened two great schools, to which their skill in education attracted even Protestant scholars.

<sup>3</sup> He was already in prison for his "Julian the Apostate" (see A.D. 1684), and was persuaded to write the Address by a fellow-prisoner (Hugh Speke), who betrayed him.

<sup>4</sup> The indulgence extended both to dissenters and Romanists, and was received with joy by the more vehement sectaries, as the Anabaptists, and "a sort of refined quakers," as Evelyn calls them (the Family of Love, mentioned at p. 351); but the moderate nonconformists suspected the king's intentions, and sent no addresses of thanks.

<sup>5</sup> The king refused to allow him to do so, having been convinced that his design was eventually to separate Ireland from England. Tyrconnel maintained that his purpose was to secure an asylum for the king and other Romanists in the event of a successful rebellion in Great Britain.

<sup>6</sup> This learned, amiable, and munificent man was

born in 1650, and received his education at the college the rights of which he so ably defended. He found a patron in the duke of Ormond, and went with him to Ireland, but returning to Oxford he was elected president of Magdalen, and though for a time kept out of possession, he eventually triumphed over the illegal power which had been exerted against him. In 1690 he was made bishop of Oxford; in 1699 was translated to Coventry and Lichfield, and in 1717 to Worcester, having declined the primacy on the death of Archbishop Tenison. Bishop Hough died, much lamented, May 8, 1743.

<sup>7</sup> The penalty was not enforced, but he was obliged to give a bond for his peaceable behaviour; the judges were censured and the bond cancelled at the Revolution.

<sup>8</sup> This camp in every way disappointed the expectations of James. The commander, Evelyn says, in the expense and magnificence of their tents, and the Londoners resorted thither in thousands; but the result was, that by freely mixing with the soldiers they rendered them, in general, as discontented with his measures as they themselves were. A large Romanist chapel was built of wood in the camp, the timbers of which were, after the Revolution, obtained by Dr. Tenison, (then vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and eventually archbishop of Canterbury,) and by him used in the erection of a new church in his large parish; it is now known as Trinity Chapel, in Conduit-street, Regent-street.

with the corporations<sup>d</sup>, to have a new parliament returned more favourable to his views.

He receives the papal nuncio (Francisco D'Adda) in public, July 3; when the earl of Shrewsbury (Charles Talbot), Viscount Lumley (Richard Lumley<sup>e</sup>), Admiral Herbert<sup>f</sup>, and others resign their offices, and the whole conduct of affairs is openly committed to the earl of Sunderland and Father Petre.

The king makes a progress through the country (in the course of which he visits Oxford, in September), and sedulously courts the dissenters. Some present addresses, and express their concurrence in his measures<sup>g</sup>, but the majority, distrustful of his intentions, keep aloof.

A.D. 1688.

The king again issues his Declaration for liberty of conscience, April 25, which (May 4) he orders the clergy to read in their churches, May 20 and 27.

Archbishop Sancroft and six other bishops<sup>h</sup> present a respectful petition to the king, praying to be excused from this office, May 18. They are examined by the council and committed to the Tower, June 8.

A son is born to the king<sup>i</sup>, June 10.

The bishops are brought into court to plead, and are admitted to bail, June 15. They are tried for a libel, June 29 and 30, and are acquitted, which event is celebrated by vehement rejoicings.

The prince of Orange prepares for the invasion of England<sup>k</sup>. Louis XIV. warns the king, and offers him assistance, Sept.

The prince publishes a declaration to the people of England (Sept. 30) of his design to come to their assistance, for the purpose of securing their religious and civil rights, procuring the holding of a parliament, and investigating the birth of the young prince.

The king sends for the bishops and solicits their advice, Oct. 2. They recommend a legal course of government, the calling of a parliament, and his own return to the communion of the Church.

Riots occur in London, and several of the Romanist chapels are destroyed, Oct. 7.

The king, in alarm, endeavours to retrace his steps. He restores many displaced officers<sup>l</sup>; re-grants the charter to the city of London; dissolves the Ecclesiastical Commission (Oct. 8); reinstates the president and fel-

<sup>d</sup> The charters of most corporations had been either seized or surrendered within the last few years, and when re-granted, such alterations were made by a board of Regulators as promised to convert them into nomination boroughs for the crown.

<sup>e</sup> He had formerly rendered a great service to the king by capturing Monmouth.

<sup>f</sup> Arthur Herbert, son of Sir Edward Herbert, the attorney-general of Charles I., was an officer of distinguished merit, who had received severe wounds in the Dutch wars, and had lost an eye in combating the Barbary pirates. He acted for a while as governor of Tangier, and successfully defended it against a powerful army of Moors. When that fortress was dismantled he returned to England, and became a personal favourite of James II., but now refusing to countenance the king's illegal measures, he fell into disgrace, and eventually found it expedient to retire to Holland. In 1688 he commanded the van of the prince of Orange's fleet, and on the settlement of the new government was appointed first commissioner of the Admiralty, and made a peer, as earl of Torrington. He had an indecisive skirmish with the French in Bantry Bay in May, 1689, and in 1690 was defeated by them near Beachy Head. Torrington was accused of sacrificing the Dutch ships in this action, and though acquitted by a court-martial, was dismissed the service. He died in retirement, April 13, 1716.

<sup>g</sup> Among dissenters who enjoyed the royal favour was William Penn, the well-known quaker (see A.D. 1670.) He was employed in various negotiations, and seemed so entirely trusted, that he was openly accused of being a concealed Romanist, and on the king's fall he had much difficulty in clearing

himself from the imputation. The accusations against him have been revived of late years, but he has been vindicated from some specific charges by his recent biographer, Mr. Hepworth Dixon; still enough remains, apparently indisputable, to leave an unfavourable impression of his character. Penn gave as one reason for his questionable conduct, gratitude for favours bestowed by the duke of York on his father, Admiral Sir William Penn; but as he evinced so little filial piety as to prefer leaving that father's house to abandoning his fancy of refusing "hat-worship," (other points the veteran commander would have passed over, but on this his notions of discipline rendered him inflexible,) the plea may be safely dismissed as idle.

<sup>h</sup> They were William Lloyd, of St. Asaph; Thomas Ken, of Bath and Wells; Sir Jonathan Trelawney, of Bristol; John Lake, of Chichester; Francis Turner, of Ely; and Thomas White, of Peterborough.

<sup>i</sup> Afterwards styled by his partisans James III., but more generally known as the Chevalier de St. George, or the Old Pretender; his legitimacy was fiercely disputed at the time, and is by some writers still considered doubtful.

<sup>k</sup> He had been invited to do so by a paper signed by the earls of Danby, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, Bishop Compton, Henry Sydney, and Edward Russell. The great promoter of this was Russell, a cousin of Lord Russell, a naval officer who had, like Herbert, been a member of the household of the duke of York, but had withdrawn from the court ever since the fall of the Whig party.

<sup>l</sup> The bishop of London had been already reinstated, Sept. 30.

lows of Magdalen (Oct. 15), and removes Father Petre and the earl of Sunderland from the council<sup>m</sup>, Oct. 22 and 27.

After some delay from bad weather, the prince of Orange sails from Helvoetsluys, Oct. 19, intending to land in Yorkshire. A gale of wind obliges him to return, Oct. 21.

He sails again, Nov. 1. The wind detaining the king's fleet in the Thames<sup>n</sup>, the prince passes without hindrance down the Channel, and lands at Torbay, Nov. 5.

The prince marches to Exeter, Nov. 8, whence the bishop (Thomas Lampugh) flees to the king<sup>o</sup>; very few partisans at first join him<sup>p</sup>.

Fresh riots occur in London, Nov. 12, in consequence of which the Romanist chapels are closed.

The earls of Danby and Devonshire, Lords Delamere, Lovelace, and Lumley, and others, take up arms in various parts of the kingdom.

An association is formed among the officers of the king's army, and Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, deserts to the prince, Nov. 14.

The king declares his intention of calling a parliament, Nov. 16. He then repairs to Salisbury, to join the main body of his army; is there de-

serted by the duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and others (Nov. 22), and hastily returns to London, arriving Nov. 27.

Prince George of Denmark joins the prince, Nov. 24; as does his wife, the Princess Anne<sup>q</sup>, Nov. 26.

The king publishes a proclamation (Nov. 30), appointing a parliament to meet Jan. 15, promising pardon for all offences, and directing commissioners to proceed to the prince of Orange to bring about an accommodation.

The prince advances to Hungerford, where he makes an arrangement with the commissioners, Dec. 8, 9. Each army was to remain at forty miles' distance from London; all Romanists to be removed from office; and the Tower and Tilbury Fort placed in the hands of the Londoners.

The Protestants of Londonderry close their gates against Tyrconnel's forces, Dec. 7; those of Enniskillen do the same, Dec. 9.

The queen and her infant son escape from Whitehall<sup>r</sup>, Dec. 10, and retire to France.

The king endeavours to join them, leaving Whitehall for that purpose, in disguise, on the morning of Dec. 11, on which day his reign is held to terminate.

<sup>m</sup> Sunderland was succeeded as secretary by Sir Richard Graham, afterwards created Viscount Preston.

<sup>n</sup> It was commanded by George Legge, earl of Dartmouth, a man of honour and courage, but who had reason to apprehend that many of his captains were in league with Herbert, and who therefore could hardly have ventured to engage, had the weather allowed, which it did not. He was born in 1647, went to sea under Sir Edward Sprague, in the first Dutch war, and in the second war was more than once able to render signal service to the duke of York and Prince Rupert when pressed by the enemy. He was afterwards made a member of the duke's household, and was ever treated by him as a personal friend. He held the high offices of governor of Portsmouth and master-general of the ordnance, and in 1682 was created a peer. On the flight of James the earl took the oaths to William and Mary, conceiving that the maintenance of the liberties of England demanded it. Being a blunt seaman, he freely expressed his opinion as to the mismanagement of both fleets at, and after, the battle off Beachy Head, and this, added to his known affection for his old master, led to his committal to the Tower in July, 1691. No formal charge was exhibited against him, and it appears certain that he had not maintained any correspondence with King James after his withdrawal from England, yet he remained in confinement till his death, Oct. 21, 1691. He has been branded as

a traitor by Lord Macaulay, but his memory has been most satisfactorily cleared, by reference to authentic sources of information strangely overlooked by his assailant, in a "Vindication of George, first Lord Dartmouth," from the pen of Mr. Frederick Devon, of the Public Record Office.

<sup>o</sup> On his arrival he was translated to the archiepiscopal see of York, which had been vacant two years. He was born in Yorkshire, in 1618, was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, and when the parliamentarians gained possession of the city he retained his fellowship by taking the Covenant. On the Restoration he was admitted principal of St. Alban's Hall, became archdeacon of London and dean of Rochester. In 1676 he was appointed bishop of Exeter, and he was now made primate; yet he readily joined in the Revolution, and crowned William and Mary, in the absence of Archbishop Sancroft. He died May 5, 1691.

<sup>p</sup> He had been expected to land on the east coast; hence his friends in the west were not ready.

<sup>q</sup> She travelled under the protection of the bishop of London, who had once been a soldier, from London to Northampton, where a party was in arms for the prince.

<sup>r</sup> The king had before sent the infant prince to Portsmouth for embarkation, but the step was resisted by the admiral, the earl of Dartmouth, who wrote a manly letter to James, pointing out the evil effects of the measure.



## THE INTERREGNUM.

A.D. 1688.

The flight of King James was no sooner known than riots commenced in London; the Romanist chapels were destroyed, the obnoxious ministers were eagerly sought for\*, and the hated Jefferies being taken, was placed in the Tower, where he was soon joined by Obadiah Walker. A small body of the peers, with the marquis of Halifax at their head, associated with themselves the mayor and aldermen, got possession of the Tower, and sent a paper to the prince declaring their adhesion to him in his design to procure the calling of a free parliament; the citizens also begged him to march at once to London, and complete the work he had begun. Meantime the king had been seized at Faversham, Dec. 12, and news of this being brought to the peers, he was, on the motion of Lord Mulgrave, honourably escorted back to the capital, where he was received (Dec. 17), strangely enough, with every mark of satisfaction.

This did not suit the views of the prince's chief supporters. Halifax at once repaired to him at Henley, and urged him to come to London. He did so, having first sent a message which alarmed King James†, and induced him finally (though against the advice of his chief adherents‡) to quit the kingdom. William arrived at Whitehall Dec. 19, with 6,000 of his Dutch troops; a body of the peers (about seventy in number) repaired to him, and to these he added,

as representatives of the people, such members of former parliaments as were in London, the mayor, aldermen, and fifty citizens. This assembly at first inclined to offer him the crown, but King James had still friends among the peers, and the result of their deliberations was a request that the prince would call a Convention, to meet Jan. 22, 1689, and settle the affairs of the nation, and that he would in the mean time provide for the public security.

In Scotland the overthrow of the royal authority was more rapid. James had, on the apprehension of invasion, withdrawn the regiments which had kept the Covenanters in subjection, and the latter at once proclaimed the prince of Orange king‡, in Glasgow, and other places in the west, and gratified their innate hatred of the clergy by driving them from their homes with every circumstance of insult and cruelty§. They soon after repaired in tumultuary bands to Edinburgh, plundered and burnt the houses of parties obnoxious to them, and coerced the Council of State, so that its Romanist members and the bishops found it essential to their safety to withdraw. The remainder of the council entered into the popular views, and many leading men repaired to London, where, on Jan. 10, 1689, they addressed themselves to William, requesting him to summon a meeting of the Scottish estates for March 14, and to administer the government in the interim¶.

\* Sunderland and Petre escaped, as did the papal nuncio and Bishop Cartwright.

† The message was a command to withdraw from Whitehall, which had just been occupied by a party of the Dutch, under Count Solmes. James retired to Rochester, and thence to France.

‡ The most urgent in advising the bolder and wiser course of remaining was the noted Graham of Claverhouse, who had recently (Nov. 12, 1688) been created Viscount Dundee, and had just arrived in England with four Scottish regiments. He now offered to raise their number at once to 10,000 men, and with them to attack the Dutch, but James could not be induced to consent.

§ Some of the more vehement, though mortal enemies of James, refused to acknowledge William because he had not taken the Covenant; they are in contemporary pamphlets likened to the Fifth Monarchy men, whose cry was "No king but King Jesus."

¶ See Note, p. 493.

‡ The chief agents of William in these transactions were the Dalrymples, father and son, both men of eminent abilities, but faithless and cruel. Sir James was born in 1619, and served in the army in his youth, but he soon forsook the sword for the gown, and became a judge under Cromwell. At the Restoration he made his peace, was appointed to the privy council, and for ten years held the high post of president of the Court of Session. In 1682 he declared himself unwilling longer to sanction the strong measures taken against the Covenanters and retired to Holland, and by vehement professions of sorrow for the part he had acted, ingratiated himself with the exiles there. He forwarded the equipment of Argyle's expedition, but he would not embark himself in it. Meanwhile his son Sir John, also a lawyer, by professions of the most ardent loyalty, obtained a grant of the estates that his father had forfeited, and also received the

Ireland still remained in the obedience of King James, for his lieutenant, the earl of Tyrconnel, was at the head of a force which seemed to render any rising against him hopeless. The scattered Protestants of the south and west had been generally disarmed; in the north they were too compact a body to be thus dealt with. Tyrconnel, however, made a false step, by withdrawing the garrison from the walled town of Londonderry; when he attempted to re-occupy it, the gates were closed (Dec. 7), and the inhabitants, who were almost exclusively Protestant, resolved to stand on their defence. One rallying point was thus afforded to the opponents of James, and they soon found another at Enniskillen<sup>a</sup>, whither the Protestant fugitives from Connaught and Munster repaired. The attempts of James and his generals to reduce these towns signally failed<sup>b</sup>, but the contest was maintained in other quarters, and it required a sanguinary war of nearly three years' duration to bring Ireland under the rule of William and Mary.

The English Convention met on the day named, but there was not found in it the unanimity which its proposers had expected. The majority of the Commons was resolved to bestow the crown on William of Orange, but it was not until January 28 that they succeeded in passing the two fundamental votes,—1. "That the throne was vacant;" and 2, that "The rule of a Romish prince had been seen by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the Protestant religion." The peers agreed to the

second resolution unanimously, but very many of them opposed the first<sup>c</sup>, conceiving themselves bound in honour and conscience to maintain the rights of the prince to whom they had sworn allegiance, while they were ready to provide against his future misgovernment. Conferences followed between the two Houses, and, as a compromise, a regency was proposed; but the prince gave it to be understood that he would not accept the office of regent. He was in military possession of the capital, and nothing apparently remained but to offer him the crown, in order to prevent his seizing it by force<sup>d</sup>. Fresh conferences followed, and at last it was determined to tender the throne to William and his wife jointly; but, warned by the evils that the restoration of Charles II. without any security for a legal course of government had occasioned, a recapitulation of grievances endured from King James, and a formal enumeration and demand of the ancient rights and liberties of the nation, was made the condition of the offer, and the monarchy was thus established on a parliamentary basis.

The tender was accordingly made, in the name of the Convention, by the marquis of Halifax; it was accepted, and William and Mary became "king and queen of England, France, and Ireland," Feb. 13, 1689. The Scottish estates, which met a month later, also declared the throne vacant, voted Romanists incapable of royalty, abolished episcopacy, made a claim of rights, and bestowed the crown, on certain conditions, on William and Mary, who

office of advocate-general, which Sir George Mackenzie had been obliged to abandon. Sir James accompanied the prince to England, and Sir John at once came over to the same side. The father soon re-obtained his presidency, and was created Viscount Stair; he died Nov. 25, 1695. His wife (Margaret Ross) had such an evil reputation, that she was commonly known as the Witch of Endor, and a tragic incident in the history of her family, directly traceable to her pride and cruelty, forms the subject of Scott's novel, "The Bride of Lamermuir." The son, who was known as the Master of Stair, was made lord-justiciar and secretary of state, and he ordinarily bears the whole infamy of having contrived the atrocity known as the massacre of Glencoe. He was some years after deprived of office in consequence, but was not otherwise punished; indeed, in 1703 he was created an earl, and was an influential party in bringing about the Union; but he died suddenly, before that matter was fully arranged, Jan. 8, 1707.

<sup>a</sup> Londonderry stands at the head of Lough Foyle, in the extreme north-west of Ireland. Enniskillen occupies a small island between the upper

and the lower Lough Erne; it is about sixty miles south of Londonderry, and not more than half that distance from Sligo, where King James had a strong garrison.

<sup>b</sup> The defence of Londonderry, which was abandoned by its governor, Colonel Lundy, was mainly conducted by George Walker, an aged clergyman of the neighbouring town of Donoughmore. When the siege was raised he came to England, was received with high honour, and promised a bishopric. He accompanied William to Ireland, and, mixing imprudently in the fight, was killed at the battle of the Boyne.

<sup>c</sup> Foremost among these were the two uncles of Mary, the earls of Clarendon and Rochester (Henry and Lawrence Hyde), and the earl of Nottingham (Daniel Finch), who afterwards became William's secretary of state.

<sup>d</sup> The imprudent Burnet afterwards avowed this in a pastoral letter, speaking of William and Mary as "conquerors." The parliament affected great indignation, and ordered his letter to be burnt, but there can be no doubt that he merely uttered what many others thought.

were proclaimed sovereigns, April 11. They in person accepted the trust from commissioners deputed for the purpose, May 11, 1689, and took an

oath after the Scottish fashion to observe and keep every article of the compact.

## NOTE.

## "RABBLING THE MINISTERS."

SUCH is the term by which the treatment of the clergy, more especially in the west of Scotland, is known, the particulars of which have been in many instances narrated under the hands of the sufferers themselves in "The Case of the present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland truly stated," published in London in 1690. Several pamphlets were issued in reply, but as they oppose to the specific statements of the clergy only general denials and sweeping charges of ignorance and scandalous life, they are entitled to little attention, and may be safely classed along with White's "Century."

These barbarous proceedings were commenced in almost every parish on the night of Christmas-day, 1688. Where the rioters conducted themselves with least violence, they forbade the clergy any longer to officiate, tore their gowns, and burnt the service-books, and ordered them to quit their houses within a week or ten days. But it was seldom that they were so moderate. In general they were turned out at once, (Robert Finnie, of Cathcart, his wife and family, thought themselves happy to be allowed to remain in their own stable,) their goods plundered or destroyed, and themselves beaten, or wounded, or threatened with death. Some were dragged from their homes by mobs of furious women, and almost torn to pieces; Mr. Brown, of Kells, was dragged from his bed in the middle of a winter's night, carried to the market-cross at Newtown, and left there, tied to a cart; and Robert Bell, the minister of Kilmarnock, relates that he himself was seized by an armed party, carried by force to the market-cross, the Common Prayer-book burnt before him, and his gown cut from him with their swords; they also tried to extort a promise that he would not attempt to preach any more, but on his refusal at last contemptuously dismissed him as "an ignorant and malignant priest."

From "A just and true Account how sadly the regular Ministers within the presbytery of Ayr have been treated since Christmas last," we learn that—

"Upon Christmas-day about 90 armed men forced the minister of Cumnock out of his chamber into the church-yard, where they discharged him to preach any more there under the highest peril; they took upon them to command him to remove from his manse, or dwelling-house, and his glebe, and not to uplift his stipend thenceforth; after which they rent his gown in pieces over his head. They made a preface to their discourse to this purpose; that this they did not as statesmen, nor as churchmen, but by violence, and in a military way of reformation."

"In this manner, in the same place, and at the same time, used they the minister of Authinleck, who dwelleth in Cumnock."

"From Cumnock the aforesaid day they marched to Mauchline, and missing the minister, were rude beyond expression to his wife, and finding the English Liturgy burnt it as a superstitious and popish book: thereafter they went to the churchyard, where they publicly discharged the minister from his office and interest there."

"Upon the 27th of December the more considerable part of the foresaid number went to Gahston, where they apprehended the minister, and taking him out of his house into the churchyard, they rent his cloak, missing his gown, and thereafter forced him to wade up and down through the water of Irvine for a considerable time in a severe frost."

This account is verified by the signatures of Francis Fordyce, the minister of Cumnock, and two others, and it may serve as a fair example of the treatment of the clergy in Scotland at the commencement of the Revolution. After a time the government professed to take all the clergy under its protection who were willing to pray for the new rulers, but its authority in this matter was openly denied, and scarce a single one of them was allowed to retain his living. Episcopacy was formally abolished, the bishops' revenues sequestered<sup>1</sup> (Sept. 19, 1689), and eventually the Church was reduced, in the view of the Scottish law, to the condition of a nonconformist body, to which toleration was but grudgingly extended.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes .	1685	Louis XIV. . . . .	1686
The Turks defeated, and lose great part of Hungary . . . . .	1686	The Morea conquered by the Venetians; the Sultan deposed . . . . .	1687
League of Augsburg, to resist		Louis XIV. ravages the Palatinate	1688

<sup>1</sup> See p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> A curious act of the Scottish Parliament occurs, as late as July 12, 1695, which allows of military assistance being granted to "Archibald, late bishop

of the Isles," for recovering arrears of rents in his late diocese, such, it would seem, having been leased to John Graham of Douglastoun.



William and Mary, from their Great Seal.

## WILLIAM AND MARY.

WILLIAM of Orange was the nephew, and Mary his wife the daughter, of James II., to whose throne they were called by the vote of the Convention Parliament in 1689.

William, the son of Mary daughter of Charles I., was born at the Hague, Nov. 4, 1650, eight days after the death of his father, William II., stadtholder of the United Provinces. This office had been so long held by the Orange family that it seemed almost hereditary, but the republican party, headed by John de Witt, took the advantage offered by the death of William II., resumed the government, and even bound themselves by treaty with Cromwell not to allow the stadtholderate to be exercised by any person connected with the exiled English royal family. They adhered to this engagement for almost twenty years, but at length disastrous wars with both England and

France brought their country to the very verge of ruin. The unsuccessful republicans now became unpopular, and the partisans of the house of Orange successfully represented the re-establishment of the stadtholderate as the only means of safety. Accordingly the young prince, who was believed to possess vigour and ability, and was now in his 22nd year, was tumultuously placed in the office of Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland, (July, 1672,) <sup>a</sup> the other provinces soon after chose him as their head, and the expectations formed of him were, in part at least, promptly realized. He took his measures so well that the French were at once checked in their career of conquest, and in the following year they were entirely driven out of the country. They were, however, still dangerous foes, and William henceforth devoted every faculty of

<sup>a</sup> The De Witts (John and Cornelius) were at once thrown into prison, and they were soon after torn to pieces by the frantic Orange party.

body and mind to the task of reducing the overgrown power of Louis XIV. to dimensions compatible with the safety of his neighbours; a task in which he had little success, but the popularity procured by the attempt enabled him to secure a throne for himself.

In 1677 William married the princess Mary, daughter of the duke of York, and as she was the presumptive heir to the throne of England his weight in the affairs of Europe was thereby greatly increased. Though only the servant of a republic, his activity and zeal were such that he was the real head of the Augsburg league of emperors, popes, and kings<sup>b</sup>, and he managed his proceedings so prudently, that he was on friendly terms with the Roman Catholic powers, without in any manner forfeiting the character ascribed to the earlier princes of his House, of a strenuous champion of Protestantism. Hence, when the misgovernment of his father-in-law, James II., became unbearable, William was invited, by a small party of ardent Whigs, to assist in preserving the civil and religious liberties of the nation. He accordingly came to England with a fleet and army in November, 1688; James fled before him, and the royal power, thus abandoned, was by a Convention bestowed on the prince and princess of Orange, upon certain specified conditions, Feb. 13, 1689.

William thus became king of England without bloodshed; Scotland submitted almost as readily, and Ireland was reduced after a desperate struggle; but his concern in his new states ceased as soon as he found his establishment in them secure; henceforth they served merely as aids in his grand design of humbling France. He passed a large part of each year on the continent, sometimes crossing over so early that his life was endangered by the rigour of the weather<sup>c</sup>, and only returning to draw vast sums from the people to support his ambitious views, in which they were but remotely interested. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that William soon became unpopular, and some of the more unscrupulous of his opponents laid plans of assassination; but James acted as unwisely as ever, and by shewing that he was willing to owe his restoration to foreign troops rather than to any amendment in his conduct, he compelled England, from the most obvious principle of self-preservation, to retain William on the throne, though he was distrusted and disliked by the most influential men of all parties. The Whigs had made him king, but when it suited his purpose he employed the Tories<sup>d</sup>, giving no confidence, however, to either; on the contrary, he shewed that he thought some few foreigners whom he had brought over with him<sup>e</sup> his only trusty adherents.

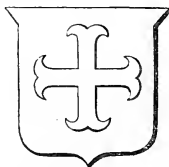
<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1686.

<sup>c</sup> His voyage from Gravesend to Holland, in January, 1691, was particularly perilous. After being tossed about for five days at sea, when his ship reached the Dutch coast it seemed impossible to land, owing to the ice and the fog. William, however, stepped into an open boat, and reached the shore, but only after eighteen hours' exposure, and at the imminent risk of being frozen to death. He afterwards made his voyages somewhat later in the year, but still so early that he was often detained some days at Margate, which he generally used as his port of embarkation, before he could put to sea.

<sup>d</sup> Thus the earl of Nottingham (Daniel Finch) became secretary of state, Danby president of the council, and Halifax lord privy seal; Godolphin was at the head of the treasury, and Rochester eventually received the viceroyship of Ireland.

<sup>e</sup> The principal man among them was William Bentinck, who had long been a favoured attendant on the prince, and possessed talent both as a negotiator and a soldier. He was created earl of Portland, and received many large grants, but one extravagant gift of great part of a Welsh county was likened to the grant of Cornwall to Gaveston by Edward II., and provoked so much discontent that William was obliged to revoke it. Portland

was impeached for his share in the Partition Treaties, but escaped punishment; like the rest of his countrymen he withdrew to Holland on the



Arms of Bentinck, earl of Portland.

death of William, and he has no further connexion with English history. He died in 1709, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who was in 1716 created duke of Portland.

Arnold Joost van Keppel, another page, was created earl of Albemarle in 1696; from his graceful and conciliatory manners he was far less unpopular than Bentinck, who imitated his master's

Almost the whole of William's reign was passed in war, in which he took an active, though by no means a successful, part. He gained the Battle of the Boyne, and he took the strong fortress of Namur, but he was defeated at Steenkirke and at Landen, while he possessed the crown of England, as he had years before been at Seneff and at Cassel. He, however, exhibited great skill in preventing his opponents from reaping any striking advantage from their victories, and in 1697 he was acknowledged as king by the proud Louis XIV.<sup>f</sup> William next engaged in negotiations, and effected Partition Treaties as to the future disposal of the Spanish monarchy<sup>g</sup>, which he feared would fall under the power of

France. Louis pretended to acquiesce in these arrangements, but managed to set them aside; and by owning the son of James II. as king, he brought on a fresh war, on which William was about to enter with his accustomed ardour, when he met with a fall from his horse, which caused his death, March 8, 1702. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, April 12.

William married, Nov. 4, 1677, Mary, who reigned jointly with him. She was born April 30, 1662, and died without issue, Dec. 28, 1694. She is ordinarily spoken of as eminently pious and virtuous, and her conduct towards her father, wanting as it was in filial duty, and even ordinary decency<sup>h</sup>, is sought to be excused by supposing that she

reserved and austere demeanour. Albemarle served with credit under Marlborough, particularly at the battle of Oudenarde; was employed in various negotiations by the States, and died in 1718.

William Henry Zulestein, the son of a natural son of the stadtholder Henry Frederic, was created earl of Rochford in 1695. He bore a less prominent part in public affairs than either Bentinck or Keppel, and died in 1708.

Another favourite was Henry Nassau d'Anverquerque, son of William's master of the robes, who was a natural son of the stadtholder Maurice. He gained much credit for gallantly succouring the English regiments when hardly pressed at Steenkirke, and was in 1698 created earl of Grantham. He long survived his fellow-favourites, dying in 1754.

The unpopularity of these courtiers extended also to some military men, under whom the English army was placed, and who monopolized its honours and advantages, to the prejudice of Marlborough and other brave and aspiring officers. The first of them was Frederic Armand de Schomberg, a soldier of fortune who had in turn served the States, the French, and the Portuguese, and had established the independence of the latter by the victory of Estremoz, in 1663. He returned to the French service, and was made a marshal of France in 1675, but being a Protestant, he was obliged to quit the country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He then entered the service of the elector of Brandenburg, and next accompanied William of Orange to England. He was sent to Ireland in 1689, and maintained his post there under many disadvantages, but was killed at the battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. He had received the title of duke of Schomberg, and his son Meinhard, also a military man, was created earl of Bangor and duke of Leinster; he died in 1719. A younger brother, Charles, who was the second duke of Schomberg, was killed at the battle of Marsaglia, in 1693.

Two other of William's military companions were ennobled. Godert de Ginkell was created earl of Athlone, on his capture of that strong post; he died in 1702. Henry de Massue, marquis of Ruvigny, a Protestant refugee, was created earl of Galway; he bore a considerable part in the Spanish war in the next reign, and died in 1719.

<sup>f</sup> Louis usually styled him only "my little cousin, the prince."

<sup>g</sup> Charles II. of Spain being in infirm health, and childless, several claimants of the succession arose. The emperor (Leopold I.) had a claim

as descended from Philip III., and also from Juana of Castile; the dauphin and the electoral prince of Bavaria were sons of the sisters of Charles. William succeeded in forming a treaty which gave the crown of Spain to the prince of Bavaria, Naples and Sicily to France, and the Milanese to the emperor; this scheme being frustrated by the death of the Bavarian prince, he then formed a second treaty, giving the chief inheritance to the archduke Charles, the son of Leopold. The king of Spain, naturally indignant at this partition of his dominions without his consent, broke all the measures of the confederates by bequeathing his states to Philip duke of Anjou, the grandson of Louis, and the latter deliberately repudiated his engagements, and accepted the gift.

<sup>h</sup> The duchess of Marlborough gives an account of her behaviour on coming to Whitehall, which many writers have chosen to consider as a mere effusion of spite; yet it is borne out in all essential particulars by the following passage from the Diary of Evelyn (Feb. 27, 1689): a man whose character for probity cannot be shaken:—

"It was believed that both, especially the princess, would have shewed some seeming reluctance at least, of assuming her father's crown, and made some apology, testifying her regret that he should by his mismanagement necessitate the nation to so extraordinary a proceeding, which would have shewed very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety; consonant also to her husband's first declaration, that there was no intention of deposing the king, but of succouring the nation; but nothing of all this appeared. She came into Whitehall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undress, as it was reputed, before her women were up, went about from room to room to see the convenience of Whitehall; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late queen lay, and within a night or two sat down to play at basset, as the queen her predecessor used to do. She smiled upon and talked to every body, so that no change seemed to have taken place at court since her last going away, save that infinite crowds of people came to see her, and that she went to our prayers. This carriage was censured by many. She seems to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart; whilst the prince her husband has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderful serious and silent, and seems to treat all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affairs; Holland, Ireland, and France calling for his care."

acted against her own inclination, in support of the ambitious views of her husband<sup>1</sup>.

Though William took little interest in the affairs of England for its own sake, his reign is a very important era. The great principle which had prevailed in Saxon times, that kings are the ministers, not the masters of the people<sup>2</sup>, was solemnly asserted; most of the matters for which the Long Parliament had taken up arms against Charles I. were conceded; and the advocates of the Revolution have boasted that a strictly legal course of government was then first introduced<sup>3</sup>, the press relieved from a censorship, and the real power of the State entrusted to ministers chosen by the people. But this picture has many heavy drawbacks. England was then also first involved in a web of continental politics, from which she has never since been able to get free, and in consequence of the enormous expenses of William's wars, the National Debt was introduced<sup>4</sup>. Privateering, so near akin to piracy, was sanctioned by parliament; and the like authority, after raising money by lotteries, improvident annuities, and other ruinous means, found them all insufficient, and resorted to the mode of burdening posterity known as the funding system<sup>5</sup>. Thousands of English soldiers perished from neglect and disease in Ireland, thousands more were lost in

the wanton battles and terrible defeats of Steenkirke and Landen; and the merchants suffered severely from the French navy, which certainly was not ruined by the battle of La Hogue, though by that victory an invasion of England was prevented. The rising trade of Scotland was checked by the unworthy jealousy of the English and Dutch, who in the matter of the African Company united to oppress a weaker neighbour; Ireland saw a renewal of the confiscations and iron rule of Cromwell, and the enactment of laws which pressed with extreme severity on the great body of the people; and even Wales found a cause of well-grounded indignation at the lavish bestowal of lordships and manors that had belonged to its last native prince<sup>6</sup> on a foreign favourite, William Bentinck.

William and Mary each employed



Arms of William and Mary.

the same arms and supporters as James II. had done, but William dis-

<sup>1</sup> Some at least of her contemporaries did not regard this as a valid defence. The nonjurors very generally looked on her early death as a judgment; and one divine, whose name has not been preserved, preached a sermon on the occasion, the tenor of which will be readily gathered from its text: "Go, see now this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a king's daughter," (2 Kings ix. 34).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> It is true that such a plan of government was professedly introduced, but it was never adhered to when inconvenient to the new rulers; nor could this be expected, as many of them had borne a part in the worst acts of Charles and James. The ministers and leading men on all sides (as the duke of Leeds—the Danby of former reigns—and Sir John Trevor, the Speaker of the House of Commons), took bribes, though it must be owned that such conduct was now openly censured; others received extravagant grants, particularly of the Irish forfeited estates; and the most enormous frauds were discovered by the investigation into the public accounts (see A.D. 1690). Nor was the administration of justice free from grievous blots: printing seditious works was punished as high treason; and every principle of law was violated by the parliamentary attainder of Sir John Fenwick, and the perpetual imprisonment of Bernardi and others, against whom nothing could be legally proved.

<sup>4</sup> The National Debt is sometimes ascribed to an earlier period, but this is incorrect; money had indeed been often borrowed by former kings, but it was not until after the Revolution that this was done without at least an avowed intention of repayment.

<sup>5</sup> The greatest evil of this system is the kind of legal sanction that it has given to stockjobbing, time bargains, and bubble companies, frauds which have done more damage to the moral and material prosperity of the country than all the feudal burdens and illegal exactions of earlier days, or the mere cost in money of all the wars since the Revolution.

<sup>6</sup> The revenues of these estates, valued at £6,000 a-year, had been hitherto applied to the support of the courts of justice, and these the people were unwilling to see closed for want of funds, the rent reserved to the crown being but 6s. 8d., or dependent on the caprice of a subject. Robert Price (afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer) spoke with much bitterness on the subject in the House of Commons, and was successful in procuring an address against the gift. "The grant," he said, "was of a large extent, being five parts in six of a whole county, which was too great a power for any foreign subject to have, and the people of the country were too great to be subject to any foreigner."

played his paternal arms of Nassau (Azure, semé of billets, a lion rampant, or) on an escutcheon surtout, as an elected king. During the life of Mary, their arms, with and without Nassau, appear impaled, to denote their joint sovereignty.

Like most other great characters in history, William has had extravagant panegyrist and vehement detractors. Without accepting all the views of either party, it must be confessed that he possessed great talents, dauntless courage, and a resolute will, to which most of his contemporaries were obliged to bend; it is also true that his energy and perseverance were astonishing, and such as enabled him to triumph over the most adverse circumstances. On the other hand, it must be allowed that his ambition was as boundless as that of the French king against whom he armed Europe; and he was clearly deficient in honourable principle, or he would not have sacrificed without scruple the French Protestants in return for the acknowledgement of his own title of king by Louis. His manners were cold and repulsive; he neglected his wife for vicious society; regarded his sister-in-law the Princess Anne and her friends with jealous dislike, and habitually shunned the society of his new subjects; but a more grievous charge is, that he unneces-

sarily fought battles, where the only probable result was a carnage that would have appalled any one not utterly careless of human life. It was probably this innate hard-heartedness that led him, on the plausible misrepresentation of the detestable Master of Stair, to sanction the massacre of Glencoe, an enormity which has left a stain on William's memory, that neither time nor the services that he was providentially the instrument of rendering to these kingdoms, can ever efface.

A.D. 1689.

William and Mary accept the Declaration of Right, and are thereupon received as sovereigns, Feb. 13<sup>th</sup>. They are crowned April 11, when Compton, bishop of London, officiates as the suffragan of Sancroft.

The Convention declared a parliament, Feb. 13. [1 Gul & Mar. c. 1]; it continues to sit till Aug. 20.

A new coronation oath devised [c. 6], and fresh oaths instead of those of allegiance and supremacy, [c. 8].

The great seal is placed in commission, March 4; the commissioners are Sir John Maynard<sup>a</sup>, Anthony Keck, and William Rawlinson. Several new judges are appointed, and the chief-justiceship bestowed on Sir John Holt<sup>b</sup>.

The oaths being tendered to San-

<sup>a</sup> His mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, was created countess of Orkney, and had a grant of 95,000 acres of land in Ireland, which had been the private estate of King James.

<sup>b</sup> In three of the battles alluded to (Seneff, Cassel, and Steenkirke), he attempted to surprise the French, though advantageously posted, with such inferior numbers, that he had no prospect of success, and consequently suffered terrible loss.

<sup>c</sup> The regnal years of William and Mary are computed from this day, but after the death of Mary the regnal years of William are dated from Dec. 28, 1694.

<sup>d</sup> Burnet, just appointed bishop of Salisbury, preached the coronation sermon, taking as his text 2 Sam. xxiii. 14.

<sup>e</sup> The oath formerly administered was framed, this statute says, "in doubtful words and expressions with relation to ancient laws and constitutions now unknown;" the new oath expressly binds the sovereign to rule according to the statutes agreed on in parliament; to cause law and justice to be executed in mercy; to maintain the "Protestant reformed religion established by law," and to preserve to the clergy all rights and privileges lawfully appertaining to them or to their churches.

<sup>f</sup> These new oaths were to be taken by every one before Aug. 1, 1689 (or sooner, if so directed by the privy council), under pain of suspension, and, after six months, deprivation, for ecclesiastical persons; fine, imprisonment, and ultimately the penalties of recusancy, for laymen; both being rendered incapable of any office or employment. The de-

claration against taking arms by the king's authority against his person or officers, (see p. 463.) was no longer to be required. Many persons took the oaths only in what was termed "a soft sense," by which they meant that they rendered obedience in return for protection, but expressed no opinion in favour of the legality of the new government. Others absolutely refused the oaths, and were hence termed Nonjurors. See Note, p. 505.

<sup>g</sup> He was born in Devonshire in 1602, was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, studied the law, and became a member of every parliament that met for half a century, as well as a lay assessor of the Assembly of Divines. He was a chief manager of the prosecutions against the earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, and near forty years after he acted a similar part against Lord Stafford. Though he had been actively employed in the high courts of justice under the Commonwealth, Maynard made his peace at the Restoration, was knighted, and offered a judgeship, but this he declined, finding his practice at the bar more profitable, and he accumulated a great fortune. In May, 1660, he resigned his commissionership, and died Oct. 9, in the same year, in the 84th year of his age.

<sup>h</sup> He was born at Thame, in Oxfordshire, in 1642, and was educated at Oriel College. He became eminent at the bar, was appointed recorder of London, and sat in the Convention Parliament. His firm and upright conduct as chief-justice gave much satisfaction, and he was offered the chancellorship on the dismissal of Lord Somers, but declined to accept it. He died in 1709.



croft and the other prelates, are refused by him and by seven more<sup>w</sup>, March 5. The dissentients are soon after suspended from office<sup>x</sup>.

The Scottish regiments in England are ordered to embark for Holland, early in March. They resent this as a manifestly illegal order, and one regiment<sup>y</sup> commences its return to Scotland. They are pursued by Dutch horse and foot, and obliged to surrender<sup>z</sup>.

The first Mutiny Act is in consequence passed, [c. 5].

The sum of £600,000 voted to the Dutch for the expenses of William's expedition<sup>a</sup>.

"Papists and reputed papists" ordered to remove at least ten miles from London, on pain of being treated as "popish recusants convict<sup>b</sup>," [c. 9].

King James lands at Kinsale, with about 1,200 adherents, and a small

body of French troops, March 14. He enters Dublin, March 24, increases his force<sup>c</sup>, and forms the siege of Londonderry, April 20.

The remodelling of the army is entrusted to Lord Churchill. He is soon after created earl of Marlborough (April 9), and is sent with several English regiments to Flanders<sup>d</sup>.

The Scottish Convention meets, March 14. The bishop of Edinburgh (Alexander Rose) prays for King James, and the rest of the prelates declare their adhesion to him.

The duke of Gordon<sup>e</sup>, who holds Edinburgh Castle for James, is voted a traitor, March 14. Viscount Dundee zealously defends the royal cause, and is menaced with assassination<sup>f</sup>.

Troops from England arrive in Scotland, and form the siege of Edinburgh Castle, March 25.

<sup>w</sup> They were Thomas Ken, of Bath and Wells; John Lake, of Chichester; Francis Turner, of Ely; Robert Frampton, of Gloucester; William Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas White, of Peterborough; and William Thomas, of Worcester.

<sup>x</sup> They remained in possession of their palaces, but their revenues were withheld, and were paid into the privy purse of the king.

<sup>y</sup> Now the Royal Scots regiment of foot. Schomberg, a French Protestant refugee, had been appointed their colonel, which gave them offence, as in their former distinguished service under the great Gustavus, and since, they had always been commanded by a Scotsman. Their conduct has been unwarrantably styled treasonable, it being forgotten that it belonged solely to the parliament of Scotland to dispose of their services, and that that body had not yet assembled.

<sup>z</sup> They intrenched themselves in the fens of Lincolnshire, but being outnumbered four to one, this did not avail them. They were not merely disarmed, but, by William's special order (which still exists in the War Office), both officers and men were "tied together in such numbers as might be fit," brought thus to London and then shipped off to perish in the war on the Continent. This ignominious treatment of some of the best blood of Scotland was deeply resented there, even by partisans of the Revolution.

<sup>a</sup> This sum was hastily voted under the alarm produced by the march of the Scots; it was afterwards much censured.

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1581, 1593, 1606. The penalties of this act were not to apply to tradesmen settled in London who should give in their names before Aug. 1, 1689, to merchant strangers, or to the sworn servants of the queen dowager (Katharine of Braganza), or the servants of ambassadors.

<sup>c</sup> Among other expedients he set up a mint, in which brass money was coined, which was intended to pass for half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences. The weight of metal employed was 379,724 lbs., and the nominal value of the pieces little short of £1,500,000.

<sup>d</sup> He served at their head with such distinguished skill and gallantry as to earn the jealous dislike of the Prince of Waldeck, the German general under whom he was placed. In 1690 he was employed for a brief period in Ireland, where he captured Cork and Kinsale, and in 1691 he served in Flanders

under William himself. Early in the next year he was suddenly deprived of his employments, and soon after sent to the Tower, but he was speedily released, an Association in favour of King James which he was said to have signed being proved to be a forgery. It is certain that he held a correspondence with the exiled king, but so did almost every public man at the time, scarce one of them seeming to have any faith in the stability of William's government: Lord Macaulay, however, has chosen to depict the earl as pre-eminently



Arms of the earl of Marlborough.

guilty in this matter, an assertion entirely at variance with fact.

<sup>e</sup> George Gordon, the grandson of the marquis of Huntley beheaded in 1649, (see p. 443). He was born in 1651, had served in the armies of both Louis XIV. and William of Orange, and was created a duke in 1684. He went soon after the surrender of Edinburgh Castle to France, but being coldly received he returned to Great Britain, and lived quietly, though more than once imprisoned as a suspected person, until his death, in 1716. His family, however, kept up a correspondence with the Stuarts, and one of his sons (Lord Lewis Gordon, once a naval lieutenant) was an active supporter of Prince Charles Edward in 1745.

<sup>f</sup> He had recently arrived from England, accompanied by about 60 troopers of his own regiment. With these he soon retired northward, erected the standard of King James, was joined by many of the Highland clans, and in the summer totally defeated the forces sent against him; he, however, fell in the action, July 27, 1689.

The Nonsuch frigate captures two French ships of superior force, off Guernsey, March 25<sup>e</sup>.

Dundee, with a small body of adherents, retires to Stirling, where he summons a parliament. Troops are sent against him, under General Mackay, when he removes into Lochaber, and gains possession of the castle of Blair Athol.

The Scottish Convention expels the bishops and abolishes episcopacy<sup>b</sup>. A committee of government is formed, on whose report the throne is declared vacant, a Claim of Right drawn up, and William and Mary proclaimed, April 11.

Acts passed in England for the temporary imprisonment of suspected persons, [cc. 2 (April 17<sup>i</sup>), 7 (May 25), 19 (Oct. 23)].

The hearth-money tax repealed<sup>j</sup>, [c. 10].

The court of the Council of Wales abolished, [c. 27].

The English fleet, under Admiral Herbert, has an indecisive action with the French ships in Bantry Bay, May 1.

Sir Robert Wright and other judges are censured by the House of Lords for their conduct in the case of the earl of Devonshire<sup>k</sup>, May 6.

War is declared against France, May 7.

King James's parliament meets in Dublin, May 7. It repeals the Acts of Settlement and Explanation<sup>l</sup>, attaints the adherents of William, vests the estates of absentees in King James, asserts the legislative independence of Ireland, and passes an act for the encouragement of trade and navigation<sup>m</sup>.

King James issues a Declaration, dated May 8, calling on the people

to join him; circulating it is voted treason by the English parliament.

Sir John Fenwick sent to the Tower, May 13.

The Toleration Act [c. 18] passed, May 24.

This act, "for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws," is framed on the plea that "some ease to scrupulous consciences in the exercise of religion" may unite all Protestants in interest and affection. It accordingly exempts persons who take the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also make the declaration against popery required by the act of 1678<sup>n</sup>, from the penalties incurred by absenting themselves from church, and holding unlawful conventicles<sup>o</sup>; it also allows the quakers to substitute an affirmation for an oath in certain cases; but it does not relax the provisions of the Corporation and Test Acts<sup>p</sup>, and those who deny the doctrine of the Trinity are excluded from its benefits. It exacts a declaration of approbation of the Thirty-nine Articles (with the exception of some clauses) from all preachers, and provides that all assemblies for religious worship shall be held with open doors.

Ecclesiastical presentations taken from Romanists, and vested in the Universities, [c. 26].

An act passed for the relief of the Protestant clergy, expelled from Ireland [c. 30], by which they were allowed to hold benefices in England until they could return to Ireland.

All trade and commerce with France prohibited<sup>q</sup>, [c. 34].

The earls of Peterborough (Henry Mordaunt), Salisbury (James Cecil), and Castlemaine (Roger Palmer), Sir

<sup>g</sup> The captain and the master of the Nonsuch were killed early in the action, but the boatswain (Robert Simcock) took the command, and captured his opponents. This battle sprung from a casual misunderstanding, England and France being still nominally at peace.

<sup>h</sup> See Appendix, No. VI.

<sup>i</sup> These acts are said to be passed "for the securing the peace of the kingdom in this time of imminent danger against the attempts and traitorous conspiracies of evil-disposed persons." Parties committed by the Privy Council on suspicion of high treason or treasonable practices were not to be admitted to bail, but no member of parliament was to be thus dealt with without the consent of the House to which he belonged.

<sup>j</sup> "To gratify the people," says Evelyn, "the hearth-tax was remitted for ever; but what was intended to supply it, besides present great taxes on land, is not named."

<sup>k</sup> See p. 488.

<sup>l</sup> See p. 467.

<sup>m</sup> These acts were afterwards declared null and void by the English parliament, and therefore they do not appear in the Irish Statute-book.

<sup>n</sup> 30 Car. II. stat. 2, c. 1.

<sup>o</sup> See A.D. 1593.

<sup>p</sup> See A.D. 1661, 1673.

<sup>q</sup> By an act of the following year [2 Gul. & Mar. sess. 2, c. 9], French brandy was prohibited to be used, and encouragement was offered to the distillation of brandy and other spirits from corn.

Edward Hales and Obadiah Walker, sent to the Tower<sup>r</sup>, May 30.

Titus Oates is pardoned, and has a pension of £300 a-year granted to him, June 6.

Dundee maintains himself and his followers in Lochaber. In July he receives a small reinforcement from Ireland, when he attacks General Mackay in the pass of Killiecrankie (near Blair Athol), and totally defeats him<sup>s</sup>, July 27. Dundee, however, is mortally wounded in the action<sup>t</sup>, his followers disperse, and the Highland clans (with some exceptions) lay down their arms.

Colonel Kirk raises the siege of Londonderry<sup>r</sup>, July 30. The Enniskilleners defeat the Irish at Newtown Butler, on the same day.

Marshal Schomberg is sent to Ireland. He reduces Carrickfergus, in August, but his troops being ill supplied, through the dishonesty of the commissaries<sup>s</sup>, suffer great losses from sickness and privation.

The parliament reassembles, Oct. 25. Its chief business was to pass an act [1 Gul. & Mar. sess. 2, c. 2], "declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown."

This celebrated statute is in effect the same as the Declaration of Rights which accompanied the tender of the throne to William of Orange and Mary his wife<sup>r</sup>. It condemns as illegal, the

making or dispensing with laws, the levying of money, or the keeping up a standing army in time of peace, without the authority of parliament; excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel or unusual punishments; also the erection of the Ecclesiastical Commission, or any similar court. It declares grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, void; claims the right of keeping arms for Protestants; free election to, and freedom of speech in, parliament; the due impanelment and return of jurors; and frequent parliaments, "for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws." The Lords and Commons "claim demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example." The act then settles the crown on William and Mary, with remainder to the heirs of the latter, in default of which to the Princess Anne and her heirs, and in case of their failure to the heirs of William by any subsequent marriage.

The proceedings of King James's Irish parliament are declared void, [c. 9].

The earl of Peterborough, Sir Ed-

<sup>r</sup> Walker had been sent to the Tower late in the preceding year, but released on bail. Why he and the others were now imprisoned does not appear; it was probably on some groundless suspicion, as they were set at liberty soon after, but were again arrested before the end of the year. With the exception of Castlemaine and Hales, they were all recent converts to Romanism.

<sup>s</sup> The regular troops were seized with a panic, and fled disgracefully before the Highlanders, as they afterwards did at Sheriffmuir and at Prestonpans; one regiment alone (Hastings', now the 13th Foot) retired in good order.

<sup>t</sup> Dundee was shot through his buff-coat as he raised his arm and cheered on his men to victory. The hopes of the Jacobites fell with him. As before remarked, he is represented in the most odious colours by many Scottish writers, but to their invectives may be opposed the glowing panegyric of Pitcairne, thus rendered from the Latin by Dryden:—

"Oh! last and best of Scots, who didst maintain  
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign,  
New people fill the land now thou art gone,  
New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.  
Scotland and thou did in each other live,  
Thou wouldst not her, nor could she thee survive.  
Farewell, thou living, did support the state,  
And couldst not fall, but by thy country's fate."

Dundee had married Jean Cochrane, the granddaughter of the first earl of Dundonald, and left an infant son, who died shortly after. David Graham (see p. 477), who was with his brother at Killiecrankie, succeeded to the title, was outlawed, retired to France, and died there in 1700; his nephew and his grand-nephew were concerned in the risings of 1715 and 1745, and the latter died, in 1759, a captain in a Scottish regiment in the service of France. Another Scottish noble who fought at Killiecrankie was the earl of Dunfermline (James Seton); he escaped to France, and died there, outlawed, in 1694.

<sup>u</sup> The inhabitants were suffering the extremity of famine, when a boom which had been thrown across the river by the besiegers was broken, and two merchant-ships laden with provisions, escorted by a man-of-war, made their way to the quay. The Irish army retreated in the night of July 31, after losing, as has been estimated, 8,000 men before the walls; the garrison lost about half as many. Colonel Kirk had lain in the bay for six weeks, and was much censured for not having attempted the relief of the town before.

<sup>x</sup> The chief man was one Henry Shales, who had been commissary-general to King James, and he was suspected of an intention to ruin the army, as well as enrich himself. The House of Commons presented an address against him, and he was dismissed.

<sup>y</sup> See pp. 492, 493.

ward Hales, and Obadiah Walker, are committed to the Tower Oct. 26, and the earl of Salisbury Oct. 28, as Romish recusants.

The earl of Castlemaine is also committed as guilty of treason for endeavouring to reconcile the kingdom to the Church of Rome<sup>a</sup>, Oct. 28.

A commission is issued to Lampugh, archbishop of York, nine bishops, and twenty other divines, directing them to review the Liturgy, Nov. 30. These commissioners had several meetings, and agreed on a number of alterations (inclining to the views of the Puritan objectors of the time of Elizabeth) in the various services; but their recommendations were rejected by the Convocation<sup>a</sup>.

The East India Company begin to aim at military power in India; they build Fort St. David, near Madras<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1690.

The Whigs propose in the House of Commons vindictive clauses in a bill for restoring the charters seized or surrendered in the late reigns. They are defeated on a division, Jan. 10; but carry an instruction to the committee to make a list of persons to be excepted from a proposed Bill of Indemnity, Jan. 21.

The parliament is prorogued, Jan. 27, and is soon after dissolved.

A new parliament is chosen, in

which the Tories greatly outnumber the Whigs.

The duke of Lauzun arrives in Ireland with a body of French troops to assist King James.

The parliament meets March 20, and sits till May 23. Sir John Trevor is chosen Speaker.

William and Mary again acknowledged as king and queen, and the legality of the late parliament affirmed, [2 Gul. and Mar. c. 1].

A grant of £20,000 a-year is settled by the parliament on the Princess Anne<sup>c</sup>, [c. 3].

The king appointed to have the sole administration of the government while in England, but the queen to rule in his absence, [c. 6].

The *quo warranto* proceedings against the city of London<sup>d</sup> made void, [c. 8].

The Whigs successively introduce two bills to punish severely all who may decline to abjure King James<sup>e</sup>. They are defeated, and at length (May 20) an Act of Pardon and Indemnity<sup>f</sup> is passed, [c. 10].

The great seal is committed to a fresh body of commissioners, Sir John Trevor<sup>g</sup>, Sir William Rawlinson, and Sir George Hutchins, May 15.

William leaves London for Ireland, June 4. He lands at Carrickfergus, June 14, and advances southward, reaching Dundalk June 27. King James marches from Dublin, June 16,

<sup>a</sup> In May, 1690, they were all set at liberty, apparently in virtue of the general pardon then issued, though Castlemaine, Hales, and Walker were by name excepted from it.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn's remark on this deserves to be quoted: "This is thought to have been driven on by the Presbyterians, our new governors. God in mercy send us help, and direct the counsels to His glory, and good of His Church!" Dr. Tillotson, who was favourable to the comprehension of the dissenters, was proposed as prolocutor of the Convocation, but they chose instead Dr. Jane, the author of the Oxford Decree of 1683, a man who had ever steadily adhered to the Church, and he was now a chief instrument in the rejection of the intended alterations.

<sup>c</sup> They had purchased the village of Madraspatnam as early as in 1643, but had not ventured to fortify it, lest they should give umbrage to the natives. The bolder course which they now took was at the counsel of Sir Josiah Child, who had long been the governor of the company. A rival association was formed about this time, and to prevent obtaining a legal establishment vast sums were expended in bribes to courtiers and others by Child and his associates. See A.D. 1695.

<sup>d</sup> This was in addition to a sum of £30,000 yearly, bestowed on her at her marriage.

<sup>e</sup> See A.D. 1683.

<sup>f</sup> The first bill proposed that all office-holders

(including the clergy) should be obliged to abjure King James, on pain of deprivation, and, still more harshly, that any magistrate might at his discretion tender the oath to any person not holding office, who by declining it should become liable to perpetual imprisonment; the second measure substituted double taxes and loss of the electoral franchise. Such vindictive legislation shews how truly illiberal the great adherents of the Revolution were. William, though of a harsh nature, was too much of a statesman to lend himself to proceedings which would probably have brought about a new revolution, and he deserves the credit of procuring the passing instead of a bill of Indemnity, clogged with no unreasonable number of exceptions.

<sup>g</sup> Beside the few still surviving regicides, thirty-one persons were excepted by name from its benefit. Among them were the marquis of Powis; the earls of Castlemaine, Huntingdon, Melfort, and Sunderland; the bishops of Durham and St. David's; Lord Dover and the late Jefferies; Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Edward Hales, Edward Petre, and Obadiah Walker. Several of these were in France, and those who were in England were given to understand that they would not be molested if they remained quiet.

<sup>h</sup> He was deprived of the Speakership and expelled the House for bribery, in 1695, but was allowed to retain his judicial office of Master of the Rolls until his death, which occurred in 1717.

and encamps on the river Boyne, above Drogheda.

The English and Dutch fleets are defeated off Beachy Head by the French, June 30, and obliged to seek shelter in the Thames.

The French fleet has the command of the Channel<sup>b</sup>. A landing is effected in Sussex, and Teignmouth is afterwards burnt, July 23. A host of volunteers marches towards the coast, and the French soon withdraw without fighting, but the allied fleet does not return to the Downs till Oct. 8.

The earl of Clarendon and Sir John Fenwick released from the Tower, Aug. 15.

King James's army is defeated at the Boyne<sup>c</sup>, July 1. He flees to Dublin, and shortly after embarks at Waterford for France.

William enters Dublin, July 6, and then marches to the south of Ireland, while James's partisans retire towards the west.

William captures Waterford, July 25, and besieges Limerick from Aug. 8 to Aug. 30, when he is obliged to raise

the siege. He returns to England, Sept. 6.

The earl of Marlborough takes the command in Ireland. He captures Cork<sup>k</sup>, Sept. 28, and Kinsale, Oct. 5, and then returns to England<sup>l</sup>.

Tyrconnel, King James's lieutenant, retires to France, leaving his civil authority to a council, and his military power to the duke of Berwick<sup>m</sup>, but the real head of the Irish is now Sarsfield<sup>n</sup>.

The parliament reassembles Oct. 2, and sits till Jan. 5, 1691.

Commissioners appointed to audit and control the public accounts<sup>o</sup>, [2 Gul. & Mar. sess. 2, c. 11].

The earl of Torrington is tried by a court-martial for his behaviour in the action off Beachy Head<sup>p</sup>. He is acquitted, Dec. 10, but William dismisses him from the service.

A.D. 1691.

William goes to Holland, Jan. 16, to attend a congress at the Hague, to concert measures against France<sup>q</sup>. He returns to England, April 13.

<sup>b</sup> One Godfrey Cross, an innkeeper of Lydd, was afterwards executed for holding intercourse with them.

<sup>c</sup> His army was about 30,000 strong, of which 10,000 were French foot and Irish horse, who bore the brunt of the action; the rest were ill-armed and ill-disciplined Irish foot, who fled almost without a blow. William had 36,000, of whom one half were English or Scotch (including a strong body of the defenders of Londonderry and Enniskillen); the rest were a horde of mercenaries, consisting of French Huguenots, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburgers, and even Finlanders. James lost 1,500 men, and William but 500; among them were Schomberg, and Walker, who had just been named a bishop.

<sup>d</sup> The duke of Grafton (Henry Fitzroy, a natural son of Charles II.) was mortally wounded in the assault, and died Oct. 9. He had been brought up to the sea, but was also colonel of a regiment of the foot-guards, with which he secured Tilbury Fort for William; he served with distinguished gallantry at the battle of Beachy Head, and had accompanied Marlborough to Ireland as a volunteer.

<sup>e</sup> His campaign lasted only about a month. The command in Ireland was then given to Ginkell, who maintained through the winter a desultory war with the dispersed parties of the Irish.

<sup>f</sup> The natural son of King James.

<sup>g</sup> Patrick Sarsfield was the son of a gentleman of the English pale who was so fortunate as to regain his estates, which had been seized by the parliamentarians. Sarsfield had served with high reputation abroad. He fought gallantly at the battle of the Boyne, and by an adroit surprise of William's artillery compelled him to abandon the siege of Limerick. When that city afterwards surrendered to Ginkell, Sarsfield (who had by James been created earl of Lucan) repaired to France, and was killed at the battle of Landen, in 1693. His widow (a granddaughter of the marquis of Clanricarde who defended Galway against the parliament,—see

p. 448) afterwards married James Fitz-James, duke of Berwick.

<sup>h</sup> The persons named in the act are Sir Robert Rich, Sir Thomas Clarges, Paul Foley, Colonel Robert Austen, Sir Matthew Andrews, Sir Benjamin Newland, Sir Samuel Barnardiston (see p. 480), Sir Peter Colleton, and Robert Harley. Any five of them were empowered to make a searching examination as to the "many great revenues, sums of money and provisions" which had been raised or granted since Nov. 5, 1688, for carrying on the war; they were to inquire on oath as to any pensions payable to members of parliament out of the revenue, and to take an account of the crown lands and other branches of the revenue, of prizes made during the war, and of public stores of every description. They were to have £500 each for their labour, and their commission was to last but one year. The commissioners discovered many most scandalous frauds and embezzlements, and it was found necessary to reappoint them the next year, [4 Gul. & Mar. c. 11]. Special commissioners were thus appointed year by year until 1785, when a permanent Board of Public Accounts was established by Mr. Pitt.

<sup>i</sup> He was accused of having, "through treachery or cowardice, misbehaved in his office, drawn dishonour on the British nation, and sacrificed our good allies, the Dutch." He defended himself with spirit; shewed that he had been obliged, by positive orders issued without due consideration by the ministry, to fight a greatly superior force (the French had 82 ships against his 56), and that the Dutch had been destroyed by their own rashness. He concluded by saying that his conduct had saved the English fleet, and that he hoped an English court-martial would not sacrifice him to Dutch resentments. His reasons appeared conclusive, and his acquittal gave general satisfaction to the nation, though it was very distasteful to William and his foreign councillors.

<sup>j</sup> It was agreed that an army of 222,000 men

Viscount Preston (Richard Graham<sup>1</sup>) and Mr. Ashton are convicted of treasonable correspondence with France. Mr. Ashton is executed, Jan. 28, but the viscount is eventually pardoned<sup>2</sup>.

A bill for giving counsel to persons accused of treason is passed by the Commons, but in consequence of a quarrel with the Peers it is abandoned<sup>3</sup>.

The archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, and Peterborough, still refusing to take the oaths to the new government, steps are taken to fill their sees.

Tyrconnel returns to Ireland in the spring, but dies shortly after, at Limerick. He is soon followed by St. Ruth, a French officer, who undertakes to reorganize the Irish forces.

John Tillotson<sup>4</sup>, dean of St. Paul's, is nominated to the see of Canterbury, April 22, and consecrated May 31. The other sees are filled up shortly after<sup>5</sup>.

The nonjuring clergy are accused of

correspondence with France, and of having invited the recent attempt at invasion. The primate and the five bishops solemnly deny the charge<sup>7</sup>.

William again goes to the Continent in May, attended by Marlborough. He returns Oct. 19, after a campaign of little importance.

General Ginkell effects the reduction of Ireland. He takes Baltimore, June 8, and captures Athlone, after a short siege, June 30; defeats and kills St. Ruth, the French general, at Aghrim, July 12, and captures Galway, July 21.

A truce concluded between the government and the Jacobite leaders in Scotland, June 30. It was to extend to October 1.

The earl of Dartmouth is committed to the Tower, July 31. He dies a prisoner, Oct. 21, without having been brought to trial<sup>8</sup>.

Military execution is threatened by proclamation, in August, against all the clans in the Highlands, unless

should be raised, by England, Holland, the Emperor and the German states, Spain, Savoy, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, to obtain redress from Louis for numerous acts of injustice offered by him to each; so many active enemies had his long course of ambition and perfidy called up.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly secretary of state in succession to Sunderland. See A.D. 1688.

<sup>2</sup> He was suspected of having saved himself by some important disclosures, for which he was severely censured by his party; he retired into the country, and died soon after.

<sup>3</sup> The Peers demanded that any one of their number accused of treason should be tried by the whole House, and not, as was often done, by a certain number named by the crown; the Commons refused to concur, alleging that the privileges of the peerage were too extensive already. This particularly alluded to a recent trial, where Lord Mohun, a profligate young man, though clearly guilty of a deliberate murder, had escaped punishment.

<sup>4</sup> He was born in 1630 at Sowerby, in Yorkshire, and was educated under puritanical instructors at Clare Hall, Cambridge, but he readily complied with the Act of Uniformity, and though still a young man, was soon after appointed preacher at Lincoln's Inn. In 1672 he obtained the deanery of Canterbury, but inclined to the Whig party, and attended Lord Russell on the scaffold. At the Revolution he obtained the confidential post of clerk of the closet, and he was now, against his own wish, as he asserted, raised to the primacy. He held that eminent office but a short time, dying Nov. 22, 1694. Tillotson was a popular preacher, but some of his contemporaries pointed out passages in his sermons in which he indicated rather than advanced opinions bearing a close resemblance to the impious speculations of Hobbes and other unbelievers.

<sup>5</sup> Simon Patrick, dean of Peterborough, and Edward Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, had been consecrated bishops of Chichester and Worcester, Oct. 13, 1689. Bishop Patrick was now translated to Ely, July 2, 1691; Edward Fowler, John Moore,

and Richard Cumberland were consecrated, July 5, as bishops of Gloucester, Norwich, and Peterborough; and Richard Kidder, as bishop of Bath and Wells, Aug. 30.

<sup>7</sup> The charge was made in a pamphlet entitled *A Modest Enquiry into the Causes of the present Disasters of England*, in which they were, under the name of "the Lambeth holy club," pointed out as fit objects for popular vengeance. The threatened prelates in reply published a paper, which concluded by saying that "as the Lord had taught them to return good for evil, the unknown author of the pamphlet having endeavoured to raise in the whole English nation such a fury as might end in De-Witting them—a bloody word, but too well understood—(see A.D. 1672), they recommended him to the Divine mercy, humbly beseeching God to forgive him. And as they had, not long since, either actually or in full preparation of mind, hazarded all they had in the world in opposing popery and arbitrary power in England, so they should, by God's grace, with greater zeal, again sacrifice all they had, and their very lives too, if God should be pleased to call them thereto, to prevent popery and the arbitrary power of France from coming upon them and prevailing over them, the persecution of their Protestant brethren there being fresh in their memories."

<sup>8</sup> He was charged with having disclosed the weak points of Portsmouth (where he had long been governor) to the French, but he was able to appeal to the members of the privy council as to whether he was likely to do this, having in the preceding reigns been conspicuous for his dislike to "the French faction," in which, as he said, "he had not a single friend, man or woman." His real offence, beside being grateful for benefits received from King James, seems to have been, that, as an experienced seaman, he had spoken slightly of the conduct of both the English and Dutch admirals at the battle of Beachy Head, and that an idea of again employing him had been entertained by William, which was distasteful to some of the members of the government.

they lay down their arms and take the oath of allegiance, on or before Dec. 31.

Ginkell besieges Limerick, Aug. 25. It surrenders on favourable articles, which are but partially observed<sup>a</sup>, Oct. 3.

The parliament meets Oct. 22, and sits till Feb. 24, 1692.

An act passed imposing new oaths for Ireland, [3 Gul. & Mar. c. 2]; and another against corresponding with enemies<sup>b</sup>, [c. 13].

## NOTE.

### THE NONJURORS.

THE primate Sancroft and seven other bishops having declined to take the new oaths imposed at the Revolution, were suspended from office; two of them died before any farther steps were taken against them, but the rest suffered deprivation. Such was also the case with the following dignified clergymen,—

Dennis Grenville, archdeacon and dean of Durham;

George Hicckes, dean of Worcester;

Robert Tutt, subdean of Salisbury;

Samuel Benson, archdeacon of Hereford;

Thomas Brown, archdeacon of Derby;

Samuel Crowbrough, archdeacon of Nottingham;

Thomas Turner, archdeacon of Essex;

Thomas Wagstaffe, chancellor of Lichfield;

beside many graduates in both Universities, and parochial incumbents, amounting altogether to at least 400. They had also a following of laymen, some of them persons of influence, as the "pious Robert Nelson," Mr. Cherry of Shottesbrooke, and Henry Dodwell, the Camden Professor; and hence a recognised body, termed Nonjurors, arose, not very numerous, it is true, but comprising men of eminent virtues and talents, who readily sacrificed all their prospects, by a conscientious adherence to what they felt to be their duty. They were not esteemed as they deserved by their exiled king, yet they remained

"True as the dial to the sun,  
Although it be not shined upon."

Some account has been already given of

Archbishop Sancroft<sup>c</sup>. Bishop Ken, born at Berkhamstead in 1635, and educated at New College, Oxford, was a celebrated preacher, and among other offices once held that of chaplain to Mary, when princess of Orange. He lived in retirement, greatly esteemed for his many virtues, declined an offer made by Queen Anne of restoration to his see, and died in 1711. Bishop Turner, also educated at New College, was a man of a more active turn than Ken, and being accused of intriguing against William and Mary, he was obliged to withdraw to France. Being, like other Protestants, treated unkindly by King James, he at length returned to England, and died in Hertfordshire, in 1700.

The other deprived prelates were allowed to remain undisturbed in the poverty which they had willingly embraced for conscience' sake; that is to say, they were not harassed by the law, but they were exposed to the bitterest attacks from party writers, some of whom spoke of them as "the seven stars of the churches, which had now turned dark lanterns;" and one, more virulent than the rest, pointed them out, under the style of "the Lambeth holy club," as fit objects of "De-Witting<sup>d</sup>." Bishop White died in 1698, Bishop Frampton in 1708, and Bishop Lloyd in 1710.

Bishop Ken declined to take any part in the consecration of any prospective successors to the deprived prelates, but this was not the view of his brethren, and accordingly Dean Hicckes and Dr. Wagstaffe were by them consecrated suffragan bishops of Thetford and Ipswich. In after years

<sup>a</sup> Such of the Irish as chose were allowed to retire to France, a permission of which thousands availed themselves, and thus was formed the celebrated Irish Brigade, which bore so conspicuous a part in the wars of Louis XIV. and XV. To those who remained was guaranteed an entire amnesty, permission to keep arms, and to exercise any liberal profession which they had already followed, and such religious liberty as they had enjoyed in the time of Charles II. The English parliament respected this agreement, as the Irish had performed their part, and by giving up all their strong posts had allowed a large body of troops to be sent

to reinforce the army in Flanders; but the Irish parliament maintained that Ginkell and the lords-justices had exceeded their powers, and in 1695 passed an act explaining the sense in which they would have the treaty understood, which was far less favourable than what the other party alleged to be its true meaning.

<sup>b</sup> By this act, going to France, or sending arms thither, was declared treason; and parties already there were forbidden to return without licence, on pain of imprisonment.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1677.

<sup>d</sup> See A.D. 1672.

Hickes, calling to his aid two Scottish non-juring prelates, gave the title of bishop to Jeremy Collier, which was also held by Gandy, Taylor and Bedford, who continued the priesthood, and the Nonjurors remained a distinct communion until the beginning of the present century.

Dean Hickes and Jeremy Collier were men of independent spirit, profound learning, and real piety, and they have left behind them many valuable works, those of Collier being principally controversial, while those of Hickes are chiefly in relation to the languages and antiquities of Northern Europe.

Two other nonjurors, eminent for their literary labours and their blameless lives, may be mentioned: John Kettlewell, the author of "Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross," and "The Duty of Allegiance settled upon its true grounds," in answer to the publications of Sherlock and other compliers; and Charles Leslie, son of the bishop of Clogher, who went to the court

of James Edward, and remained there many years in the vain hope of effecting his conversion. At length, in his 70th year, he wished to return to die in his native country, the government of George I. kindly refused to listen to a notice invidiously given, and Leslie reached Ireland unmolested, where he soon after breathed his last, April 13, 1722, esteemed as one of the most learned men of his age, but still better known for his exemplary piety, his innocent cheerfulness, his humble-mindedness and simplicity of heart.

Many writers of both their own and more modern times have depicted the Nonjurors in odious colours, and no doubt there were some among them who deserved this; but the great body, when calmly judged, must occupy a much higher place than the turbulent Burnet, the vacillating Sherlock, or the treacherous Churchill, Russell, and others, who drove away their old master, and yet were unfaithful to their new one.

A.D. 1692.

The earl of Marlborough is suddenly dismissed from all his employments, Jan. 10.

The Macdonalds of Glencoe are surprised, and many of them murdered in cold blood, by the positive order of William<sup>e</sup>, Feb. 13.

A poll-tax<sup>f</sup> is voted for "the vigorous carrying on the war against France," [c. 6]. The enlargement of the docks at Portsmouth is ordered, and those at Plymouth are commenced.

William goes to Holland, March 5. He returns Oct. 18.

One Robert Young forges an asso-

ciation in favour of King James in the name of the earl of Marlborough and others. They are in consequence apprehended, but are soon released<sup>g</sup>.

Louis XIV. prepares a large fleet to cover an invasion of England. It is attacked by the English and Dutch, near Cape La Hogue, and defeated<sup>h</sup>, May 19.

The parliament meets May 24.

An act passed for the encouragement of privateers, [4 Gul. & Mar. c. 25].

An expedition is fitted out against the coast of France, (July, August,) but it returns without having effected anything<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> See Note, p. 507.

<sup>f</sup> It amounted to £10 yearly for the highest, and to 4s. for the lowest; a similar tax was imposed in the next year, but in 1694 the plan of borrowing money for extraordinary expenses was substituted, and the National Debt was thus begun.

<sup>g</sup> Young was a man of infamous character, who professed to be in holy orders; he was eventually hanged for coining.

<sup>h</sup> Many of the French ships escaped through a dangerous channel called the Race of Alderney, to St. Malo, others found safety at Cherbourg; but sixteen large ships, and many transports, were destroyed on the beach at Cape La Hogue, on the 24th of May, by fireships, in sight of King James and his army.

<sup>i</sup> The intention was to reduce St. Malo, a noted port for privateers, which did great damage to the English and Dutch commerce, but it was found unassailable. This matter caused a quarrel between the earl of Nottingham (Daniel Finch), who was secretary of state, and virtually at the head of the Admiralty, and Admiral Russell, which eventually caused the latter to withdraw for a while from the

service. It was then suspected, and is now known to be true, that Russell was in secret correspondence with King James, still there seems no reason



Arms of Russell, earl of Orford.

for doubting that he had done his best to destroy the French fleet at La Hogue, and his removal was an unpopular measure, but William preferred it.



William, in attempting to raise the siege of Namur, is defeated at Steenkirke<sup>j</sup>, by Luxembourg, Aug. 3.

The duke of Savoy (Victor Amadeus II.) invades the south of France, in August. The French Protestants are invited to join him, on the strength of a declaration that the allies will procure the re-establishment of the Edict of Nantes<sup>k</sup>.

The Irish parliament meets, Oct. 5. It passes "an act for recognition of their majesties' undoubted right to the crown of Ireland," [4 Gul. & Mar. c. 1,] and another act to encourage the settlement of Protestant strangers<sup>l</sup>, [c. 2].

The parliament meets Nov. 4, and sits till March 14, 1693.

The merchants complain, by petition, of the ravages of the French privateers. This gives occasion for inquiry into the conduct of the war both by sea and land. The Commons take the part of Admiral Russell, while the Peers support the earl of Nottingham. The favour shewn by William to foreign officers is much commented on, but no alteration is made by him.

A bill for regulating trials by treason, by giving to the accused parties the benefit of a counsel and a copy of their indictment, is brought into the House of Commons, but is not at present carried<sup>m</sup>.

## NOTE.

### THE GLENCOE MASSACRE.

GLENCOE is a mountain-pass of Argyleshire, near the shore of Loch Leven, which was inhabited by a party of the Macdonalds, who, as lying detached from the great body of their clan, and envired by the Campbells, had received, whether justly or unjustly, the character of greater lawlessness than the rest of the Highlanders; it is certain that they were pretty constantly at war with the earls of Argyle and Breadalbane, the heads of the Campbells, and the influence of those two noblemen was, shortly after the Revolution, used without scruple for their destruction.

In 1690 a scheme was devised of bribing the Highlanders who had supported Dundee to lay down their arms, and the distribution of the money, amounting to £12,000, was entrusted to John Campbell, earl of

Breadalbane. The negotiations spread over much of the next year, and the earl succeeded with many of the clans, but apparently he did not wish to succeed with Mac Ian Macdonald, the chief of Glencoe; on the contrary, he claimed Macdonald's share of the subsidy as a compensation for injuries which he alleged he had sustained, drove him with insult from an assembly of the chiefs, and so alarmed him with threats of vengeance, that the old man could not venture to disarm. Meanwhile the Scottish government published a proclamation threatening military execution on all who did not lay down their arms and take an oath of submission before the end of the year; one by one the various clans came in, and Macdonald, finding himself alone, at length repaired on the 31st day of De-

parting with Nottingham. In 1694 Russell was again employed, and in 1697 he was created a peer (earl of Orford), but in 1701 he was, in common with Somers and others, censured for his conduct in regard to the Partition Treaties, his accounts as paymaster of the navy were disputed, and he was charged with conniving at the proceedings of Kidd, a notorious pirate. He was acquitted of these charges without investigation, as the Commons, through a dispute with the Peers, refused to bring forward their evidence; and he was first lord of the Admiralty in the reign of Anne, and also that of George I., but took no prominent part in public affairs. He died in 1727.

<sup>j</sup> Some newly raised English regiments were pushed forward against the French household troops, and being, through the jealousy of Count Solmes, under whose orders they were placed, not properly supported, they suffered terrible loss. General Mackay, who was defeated by Dundee at Killcrankie (see A.D. 1689), was among the slain. The conduct of Solmes, who was charged with saying to his Germans, "Let us see how the bull-

dogs can fight," was severely commented on when the parliament met, and the courtiers had much difficulty in preventing an address for his removal from the service being presented.

<sup>k</sup> See A.D. 1598, 1685. The Protestants knew the bigoted character of the duke too well to listen to his promises. Large numbers of them, however, fought in William's armies on the strength of a similar declaration, but he abandoned their cause without scruple at Ryswick, in order to procure the recognition of his kingly title by Louis XIV.

<sup>l</sup> Such persons, on making a declaration against transubstantiation, and condemning the invocation of saints and the sacrifice of the mass as superstitious and idolatrous, were to be allowed to exercise their trades in any corporation, to be taken as natural-born subjects, exempted for seven years from payment of excise, and allowed to worship according to the forms of any foreign reformed Church.

<sup>m</sup> It was abandoned by its promoters in consequence of a resolution carried, after much debate, in the House, that it should not come into operation during the continuance of the war.

cember, 1691, to Fort William, and offered his submission, but the governor (Col. Hill) not being a magistrate, could not accept it; he, however, gave the chief a letter to the sheriff at Inverary, and the latter administered the oath on the 6th of January, 1692, when Macdonald returned to his home, conceiving himself in safety.

His ruin, however, was at hand. Sir John Dalrymple, (known as the Master of Stair,) who was the secretary for Scotland in attendance on William, had strongly opposed the plan of bribing the Highlanders, alleging that lead and steel would be more effectual than silver and gold in reducing them, and had indeed, with a degree of wickedness which seems quite unaccountable, planned a wholesale massacre of the race". He was disappointed by their submission, which was at first supposed to be general, but he soon learned with joy that the Macdonalds had exceeded the prescribed time, and he resolved that they should suffer for all the rest. Whether or not he concealed the fact of their submission, he certainly obtained from William an order which can only be read with horror, and which the admirers of that prince vainly seek to palliate by supposing that he signed it without perusing it. It runs thus :—

"WILLIAM R.—As for Mac Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to extirpate that set of thieves.—W. R. o"

Dalrymple sent this order to Scotland to Sir Thomas Livingstone, the commander-in-chief, accompanied by directions which, if they had been fully carried out, would have ensured the destruction of every creature in the district of Glencoe. A body of the earl of Argyle's regiment<sup>a</sup> was to march from Fort William, and quarter themselves, apparently as friends, in the valley; two stronger parties were to follow at the interval of some days, and occupy every outlet; and, on a day fixed before-hand, every man under 70 was to be butchered in cold blood, the women and children being expected to perish from the severity of the

season. Lest there should be any repugnance to execute such orders, either from humanity or fear of the consequences, Dalrymple wrote :—

"I assure you your powers shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners." . . . "The winter is the only season in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their wives, bairns, and cattle to the mountains. It is the only time that they cannot escape you, for human constitutions cannot endure to be long out of house. . . This is the proper season to maul them in the cold long nights."

And he wound up his detestable letter with—

"Better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers, who are fallen in the mercy of the law."

To carry out Stair's directions, a body of 120 men marched into Glencoe, Feb. 1, 1692, under the command of a Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, who had a niece married to one of the sons of the old chief of the Macdonalds, and who thus readily persuaded them that he came with a friendly intent. He and his men were received with all the welcome that the Highlanders could give them, the officers passing much of their time in drinking and card-playing with the old chief, and the men scattered in parties over the valley. Campbell went to live with another Macdonald, but paid every day a visit to his niece and her husband, turning his journeys to account by attentively surveying the state of all the passes by which attempt at escape might be made. He duly communicated his observations to Lieut.-Col. Hamilton, who had the command of the whole party, and by him, 5 o'clock in the morning of Saturday, February 13, was at length appointed for the butchery.

In announcing the time to Major Duncanson, his second in command, Hamilton said, "The orders are that none be spared from 70, of the sword, nor the government troubled with prisoners;" and Duncanson accordingly wrote thus to Campbell—

"Balacholis, Feb. 12, 1692.

"SIR,—You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under 70. You are to have especial care

<sup>a</sup> Lord Macaulay, though a thorough-going admirer of the "men of the Revolution," can scarcely venture to defend him. He says, "To what cause are we to ascribe so strange an antipathy? This question perplexed the Master's contemporaries; and any answer which may now be offered ought to be offered with diffidence. The most probable conjecture is, that he was actuated by an inordinate, an unscrupulous, a remorseless zeal for what seemed to him to be the interest of the state. This explanation may startle those who have not considered how large a proportion of the blackest crimes recorded in history is to be ascribed to ill-regulated public spirit. We daily see men do for

their party, for their sect, for their country, for their favourite schemes of political and social reform, what they would not do to enrich or to avenge themselves." (Hist. England, vol. iv. p. 198.)

<sup>o</sup> It is very much against the supposition that William did not read this brief order, that it bears his signature both at the beginning and at the end; a fact to which Dalrymple pointedly called the attention of Sir Thomas Livingstone, when he forwarded the paper, saying, "I send you the king's instructions, *super* and *subscribed* by himself."

<sup>p</sup> The Campbells and the Macdonalds were hereditary enemies; hence the choice of the former as the executioners of the meditated butchery.

that the old fox and his sons do on no account escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at 5 o'clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party; if I do not come to you at 5, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the king's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without fear or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the king and government, nor a man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand,

"For their Majesties' service,  
"ROBERT DUNCANSON.  
"To Capt. Robert Campbell of Glenlyon."

At the appointed hour Campbell commenced the dreadful work by the murder of his host<sup>a</sup> and family, including a child of eight years old, who was butchered by a Captain Drummond. At the same hour his lieutenant, Lindsay, roused up the old chief and shot him; and a serjeant, named Barbour, also shot his host and seven others, while seated unsuspectingly round their hearth. Thus taken by surprise, resistance was impossible, and men, women, and children fled before the murderers; their chance of escape, however, would have been very small, had not Hamilton and Duncanson happily miscalculated the distance, and so arrived several hours too late to stop the passes. As it was, the chief, and at least sixty others, were thus butchered<sup>b</sup>, and fully as many more, principally women and children, perished of cold and hunger among the mountains; but the two sons of the chief, and 150 men beside, saved themselves by flight. When the fresh detachments arrived, at 9 in the morning, the cottages were all burnt, the cattle driven off, and the vale was then abandoned.

The news of this atrocity was carried to King James in France almost immediately, and in the course of the ensuing summer it was diffused over England by some of the perpetrators, who, when quartered near London, openly told the story of their crime<sup>c</sup>. The government, however, af-

fecting to disbelieve the tale, and it was not until after a lapse of three years (May 23, 1695,) that a commission to "inquire into the slaughter of Glencoe" was reluctantly granted, just in time to prevent the institution of an independent inquiry by the Scottish parliament. The commissioners reported a part of the result of their investigation, June 10, and in consequence Breadalbane was committed to custody on a charge of treason. On the 20th the report was announced to be finished, but the lord commissioner (the Marquis of Tweeddale) wished to withhold it on the plea of first presenting it to William, who was on the continent. The parliament, however, whose session was near its close, was not to be thus foiled, and, as the Roll states, "several members insisting" on its production, he laid the paper before the House on the 24th.

The report was examined by the House clause by clause, when the facts above stated were found fully established, and an address was voted to William, which, beside praying for compensation and future protection for the sufferers<sup>d</sup>, concluded thus:—

"This being the state of the whole matter as it lies before us, and which, together with the report transmitted to your Majesty by the commission (and which we saw verified), gives full light to it, we humbly beg that, considering that the Master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glencoe men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion, in a great measure, to so extraordinary an execution, by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of surprise, and considering the high station and trust he is in, and that he is absent, we do therefore beg that your Majesty will give such orders about him for the vindication of your government as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit.

"And likewise, considering that the actors have barbarously killed men under trust, we humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased to send the actors home<sup>e</sup>, and to give orders to your advocate to prosecute them according to law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your government of so foul and scandalous an aspersion as it has lien under upon this occasion."

William did not attend to any of these recommendations. All that he did was to allow the Master of Stair to retire from an

<sup>a</sup> Macdonald of Achatrichatan, although he had made submission, and had been formally received into protection some months before.

<sup>b</sup> An account published soon after says, "fifty men, six women, and nine children" were shot.

<sup>c</sup> A letter giving some particulars had been written from Edinburgh, on April 20, 1692, to a person in London, and, according to a reprint of that letter in 1695, the "gentleman to whom it was sent, [Charles Leslie, the nonjuror] did on Thursday, June 30, 1692, when the Lord Argyle's regiment was quartered at Brentford, go thither, and had this story of the massacre of Glencoe from the very men who were the actors in it: Glenlyon and Drummond [the murderer of the child] were both there. The Highlander who told him the story, expressing the guilt which was visible in Glenlyon, said, "Glencoe hangs about Glenlyon night and

day—you may see him in his face."

<sup>d</sup> This was in consequence of a petition, presented, July 8, by John Macdonald of Glencoe, "for himself, and in name of Alexander Macdonald, of Achatrichatan, and the poor remnant left of that family," which, among other things, stated that "the poor petitioners were most ravenously plundered of all that was necessary for the sustentation of their lives; and beside all their clothes, money, houses, and plenishing, all burned, destroyed, or taken away, the soldiers did drive no fewer than 500 horses, 1,400 or 1,500 cows, and many more sheep and goats."

<sup>e</sup> These were Lieut.-Col. Hamilton, Major Duncanson, Capt. Campbell of Glenlyon, Capt. Drummond, Lieut. Lindsay, Ensign Lundy, and Serjeant Barbour.

office which the public indignation rendered it impossible for him to hold. Breadalbane was set at liberty without trial; no proceedings were taken against Hamilton and the others; and the conclusion seems therefore unavoidable, that

Stair did not really go beyond William's intentions in planning the massacre of Glencoe, although the parliament of Scotland had the complaisance to lay the blame only on the minister.

A.D. 1693.

Sunderland is received at court, and advises William to give his confidence to the Whigs, as most favourable to his views of continental politics.\*

A Pastoral Letter by Bishop Burnet, in which he represented William and Mary as possessing the throne in right of conquest, is condemned by the Commons, and ordered to be burnt, Jan. 23.

Annuities are granted, at the rate of 10 per cent., to raise the sum of £1,000,000 for the expenses of the war, [4 Gul. & Mar. c. 3].

William refuses his assent to a bill for triennial parliaments, March 14.

The parliament meets March 20.

Sir John Somers† is appointed lord-keeper, March 23.

William goes to Holland, March 31; he returns Oct. 29.

The Scottish parliament meets, April 18. It imposes fines of £200, £600, or £1,200 Scots (£16. 13s. 4d., £50, £100), on absent representatives of burghs and counties, and peers, and orders fresh elections of the two former. It also passes an act requiring all Church ministers to take the oath of allegiance on pain of deprivation.

William Anderton, a printer, is executed as a traitor, for having printed "two malicious, scandalous and traitorous libels," June 16.

The English and Dutch merchant fleet, under the convoy of Sir George Rooke‡, is attacked by Tourville near Lagos, and suffers severe loss, June 17.

\* The Tories held that England should not interfere in the quarrels of the Continent, but should trust to her navy and her militia, and dispense with a standing army; the Whigs held it most prudent to maintain a large army, with which to help the Germans and the Dutch, and thus prevent the triumph of Louis, who, if successful against them, would, they maintained, next attempt the invasion of England.

† He was born at Worcester about 1651, his father, a lawyer, being then a parliamentary colonel. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, studied the law, became eminent as a pleader, and having been one of the counsel for the seven bishops, he was named a member of the Convention Parliament, and had an active part in drawing up the Declaration of Right. He was appointed solicitor-general, then attorney-general, next lord-keeper, and lord-chancellor and a peer (Lord Somers) in 1697. He was impeached for his share in the conclusion of the Partition Treaties, and though acquitted, the feeling of the House of Commons was so strong against him that he was removed from office. He again joined the ministry under Queen Anne, and exerted himself to forward the Union with Scotland. Lord Somers died April 26, 1716, leaving the character of a great constitutional lawyer and a generous patron of literature (the publication of Rymer's *Fœdera* was greatly promoted by him), but subject to grave imputations in his private life.

‡ They were entitled "Remarks on the present Confederacy and the late Revolution," and "A French Conquest neither desirable nor practicable," and in them William was accused of many monstrous enormities, but how this amounted to high treason is not easy to perceive; the judges, however, pronounced it so, and refused to allow the prisoner counsel on the point of law, acting thus like the Commonwealth judges to John Lilburne, and more harshly than even Jefferies himself; a convincing

proof that the praises often bestowed on the bench immediately after the Revolution are undeserved.

\* He was born in 1650, of a good Kentish family, entered the navy against the wish of his parents, and was captain of a man-of-war at the time of the Revolution. It was during the next fifteen years that he performed the exploits which have procured him the reputation of one of the first of English seamen. Rooke was employed to relieve Londonderry, in 1689, which he accomplished, and thus gave the first check to the army of King James, and in 1692, by burning a large number of the French fleet at La Hogue, he rendered the king's restoration impossible; for this service he was knighted. In the following year he shewed so much skill and courage in saving a large part of the Smyrna fleet from a vastly superior French force, that he was called to the Admiralty board, and he remained there for some years, although as a member of parliament he freely expressed his disapprobation of many of the measures of the government. In the year 1700 Rooke was sent as an armed mediator to the Baltic, when he established peace between Denmark and Sweden, and on the accession of Queen Anne he was appointed vice-admiral of England. He soon sailed with a powerful fleet, with which he attacked the French and Spanish fleet at Vigo, and gained an immense treasure. In 1704 he captured the strong fortress of Gibraltar, and shortly after falling in with the French fleet which had sailed for its relief, engaged it off Malaga, and chased it into Toulon; the French, however, suffered less in this action than in some others, and claimed the victory; a clamour was raised against Sir George, as if he had not done his utmost, and he was removed from his command. He retired contentedly into private life, and died Jan. 24, 1709, regretted as a brave and skilful sailor, a kind master, and an honest man.

William is defeated by Luxembourg at Landen<sup>b</sup>, July 19.

A new charter granted to the East India Company, Oct. 7.

The East India Company had been greatly favoured by King James, and its leading men were still considered as his partisans. Partly from this cause, but more from the enormous profits which it was known to derive from its trade<sup>c</sup>, a rival association sprang up about the time of the Revolution, and was encouraged by the parliament, which more than once applied to William to dissolve the old company. It was found, however, that this could not legally be done without giving a three years' notice, and in the meanwhile, Sir Josiah Child<sup>d</sup>, and his kinsman Sir Thomas Cooke, who succeeded him as governor of the company, distributed such vast bribes that they instead obtained a new charter; but they were eventually outbid by their rivals, who in 1698 were also incorporated. In 1702 an agreement for the union of the two bodies was come to, whence arose the well-known appellation of the great corporation, "the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

Commodore Benbow<sup>e</sup> bombards St. Malo, in November f.

The parliament meets, Nov. 7, and sits till April 25, 1694.

The Commons complain of the loss sustained at sea, and vote that the fleet has been "treacherously mismanaged." In consequence Admiral Russell is soon again called to the chief command, and Nottingham retires from office.

The Commons complain of the recent charter to the East India Company, and pass a vote affirming the right of all Englishmen to trade to any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament.

The bill for regulating trials for treason is again introduced by the Peers, but dropped before it can reach the Commons.

Bills for holding triennial parliaments and for naturalizing foreign Protestants are introduced in the Commons, but negatived.

A bill for excluding placemen from parliament is passed by both Houses, but William refuses his assent.

A.D. 1694.

Many schemes are devised to meet the extraordinary expenses of the war.

<sup>b</sup> This is by French writers often called the battle of Neerwinden. William was forced to abandon a strong camp which he had formed at that village, with a loss of 12,000 men. The hated Count Solmes (see A.D. 1692) and the gallant Sarsfield (see A.D. 1690) were both mortally wounded.

<sup>c</sup> Evelyn notes in his Diary (Dec. 18, 1683), "I sold my East India adventure of £250 principal for £750, after I had been in that company twenty-five years, being extraordinary advantageous, by the blessing of God."

<sup>d</sup> Unlike the majority of the rich London merchants, Child had supported the measures of the court during the two preceding reigns, and he had thus gained the royal patronage for the company, of which James II. became a member. "I went," says Evelyn, March 16, 1684, "to see Sir Josiah Child's prodigious cost in planting walnut-trees about his seat [at Wanstead], and making fishponds, many miles in circuit, in Epping forest, in a barren spot, as oftentimes these suddenly moneyed men seat themselves. He, from a merchant's apprentice, and management of the East India Company's stock, being arrived to an estate, 'tis said, of £200,000. He lately married his daughter to the eldest son of the Duke of Beaufort (late marquis of Worcester), with £50,000 portional present, and various expectations." Child lived several years after his retirement from the direction of the company, and died possessed of enormous wealth, in 1699.

<sup>e</sup> John Benbow was the son of a royalist colonel who fought beside Charles II. at Worcester, and at the Restoration obtained a small office in the Tower, where he was recognised by the king, who promised to provide better for him, but the old

man, overjoyed, died almost on the spot. Young Benbow entered the merchant service, and at length became the owner of a vessel, which he called the Benbow frigate, in which he traded to the Mediterranean, and on one occasion so gallantly beat off a Barbary corsair that James II. made him captain of a man-of-war. After the Revolution, at the request of the London merchants, to whom his former occupation had made him well known, he was chiefly employed in the Channel, where he protected the English commerce against the French privateers, and also conducted attacks on St. Malo, Calais, Dunkirk, and other of their strongholds. In 1699 he was despatched to the West Indies, but was soon recalled to blockade Dunkirk. In 1701 he was again sent to the West Indies, and he was there mortally wounded in action, almost unsupported, with a French fleet. Aug. 24, 1702, and died at Jamaica the 4th of November following.

<sup>f</sup> This was the second attack on the place, and the design was to utterly destroy it. The bombardment was carried on for four days (Nov. 16 to 20), on the last of which a new kind of fire-ship, styled an "infernal machine," was sent in. It had on board 100 barrels of powder and 340 cases of shot, beside a vast quantity of pitch and other combustibles. Though the vessel ran on a rock some distance from its intended place, when it exploded, it threw down the sea wall, unroofed most of the houses, and shattered every window for more than a league inland. "This manner of destructive war," Evelyn remarks, "was begun by the French, is exceedingly ruinous, especially falling on the poorer people, and does not seem to tend to make a more speedy end of the war, but rather to exasperate, and incite to revenge."

Beside the land-tax, which was reimposed at 4s. in the £. [5 & 6 Gul. & Mar. c. 1], and a poll-tax [c. 14], stampduties were revived<sup>g</sup> [c. 21], the hackney coaches of London were taxed [c. 22], and £1,000,000 was raised by a lottery [c. 7]; but as money was still wanting, £1,200,000 more was obtained by granting peculiar privileges to a body of merchants who undertook to furnish it<sup>h</sup>, [c. 20].

Complaints are made of corrupt means having been used to procure the charter to the East India Company. In consequence, a conditional indemnity is granted to Sir Thomas Cooke, the chairman, [5 & 6 Gul. & Mar. c. 15], but as he does not make the required disclosures, he, and Sir Bazill Firebrace, Charles Bates, and James Craggs, directors, are imprisoned, and disabled from alienating their estates, [c. 19].

William goes to Holland, May 6. He takes the field against Luxembourg, but no important event occurs, and he at length returns to England, Nov. 9.

A fleet of French merchantmen and their convoy destroyed in Conquet bay, May 10.

An unsuccessful attack is made on Brest, in June<sup>i</sup>.

Dieppe and Havre are bombarded, July 12, 16, 18.

Admiral Russell blockades the French fleet in the harbour of Toulon, and thus destroys their former superiority in the Mediterranean.

Colonel John Parker, imprisoned on a charge of plotting against the life of William, escapes from the Tower<sup>k</sup>, Aug. 11.

Dunkirk and Calais are bombarded, and assailed by infernal machines, but with little success<sup>l</sup>, September.

Several gentlemen are tried at Manchester on a charge of high treason, but are acquitted<sup>m</sup>, October.

The parliament meets Nov. 12, and sits till May 3, 1695. The Place Bill is negatived in the House of Commons, and that for the regulation of trials for treason, in the Lords; but the triennial Bill at length becomes law<sup>n</sup>, [6 & 7 Gul. & Mar. c. 2].

Duties granted on births, marriages and burials, [c. 6]. By the same act special taxes were laid on bachelors and widowers.

Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, dies, Nov. 22. He is succeeded by Thomas Tenison<sup>o</sup>, bishop of Lincoln.

Queen Mary dies, Dec. 28. She is buried at Westminster, March 5, 1695.

<sup>g</sup> They had been first imposed in 1671, by the statute 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 9, which had been suffered to expire.

<sup>h</sup> Thus originated the Bank of England, which also received a royal charter, July 27, 1694. The scheme was originated by William Paterson, a Scotchman of versatile talent, who had passed many years abroad, and who afterwards became conspicuous as the deviser of the Scottish African and Indian Company. The charter was originally for eleven years only, but it has been renewed several times since; the capital lent to the government has increased to £14,553,000, but the interest has been reduced from 8 per cent., its original amount, to 3 per cent., its present rate.

<sup>i</sup> The intended attack became known to the French, and Vauban was employed in strengthening the fortifications. The place was, in consequence, found unassailable by the ships, and General Talmash, who attempted to land with a body of troops in boats, lost near 1,200 of his men, and was himself mortally wounded.

<sup>k</sup> He had been committed May 22.

<sup>l</sup> These machines were the invention of a Dutch engineer, named Meesters. As their expense was enormous, their failure caused great dissatisfaction, and added to the dislike with which the Dutch were now generally regarded.

<sup>m</sup> An investigation into this matter took place in the House of Commons, and, although the case had broken down in open court, a party majority disregarded this, and passed a resolution affirming that "there had been a dangerous conspiracy," though legal evidence of it had not been produced. The

truth is now known to be, that a band of spies concocted the charge, and whilst pretending to seek evidence in support of it, plundered the houses of the prisoners of plate and other valuables. These wretches were in the pay of John Trenchard and Aaron Smith, the secretary of state and the solicitor of the treasury, themselves men of infamous character (Smith had stood in the pillory), whose employment brought much merited disgrace on William's government.

<sup>n</sup> It bears the title of "an Act for the frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments," and provided that the parliament then sitting should be brought to a close on or before 1st Nov. 1696, but the time was anticipated above a year.

<sup>o</sup> He was born in 1636, at Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, and was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He at first studied physic, but afterwards became vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, where he distinguished himself not only by writings against Romanism, which are still highly esteemed, but by his exemplary piety and benevolence. In 1689 he was made archdeacon of London, and early in 1692 he was consecrated bishop of Lincoln. He died Dec. 14, 1715. His care in procuring an additional place of worship for his parishioners of St. Martin has been already mentioned (see A.D. 1687), and for their benefit he founded a valuable library, which was sold by virtue of an Act of Parliament in 1861, and the proceeds ordered to be applied to middle-class educational purposes. Evelyn says of him, "I never knew a man of a more universal and generous spirit, with so much modesty, prudence, and piety."



William III., from his Great Seal.

## WILLIAM III.

A.D. 1694.

WILLIAM, in accordance with the provision of the Declaration of Rights<sup>a</sup>, retains possession of the throne, De-



Arms of William III.

cember 28<sup>b</sup>. Some desperate Jacobites almost immediately begin to plot against his life.

A.D. 1695.

The Commons inquire into the conduct of Tracy Pauncefort and other

agents and contractors for the army. Pauncefort is committed to the Tower, Feb. 12, and Colonel Hastings, their associate, is cashiered.

James Craggs, a clothing contractor<sup>c</sup>, refusing to be examined on oath, or to produce his books, is committed to Newgate, March 7.

The Speaker, Sir John Trevor, confesses to having received a bribe from the city of London, to forward a bill relating to their orphan funds; he is expelled the House, March 18. Paul Foley, a noted Whig, succeeds him.

The committee of inquiry into the conduct of the East India Company report that Sir Thomas Cooke and Francis Tyssen (the governor and deputy governor) have expended £87,402 in bribes for the renewal of the charter.

The Commons take steps to impeach Cooke, when the duke of Leeds<sup>d</sup> defends him. The Commons then

<sup>a</sup> See A.D. 1689.

<sup>b</sup> The seventh and each subsequent year of his reign is reckoned to commence from this day.

<sup>c</sup> The East India director already mentioned.

<sup>d</sup> Thomas Osborne, formerly known as earl of Danby and marquis of Caermarthen. He had been advanced to the dukedom, May 6, 1694.

charge the duke with corruption; and he makes a speech in his own justification, April 27. They propose to impeach him, when the session is suddenly prorogued, May 3.

The censorship of the press is abandoned, the last act passed to restrain unlicensed printing [4 Gul. & Mar. c. 24] being suffered to expire.

A plot against William is devised, early in May. The earl of Aylesbury (Thomas Bruce), Lord Montgomery, Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, Sir John Fenwick, Charnock<sup>c</sup>, Porter, Cook, Goodman, and others, are engaged in it; and Charnock is dispatched to France to procure the sanction of King James<sup>f</sup>.

The Scottish parliament meets, May 9, 1695, under the presidency of the

marquis of Tweeddale (John Hay). An act is passed for the administration of the law in the Highlands, empowering the appointment of itinerant justices and reviving the laws against clanship<sup>g</sup>. By another act severe penalties are denounced against blasphemy<sup>h</sup>.

The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies is formed<sup>i</sup>.

The Scottish parliament inquires into the massacre of Glencoe. It fully establishes the guilt of the earl of Breadalbane, the Master of Stair, and several other parties; makes a formal report of the same (June 24), and prays William to vindicate his own character by punishing them; but nothing is done.

William goes to Holland, May 12. He returns Oct. 10.

## I R E L A N D.

William left the government of such parts of Ireland as he had subdued in the hands of lords justices<sup>j</sup> (Sept. 4, 1695), and in the following year named one of them, Viscount Sydney, lord-lieutenant; but it was not until the rest of the country had been brought into subjection by Ginkell, that the lieu-

tenant passed over, and held a parliament in Dublin. This body did little more than pass an act recognising the title of William and Mary, and shew its disposition to retaliate on the natives, when it was suddenly prorogued by Sydney, who returned to England, and was succeeded by lords

<sup>c</sup> He had belonged to Magdalen College, Oxford, and was one of the very few of its fellows who acquiesced in King James's arbitrary proceedings there.

<sup>f</sup> James evidently sanctioned the enterprise; it is to be hoped, only to the extent of an overthrow of William's government. The same is probably true of many of the others; but some few ruffians had a design of murder, and when detected they saved their lives by ascribing their own atrocious scheme to others.

<sup>g</sup> In 1633, in consequence of various enormities, the name McGrigor was prohibited to be used; the act was rescinded in 1661, but the prohibition was now revived. In 1695 one Evan McGrigor, a merchant in Edinburgh, on his petition to the Scottish parliament, was allowed to retain the name on his allegation that changing it would be prejudicial to his affairs; but he was not allowed to transmit it to his children, for whom, being obliged to select another appellation, he took the name of Evanston.

<sup>h</sup> This act ordains that "whoever hereafter shall in their writing or discourse deny, impugn, or quarrel, argue or reason against the being of God, or any of the Persons of the blessed Trinity, or the authority of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, or the providence of God in the government of the world, shall for the first fault be punished with imprisonment *ay* and while they give public satisfaction in sackcloth to the congregation within which the scandal was committed. And for the second fault, the delinquent shall be fined in a year's valued rent of his real estate, and the twentieth part of his free personal estate, (the equal half of which fines are to be applied to the use of the poor of that parish within which the crime shall happen to be committed, and the other half to the

party informer,) besides his being imprisoned *ay* and while he make again satisfaction *ut supra*. And for the third fault he shall be punished by death as an obstinate blasphemer." An act of older date made it a capital crime to revile the Supreme Being, and this was not considered as superseded, as a young divinity student, Thomas Aikenhead, suffered under it at Leith, January 8, 1697.

<sup>i</sup> This was by an act of the Scottish parliament, of June, 1695. In consequence, a royal charter to carry out its objects of trade and colonization was granted, for ten years, to John, Lord Belhaven, and twenty others, principally merchants of Edinburgh or London. Its privileges were believed to conflict with the interests alike of the English and the Dutch merchants, and in consequence of their persevering opposition the scheme became an utter failure. See Note, p. 519.

<sup>j</sup> One of these was Sir Thomas Coningsby, of Hampton, in Herefordshire, who was eventually removed from office for notorious corruption. An investigation of his conduct took place in the English parliament, but he escaped unpunished, through the most scandalous partisanship, although it was proved that he had had a man, named Gafney, hung by the provost-marshal in Dublin, not only without trial, but even without a written warrant. In parliament he was the fierce opponent of the Tories in general, but more especially of Harley, who was his neighbour in the country, and of whose popularity he was jealous. After the death of Anne, Coningsby took a leading part in impeaching Harley, and was made an English peer (Earl Coningsby). He was a man of intemperate character, ever at open war with all around him, and he died very little regretted, in 1729.



justices ; under which form the government was very harshly administered for several years.

A parliament was at length assembled (Aug. 27, 1695), under the lord-deputy, Henry, Lord Capel. It was vehemently hostile to the Romanists, and it at once proceeded to enact most severe laws against them. By one statute all the legislation of King James' parliament was declared void, and its records ordered to be destroyed, (7 Gul. III. c. 3). By other statutes, the English and Irish acts against foreign education were directed to be enforced, and Romanist schoolmasters were forbidden to teach more than the children of one family, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, (c. 4) ; all Romanists were to be disarmed, "notwithstanding any licence granted," except those comprised in the capitulations of Limerick and Galway<sup>k</sup>, (c. 5) ;

the inhabitants of each barony were made responsible for all damage done by "robbers, rapparees, and tories" on the Protestant "good subjects," (c. 21) ; and a poll-tax was imposed, ranging from £50 to 1s., from which Protestant refugees, officers and soldiers on service, and the defenders of Londonderry and Enniskillen, were exempt, as were also beggars ; but which was doubled on bachelors, and on all except women and those taxed at 1s. only, who did not take the new oath of allegiance.

In the succeeding sessions a variety of other acts were passed of a highly penal character<sup>l</sup>. They were indeed too severe to be generally enforced ; but the mere fact of their enactment marks the complete triumph of the one party, and the utter humiliation of the other.

William forms the siege of Namur, July 2. It is gallantly defended by Boufflers.

Villeroy takes Dixmude, and detains the garrison, in breach of the articles of surrender. He also bombards Brussels (Aug. 13—15), both in avowed retaliation for the attacks on the French seaports<sup>m</sup>.

The town of Namur surrenders, Aug. 4. The citadel is besieged, Aug. 12. An attempt is made to storm it, which is repulsed with great slaughter, Aug. 30, but it surrenders<sup>n</sup>, Sept. 1.

William returns to England, Oct. 10 ; and the parliament is dissolved, Oct. 11.

William visits Oxford, Nov. 10. He is received coldly by the heads of the University, and leaves hastily.

The new parliament assembles Nov. 22, and sits till April 27, 1696. It contains a decided majority of Whigs, and Paul Foley is chosen Speaker.

A.D. 1696.

An act passed "for regulating of

trials in cases of treason and misprision of treason," [7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 3], Jan. 21.

This most important statute, which was only passed after a long parliamentary conflict<sup>o</sup>, provides that parties accused of treason, or misprision of treason, shall be furnished with a copy of their indictment, but not the names of the witnesses, for a fee not exceeding 5s. ; they are to have counsel learned in the law assigned them ; a copy of the panel of jurors, and process to compel the attendance of witnesses. The prosecution is to be commenced within three years of the alleged treason<sup>p</sup> ; two witnesses are necessary, "either both of them to the same overt act, or one of them to one and another of them to another overt act of the same treason," one witness to one head or kind of treason, and another to another head or kind of treason alleged in one bill of indictment, not being sufficient ; and on the trial, no evidence is to be produced of any overt act not mentioned in the

<sup>k</sup> If noblemen or gentlemen, these might keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun each, "for defence or fowling ;" but the capitulations were distasteful to the parliament, and were interpreted in a very limited, if not a positively unjust sense.

<sup>l</sup> See A.D. 1697.

<sup>m</sup> See A.D. 1694.

<sup>n</sup> The governor, Boufflers, was seized as he was

marching out, by order of William, and kept as a hostage for the release of the garrison of Dixmude ; but he was soon set at liberty.

<sup>o</sup> See pp. 504, 507, 511, 512.

<sup>p</sup> The limitation of prosecution was not to apply to any attempt at assassinating William ; and the act was declared not to extend to coiners or counterfeiters of the great seal.

indictment. For the trial of peers, all peers having a right to sit and vote are to be summoned. The act was to come into force March 25, 1696.

An act passed for improving the coinage [7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 1], the sum of £1,200,000 being raised by a house-duty to defray the expense of withdrawing the clipped coin<sup>q</sup>.

The commons remonstrate against a grant of the lordship of Denbigh and other manors to the earl of Portland<sup>r</sup>, and the patent is ultimately cancelled.

The Sovereign of the Seas, a large man of war built in 1637 with the ship-money, accidentally burnt at Chatham, Feb. 2.

Injunctions for Church unity issued, Feb. 3.

A plot to kill William, near Turnham-green, is disclosed to the government, Feb. 14.

It seems certain that some desperate ruffians had formed designs against the life of William, and hence this is usually known as the Assassination Plot; but, as in the case of the Rye-house plot<sup>s</sup>, many persons of consideration were implicated, whose object was merely to overthrow the government, not to commit a foul assassination; in this limited sense, King James seems to have been cognisant of it.

King James comes to Calais, Feb. 18, to be ready for an invasion in case of the success of his adherents<sup>t</sup>. The fleet, under Admiral Russell, threatens the coast of France, and prevents the embarkation of troops.

Charnock, Rookwood, and several other of the Assassination plotters, apprehended, Feb. 24.

An Association, binding the subscribers to preserve William, or to avenge his death, is proposed, Feb. 27, and is very generally signed.

An act [7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 27] embodying the Association for the security of William's person and government is hastily passed, and the signing of the Association rendered imperative on the holder of any civil or military employment<sup>u</sup>.

The Habeas Corpus Act suspended, [c. 11].

The affirmation of quakers allowed to be received in certain cases instead of an oath, [c. 34].

Calais is bombarded by Commodore Benbow, who is wounded, March.

Several of the parties to the Assassination Plot are tried. Charnock, King, and Keys are convicted March 11, executed, March 18. Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins are convicted, March 24<sup>v</sup>; they are examined in prison, but refusing to make any disclosures, are executed, April 3. Jeremy Collier, a nonjuring divine, publicly absolves them on the scaffold<sup>x</sup>.

William refuses his assent to a bill for regulating parliamentary elections, April 10.

Rookwood, Lowick, and Cranbourn are condemned as concerned in the Assassination Plot, April 21 (though defended by Sir Bartholomew Shower, in virtue of the new act concerning treasons), and executed, April 29. Cook and Knightly are also convicted, but Knightly is pardoned and Cook banished<sup>y</sup>.

William goes to Holland, May 7, and heads his army, but no operation of importance takes place.

Sir John Fenwick is seized in disguise, and under the assumed name of Thomas Ward, at New Romney, June 11. He is sent to the Tower, June 19, and kept there without being brought to trial.

<sup>q</sup> This improvement had long been needed. Evelyn remarks in his Diary (June, 1694), "Many executed at London for clipping money, now done to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any money that was worth above half the nominal value."

<sup>r</sup> See p. 497.

<sup>s</sup> See A.D. 1683.

<sup>t</sup> See A.D. 1695.

<sup>u</sup> The lord-keeper Somers removed from the commission of the peace all the magistrates who neglected to sign it; a step which was afterwards severely censured by the House of Commons. A similar document was signed by the parliament of Ireland, Dec. 2, 1697.

<sup>v</sup> Their trial was hurried forward with indecent precipitation, in order, apparently, to deprive them of any advantage that they might have derived from the assistance of counsel, which they would have been entitled to on the following day (March 25), when the new act came into force.

<sup>x</sup> He was assisted by two other clergymen (Cook and Snatt). The archbishop of Canterbury and several other bishops censured their conduct, and bills of indictment were found against them. Collier concealed himself, and was in consequence outlawed; Snatt and Cook were imprisoned for a time, but the prosecution was eventually abandoned.

<sup>y</sup> According to the account of Brice Blair, one of the plotters who saved his life by confession, the notorious Ferguson (see A.D. 1685) was concerned in this plot. Blair says in his deposition (March 17, 1696) that "he heard Ferguson say he thanked God he had grace and time to repent of the villainies he had committed against King Charles and King James," and as a proof of his repentance he induced Sir John Friend, a wealthy London brewer, to advance money; Ferguson was in consequence committed to Newgate, but was soon set at liberty again, Friend, like many others, having lost his life by listening to him.

The first stone of Greenwich Hospital laid<sup>2</sup>, June 30.

Louis XIV. detaches the duke of Savoy from the alliance, and then intimates his desire for peace.

William returns to England, Oct. 8.

The parliament meets Oct. 20, and sits till April 16, 1697.

The chief business of the session was the extra-judicial proceeding against Sir John Fenwick. He had been long known as an opponent of the government, and he had been imprisoned for more than a year soon after the accession of William and Mary. He was indicted in March, 1696, as concerned in the Assassination Plot, but was not apprehended until June. The law now required two witnesses, and as one (Cardell Goodman), who had given evidence against him before the privy council, had absconded, no trial could be had. A bill of attainder was therefore brought in against him, which, after fierce debates, was eventually carried by a majority of thirty-three in the Commons, but of only seven in the Lords, Jan. 11, 1697, [8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 4]. It recited the charge of attempting the life of William, and endeavouring to procure foreign aid, "of which treasons," it authoritatively declared, "the said Sir John Fenwick is guilty;" and he "is hereby convicted and attainted of high treason, and shall suffer the pains of death, and incur all forfeitures as a person convicted of high treason." Sir George Barclay and ten other persons, who had escaped capture, were also attainted, in case they did not

surrender for trial before March 25, 1697; and John Bernardi and five other prisoners in Newgate were to be confined until Jan. 1, 1697<sup>3</sup>.

A.D. 1697.

The privilege of security from arrest enjoyed by the Savoy, Whitefriars, the Mint, and other so-called sanctuaries, abolished, [8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 27].

Sir John Fenwick is executed<sup>4</sup>, Jan. 28.

The Bank of England lends a sum of £1,001,171 10s. to the government, and obtains an extension of its charter to Aug. 1, 1711, [8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 20].

A révil of the licencing of the press is attempted, but is defeated by a vote of the House of Commons<sup>5</sup>, April 1.

Sir John Somers is created a peer (Lord Somers), and made lord-chancellor, April 22. Several others of the Whig party receive higher titles, and Sunderland is made chamberlain, and one of the lords justices during William's absence from England.

William goes to Holland, April 24, but no military operations are undertaken.

Negotiations for peace are opened at Ryswick, May 9. In September and October treaties are concluded, by which Louis relinquishes most of his conquests, and acknowledges William as king. William, on his part, abandons the cause of the French Protestants<sup>6</sup>.

The Czar Peter comes to England<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The intention of converting the old royal palace of Greenwich into an hospital for wounded seamen had been announced almost immediately after the battle of La Hogue, but it was not till May 5, 1695, that the first meeting of the commissioners appointed for that purpose took place. The origination of the plan seems to belong to Mary, and its execution to William, who designed it to serve as a monument to her memory.

<sup>3</sup> This imprisonment was continued to Jan. 1, 1698, by a second act [9 Gul. III. c. 4], and by a third, in 1698, [10 Gul. III. c. 19.] during pleasure. The act for their detention was renewed as a matter of course at the accession of each new monarch, and one of their number, Bernardi, survived till the time of George II. He died in Newgate, Sept. 20, 1736, aged 80.

<sup>4</sup> He was attended on the scaffold by Thomas White, the deprived bishop of Peterborough.

<sup>5</sup> A paragraph appeared in one of the newly-established newspapers (the "Flying Post," edited by John Salisbury), which affected the credit of the exchequer-bills issued by the government. A bill was in consequence brought in, prohibiting the

publication of news without the licence of the secretary of state (as had been done under the Commonwealth—see A.D. 1655), but it was rejected on the second reading.

<sup>6</sup> See A.D. 1692, 1707.

<sup>7</sup> "Having a mind to see the building of ships," the Czar hired Mr. Evelyn's house at Says Court, Deptford, and remained there nearly three months. Mr. Evelyn's servant gives him the following account of his tenant:—"There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The czar lies next your library, and dines in the parlour next your study. He dines at 10 o'clock and 6 at night, is very seldom at home a whole day, very often in the King's Yard, or by water, dressed in several dresses. The king is expected there this day; the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in. The king pays for all he has." Evelyn afterwards visited his house and grounds, and found the damage done greater than even by a former "uncivil tenant," Admiral Benbow. On the certificate of Sir Christopher Wren, the clerk of the works, and the royal gardener, £150 was allowed him for repairs from the Treasury.

## IRELAND.

The Irish parliament meets, in October. It continues its course of penal legislation.

(1.) Romanist ecclesiastics were ordered to leave Ireland before May 1, 1698, and if they returned they were to be executed as traitors, [9 Gul. III. c. 1<sup>f</sup>]; Romanists and Protestants were forbidden to intermarry [c. 3], the Protestant husband being considered a "popish recusant," and as such disabled from any office of trust or public employment, unless his wife were converted within a year; persons who had borne arms against the government, and had left Ireland, were forbidden to return without licence<sup>g</sup>, under the penalties of treason; the royal power of reversing attainders was restrained, so as to prevent more than the lives of

the attainted being spared; and those who had died in arms before the surrender of Limerick were, on the inquest of twelve men, liable to be pronounced traitors, and the possessions of their heirs confiscated, [c. 5].

(2.) The articles of the surrender of Limerick were confirmed [c. 2] in a strange fashion; that is, "so much of them as may consist with the safety and welfare of the kingdom." This act limits the benefit of the articles to the persons who had been actually in arms against William, although it was notorious that those parties, when surrendering their strong posts, did so on the understanding that the favourable conditions that they obtained were to be extended to all their countrymen.

St. Paul's Cathedral, London, is opened for divine service on occasion of the thanksgiving for the peace of Ryswick<sup>h</sup>, Dec. 2.

The parliament meets Dec. 6, and sits till July 5, 1698.

Corresponding with "the late king, James," and his adherents declared treason, [9 Gul. III. c. 1].

The Commons vote the disbanding of the army, Dec. 11.

A.D. 1698.

The subscribers of a loan of £2,000,000 are incorporated as a rival East India Company<sup>i</sup>, [9 Gul. III. c. 44]. A charter is in consequence granted to them, with very ample powers, Sept. 5.

The parliament is dissolved, July 7.

William goes to Holland, July 20. Secret negotiations are carried on by him with Louis XIV. for the eventual partition of the Spanish monarchy.

The first Scottish expedition for Darien leaves Leith, July 26.

The earl of Marlborough is again received into favour, and is appointed governor to the young duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Anne.

A return is made to the Irish parliament, Oct. 19, which shews that thirty-two peers stood outlawed at that date, beside others, whose titles, having been bestowed by King James since his abdication, were not recognised.

Romanist solicitors stated to be "common disturbers," and as such forbidden to practise, unless they make certain oaths and declarations, and bring up their children as Protestants, [10 Gul. III. c. 13].

The new parliament meets Dec. 6, and sits till May 4, 1699; Sir Thomas Littleton is chosen Speaker. It presses for the disbanding of the army, which William is very unwilling to accede to.

Societies for the reformation of man-

<sup>f</sup> By this act, interment in ruined abbeys, no longer used for divine service, was forbidden. This wanton attack on the feelings of the old native families could not be carried out, although the enactment was not repealed until 1824 [5 Geo. IV. c. 25], and the practice prevails to this day.

<sup>g</sup> If licence were granted, the parties were to enter into a bond of £100 to pay 40s. yearly to the bishop of the diocese, for the support of schools.

<sup>h</sup> That is, a portion was temporarily opened. The building was not completed until 1719.

<sup>i</sup> See A.D. 1689, 1693, 1695.

ners founded; as also the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts<sup>k</sup>.

The East India Company purchase two small villages in Bengal, and erect a fort<sup>l</sup> on the Hooghly.

## NOTE.

## THE DARIEN SETTLEMENT.

In 1693 the Scottish parliament gave its sanction to the formation of a company to trade to the Indies and Africa, and William Paterson, the originator of the Bank of England, threw himself with ardour into the project. He had passed several years in the West Indies and America<sup>m</sup>, and from his personal observation he devised a magnificent scheme of commerce and colonization, which if it had been carried out would have given altogether a new aspect to some of the most important regions of the globe: it failed, however, and beside entailing misery and ruin on thousands in his native country of Scotland, left there a deep dislike of William's person and government, which has not altogether died out even at the present day.

The design was to found a settlement in Darien, on the coast of Mexico, in about nine degrees north latitude, and seventy-eight degrees west longitude, a tract of country thus glowingly described in a "proposal" which Paterson circulated through Scotland, and also wherever Scotsmen were established, about the year 1694:—

"Darien lies between the golden regions of Mexico and Peru; it is within six weeks' sail of Europe, India and China; it is in the heart of the West Indies, close to the rising colonies of North America. The expense and danger of navigation to Japan, the Spice Islands, and all the Eastern world, will be lessened one-half; the consumption of European commodities and manufactures will soon be doubled. Tradewill increasetrade; money will beget money; and the trading world will need no more to want work for its hands, but hands for its work." . . .

"Darien possesses great tracts of country as yet unclaimed by any Europeans. The Indians, original proprietors of the soil, will welcome to their fertile shores the honest, honourable settler. Their soil is

rich to a fault, producing spontaneously the most delicious fruits, and requiring the hand of labour to chasten rather than to stimulate its capabilities. There crystal rivers sparkle over sands of gold; there the traveller may wander for days under a natural canopy formed by the fruit-laden branches of trees, whose wood is of inestimable value. The very waters abound in wealth; innumerable shoals of fish disport themselves among coral rocks, and the bottom of the sea is strewn with pearls. From the first dawn of creation this enchanted land has lain secluded from mortal eyes; to the present generation, to Scottish enterprise it is now revealed; let us enter and take possession of the promised land. There a new city, a new Edinburgh, shall arise: the Alexandria of old, which was seated on a barren isthmus, and grew suddenly into prodigious wealth and power, by the mere commerce of Arabia and Ind, shall soon yield in fame to the Emporium of the World."

To carry into effect these mighty objects, a joint stock of £900,000 was proposed to be raised, being £200,000 in Holland and Hamburg, £300,000 in England, and £400,000 in Scotland, and this last sum, though estimated at full half the money in the country, was speedily raised by contributions from every class<sup>n</sup>—"a proof," says a writer of the time, "that Scotland was neither so poor nor so disunited as other nations imagined;" the Scots indeed embraced the scheme with an ardour which proved ruinous. A royal charter was obtained, in addition to an act of the Scottish Parliament, and everything promised well, when the English and Dutch merchants took the alarm, being unwilling to have such active competitors for the commerce of the East as the Scots were likely to become, and they prevented the subscription-lists in their respective countries from being filled up, William's government lending itself to their views in a discreditable manner.

<sup>k</sup> A corporation "for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," was established by an act of parliament under the Commonwealth (cap. 45 of 1649), which was allowed to exist after the Restoration, and numbered among its patrons the Hon. Robert Boyle. The societies mentioned in the text, however, were mainly the result of the unwearied labour of Dr. Thomas Bray, (born in Shropshire, 1656, educated at Hart-hall, Oxford, and died 1730,) a man of indefatigable energy, unbounded charity, and exemplary life. Beside passing over to Maryland to establish the Church there, he laboured at home to prepare missionaries for the colonies, gave great help in the establishment of parish libraries and charity schools, and was one of the earliest of the benevolent men who have devoted their attention to alleviate the condition of debtors and other prisoners.

<sup>l</sup> This was named Fort William; the villages are now lost in the site of Calcutta, the capital of British India.

<sup>m</sup> What were his occupations there was warmly debated; his friends asserted that he was a missionary, his opponents made him a buccaneer and a slave-trader. He was the son of a tenant farmer in Dumfriesshire, was born at Skipmyre in 1683, and died in London in January, 1719. From the number of legacies in his will he would appear to have been in easy circumstances, and not to have died in poverty, as is usually said.

<sup>n</sup> The subscriptions ranged from £3,000 to £100. Nearly 40 of the nobility and baronetage appear in the list, as well as the Society of Advocates, several merchant companies, and the corporations of Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c.

Though their means were thus reduced to less than one-half, Paterson and his friends determined to persevere. Three stout ships and two tenders left Leith amid general rejoicings, July 26, 1698, conveying, beside women and children and the ships' crews, a body of 1,200 men, mostly soldiers just disbanded on the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, and including at least 300 gentlemen. They took with them 50 pieces of cannon, and a large supply of warlike stores; but, expecting to be well received by the English colonists, their store of provisions was far more scanty than it should have been. On November 3 they arrived, though with the loss of several of their number from sickness, at their destination. This was a point of land still called Punta Escoces, about twenty miles north-west of Cape Tiburon. They named the country New Caledonia; and whilst Paterson and a few more visited the interior, and established friendly relations with the natives, the stores were landed, and a small fort, styled Fort St. Andrew, erected. Under the powers of their charter a council of government was established, which (Dec. 28, 1698) proclaimed freedom of trade and of religion, "so that the Sabbath be not unhallowed," nor the Trinity denied. A parliament was also assembled, which held two sessions, and enacted a number of statutes to regulate civil and criminal proceedings. Dissensions, however, soon arose, and fever broke out, which caused many deaths, and incapacitated Paterson for government. Famine next appeared, as in their eager search for gold no one could be induced to cultivate the land, and the English colonies were forbidden to trade with them, even for food. A supply vessel sent from Scotland was lost on the voyage, but as they knew nothing of its despatch, they conceived themselves abandoned, and at last in June, 1699, they forsook their colony after only a seven months' stay, and attempted to make their way back to Scotland. Paterson was one who succeeded in so doing, but he found on his arrival that the English government had taken very effectual steps to ruin the project.

Availing itself of complaints from the Spaniards, that the settlement was an infraction of the peace recently concluded at Ryswick, orders were issued, very soon after the sailing of the first expedition, to the governors of the various West Indian and American plantations to circulate proclamations against any intercourse with it, the

government "not being acquainted with the intentions and designs of the Scots in Darien." The council of the company, however, sent a fresh expedition, of two ships and 300 men, in May, 1699, and a still larger one, of five vessels and 1,300 men, in the following September; making a total of nearly 3,000 soldiers. The first expedition arrived only a fortnight after the colony had been abandoned, and they endeavoured to re-establish it; but one of the vessels was accidentally burnt in the harbour, and the other sailed away to Jamaica. In November the second expedition arrived, but this only made matters worse, by bringing a greater body of discontented men together. Rival leaders claimed authority, mutinies and executions followed, and at length, in February, 1700, a Spanish force made its appearance, and summoned the colonists to surrender at discretion.

Though fever-stricken and starving, the Scots prepared for resistance, and the Spaniards did not venture to attack them; they, instead, blockaded the settlement, which through famine was surrendered to them on the 30th of March. On the 11th of April, all that remained of the adventurers embarked in seven small vessels, and finally abandoned the enterprise. They were so feeble when they left Darien, that the Spaniards were obliged to weigh their anchors for them; they were becalmed on the coast, and harshly treated at Jamaica; and it was only after the loss of nearly half their number that they reached New York; how many eventually came back to Scotland is unknown; a contemporary account says but thirty.

William had before this (Nov. 2, 1699), when apprised of the ruin of the settlement, in consequence of his orders, professed to "very much regret the loss sustained," but he made no offer of compensation. The matter, however, was warmly debated by the commissioners for the Union in the next reign, and the sum of £398,085 *or* 10*d*. was in consequence voted to the sufferers out of the "equivalent moneys;" seven years later (July 10, 1713), the sum of £18,241 10*s*. 10½*d*. was also voted to the projector Paterson, "for his sufferings and losses in connection with the African and Indian Company of Scotland," but the bill was rejected in the House of Lords. The sum was again voted to him shortly after the accession of George I., but it does not appear that it was ever paid.

A.D. 1699.

John Archdale, a quaker, chosen member for Chipping Wycombe, de-

clines to take the oaths. His election is declared void, Jan. 6.

The act for disbanding the army is

passed, Feb. 1. William sends a message to the Commons, March 18, expressing his wish to retain his Dutch guards. The Commons refuse, and advise him to "trust to his people," March 24.

The old East India Company petition against the charter recently granted to their rivals.

Admiral Benbow is sent to the West Indies. He obtains from the Spaniards restitution of several English vessels seized by them in retaliation for the settlement of Darien.

The Commons vote that the forfeited estates in Ireland ought to be applied to the use of the public. They also complain of lavish grants made of them<sup>o</sup>, which William defends.

The forfeited estates in Ireland ordered to be sold<sup>p</sup>, [11 Gul. III. c. 2].

An act passed "for further preventing the growth of Popery," [c. 4]. By this act Romanists refusing the prescribed oaths were disabled from any office, and their lands forfeited during their lives to their Protestant next of kin. £100 reward was offered for the apprehension of Romanist priests, and they, for either saying mass or keeping school, were rendered liable to perpetual imprisonment.

An act passed for the suppression of piracy, [c. 7]. This statute was directed against the buccaneers, whose depredations were very formidable, and it enacted that such offenders might be tried abroad<sup>q</sup>.

William goes to Holland, May 31. He engages in secret schemes for the partition of the Spanish monarchy.

William Kidd, an officer of the navy, is sent to act against the pirates in the East Indies. The chancellor (Lord Somers) grants him a commission

with extraordinary powers<sup>r</sup>, which Kidd abuses.

The Scottish parliament meets July 19, under the presidency of the earl of Marchmont (Patrick Home). The Indian and African Company complain of injuries received from the English government and merchants, and the parliament espouses its cause.

William returns to England, Oct. 18.

The parliament meets Nov. 16, and sits till April 11, 1700.

The Peers present an address (in which the Commons refuse to join) against the Scottish settlement of Darien, as "inconsistent with the good of the kingdom." William advises them to abandon their jealousies, and recommends union with Scotland.

A commission of six prelates<sup>s</sup> appointed by William to advise him as to the bestowal of the Church patronage of the Crown.

A.D. 1700.

A clergyman, (William Stephens, rector of Sutton, Surrey,) who in his sermon on the 30th January recommends the abandonment of that commemoration<sup>t</sup>, is censured by the House of Commons.

A proclamation is issued by the government in Scotland, (March 25,) strongly condemning the "disorderly petitioning" concerning the Darien settlement.

An address against Lord-chancellor Somers is proposed, but negatived; another address praying for the removal of foreign councillors (except Prince George of Denmark) is carried, April 10. The parliament is adjourned the next day, to hinder its presentation, but Somers is dismissed from office<sup>u</sup>, April 17.

<sup>o</sup> The Commons' Report, dated Dec. 15, 1699, enumerates no less than 76 such grants after the battle of the Boyne. Eight of these grants amounted to 522,630 acres (about the area of the county of Nottingham), and seven of them were made to William's foreign favourites; the other (of 95,649 acres) was to his mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, who was created countess of Orkney.

<sup>p</sup> They were valued at £1,699,343 14s. All the grants that had been made were declared void, but those who had received them were allowed to keep all they had drawn from them in the way of rent or by the sale of timber and minerals.

<sup>q</sup> By the law as then existing, based on the statutes 27 Hen. VIII. c. 4, and 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15 (see A.D. 1536), persons committing offences on the high seas were to be brought to England for trial, the expense and difficulty of which prevented any

effectual check being imposed on them.

<sup>r</sup> The chancellor gave £500 towards fitting out Kidd, as did several other great men; and it was said that they expected to share in his prizes. Kidd turned pirate himself, and thus brought much odium on his patrons.

<sup>s</sup> These were Archbishops Tenison and Sharp, and Bishops Burnet, Lloyd, Patrick, and Stillingfleet.

<sup>t</sup> The special services for January 30, May 29, and Nov. 5 remained in use until 1858; in consequence of a Parliamentary address, they were ordered to be discontinued, by royal warrant, dated Jan. 17, 1859.

<sup>u</sup> His opponents retaliated on him his partisan conduct to the magistrates who did not sign the Association (see A.D. 1696), and struck his name out of the commission of the peace, even for his native county (Worcester), where he had large estates.

Sir Nathan Wright, a lawyer of little eminence, is appointed lord-keeper, May 21.

The Scottish parliament meets, May 21, when the treatment of the Darien company is again brought forward.

William goes to Holland in July. He returns in October.

The duke of Gloucester (the heir-presumptive, according to the parliamentary settlement) dies, July 30, when new measures become necessary for securing the Protestant succession, but are not immediately taken.

Sir George Rooke is sent to the Baltic, where he bombards Copenhagen, and compels the Danes to make peace with Charles XII. of Sweden.

Two treaties are signed (one in March, the other in October,) between England, France, the Empire, Holland, and smaller states, to settle the Spanish succession\*. Louis, though affecting to acquiesce, prevails on the king of Spain to set the arrangement aside, and prepares to seize on the whole inheritance.

Charles II. of Spain dies, Oct. 21, having shortly before by will nominated Philip, duke of Anjou (the grandson of Louis XIV.) his successor.

The earl of Rochester and others of the Tory party become ministers, Dec. 12.

A.D. 1701.

The emperor (Leopold I.) takes up arms against the French in Italy, and the War of the Spanish Succession begins. The Dutch claim assistance from England, according to the treaty of peace of 1678.

The parliament meets Feb. 6, and sits till June 24. Robert Harley<sup>2</sup> is chosen Speaker.

An act passed to preserve the library of Sir Robert Cotton for the use of the public, [12 & 13 Gul. III. c. 7].

Fierce debates occur on the Protestant succession. The Partition Treaties are censured as "prejudicial to the interests of the Protestant religion;" inquiry is made into the circumstances of their conclusion, and the Commons resolve to impeach their advisers.

The earl of Portland and Lord Somers are accordingly impeached, April 1. The Lords present an address to William in their favour.

The Commons are highly displeased, and resolve to impeach the earl of Orford and the earl of Halifax<sup>3</sup>.

Portland, Somers, Orford and Halifax were all accused of taking illegal steps to forward the Partition Treaties, and heavy accusations were also brought forward against them individually, regarding other matters. Somers was charged with passing unreason-

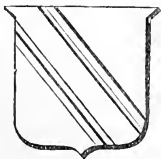
\* These treaties were concluded in a hasty, irregular way, and William's ministers were in the next year impeached for their share in the business.

<sup>1</sup> The French, under the name of auxiliaries of the Spaniards, had got possession of the strong towns in the Spanish Netherlands, which had been fortified as a barrier for the States.

<sup>2</sup> He belonged to an old Herefordshire family, but was born in London, in 1661. With his father, Sir Edward Harley, a vehement opponent of the court, and who had been imprisoned on suspicion of favouring Monmouth's rebellion, he raised a body of horse, and took possession of Worcester for the Prince of Orange at the commencement of the re-

afterwards joined their party. He was one of the commissioners of public accounts (see p. 503), and he held the post of Speaker for several years, as well as being appointed secretary of state, and one of the commissioners for the union with Scotland. When the Whig ministry were displaced, in 1710, Harley was made a commissioner of the treasury, and in the next year he was created a peer, as earl of Oxford: he was also appointed lord treasurer, and he held the post, though not without many contentions with his rival, Bolingbroke, until a few days before the queen's death. In 1715 he was impeached for his share in negotiating the peace of Utrecht, being denounced with especial vehemence and personal hate by his old opponent, Coningsby. After a two years' imprisonment, he was brought to trial at his own urgent request, when he was acquitted. He died in 1724. The introduction of lotteries as a source of revenue is ascribed to him. His son Edward, who succeeded him, was the collector of the invaluable stores of MSS. now deposited in the British Museum, and known as the Harleyan Collection.

<sup>3</sup> George Savile, marquis of Halifax, died in 1695, and his son William in 1700. In the latter year the title of earl of Halifax was given to Charles Montagu, a kinsman of the earl of Manchester, who was a commissioner of the treasury, and had displayed much skill in devising the ways and means for William's wars. He was a man of great talent, but little integrity, and now retired into private life. He died in 1715.



Arms of Harley, earl of Oxford.

volution. He became a member of parliament, and shewed much bitterness against the Tories, but



able grants, particularly of the Irish forfeited estates, and with taking such himself; making illegal orders, and causing ruinous delays in Chancery; and granting the commission to William Kidd, "a person of evil fame and reputation<sup>b</sup>." Portland was accused of receiving extravagant grants; as was Halifax, who was also charged with being in debt to the Irish exchequer, dilapidating the royal forests, and procuring his brother (Christopher Montagu) to be appointed auditor, who had passed his fraudulent accounts. Orford was accused of encouraging Kidd, the pirate, and as guilty of breach of trust and gross corruption in his office. From what we now know of these men, it is probable that there was much truth in all this, but the quarrels of the two Houses prevented anything like a complete examination of the matter.

A petition is presented to the Commons, imploring them "to drop their disputes, have regard to the voice of the people, and change their loyal addresses into bills of supply," May 8.

This, well known as the Kentish Petition, had been agreed to at the assizes at Maidstone, April 29; it was signed by a great body of freeholders, the grand jury, twenty magistrates, and many deputy lieutenants. The House, however, refused to listen to its prayer, and committed William Colepeper and four other gentlemen<sup>c</sup>, who presented it, to prison.

This stretch of power was resented by the appearance of a memorial, which denied the right of the Commons to override the law of the land, charged them, under fifteen distinct heads, with tyranny and oppression, and asserted, "Whatever power is above law is burdensome and tyrannical, and may be reduced by extra-judicial methods." It concluded: "Thus, gentlemen, you have your duty laid before you, which 'tis hoped you will think of; but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the resentments of an injured nation; for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments than

to kings. Our name is Legion, and we are many." The Commons vote this "scandalous, insolent, and seditious," and complain of "the attempts of ill-disposed persons to raise tumults and seditions."

Kidd, the pirate, and three of his companions, are hanged<sup>d</sup>, May 23.

Marlbrough is appointed commander-in-chief in Holland, June 1.

Act passed to settle the Protestant Succession, [12 & 13 Gul. III. c. 2]. The Princess Anne was to succeed William, and if she should die without heirs, the heirs of William were to succeed; on failure of these, the Electress Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover<sup>e</sup>, was to be called to the throne; it being an indispensable condition in each case that the party should be a Protestant.

Quarrels ensue between the two Houses as to the time and mode of trial of Lord Somers. The Commons refuse to appear at the day appointed, June 17, and Somers is consequently acquitted.

The Commons draw up a protest (June 20), asserting that there has been a denial of justice in the "pretended trial of John Lord Somers," and that the conduct of the Peers in regard thereto is "an attempt to overturn the right of impeachments lodged in the House of Commons by the ancient constitution of the kingdom."

The earl of Orford is also acquitted, June 23. To prevent a threatened remonstrance, the parliament is dissolved next day.

Benbow is employed to blockade Dunkirk, a war with France and Spain being expected.

William goes to Holland, June 31. He visits the frontier garrisons, and forms fresh alliances against France.

Benbow sails with a squadron to the West Indies, to induce the Spanish governors to disown King Philip. The French send three stronger fleets against him, and he is obliged to retire to Jamaica.

King James dies, Sept. 6. His son James Edward is acknowledged as king by Louis XIV., on which the

<sup>b</sup> See A.D. 1699.

<sup>c</sup> Thomas Colepeper, Justinian Champneys, William Hamilton, and David Polhill. They remained in confinement until the dissolution of the parliament, in June.

<sup>d</sup> They were convicted of piracy and murder committed on the coast of Malabar.

<sup>e</sup> She was a grand-daughter of James I. by his daughter Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, and was now in her 72nd year.

English ambassador (Charles Montagu, earl of Manchester) is recalled.

William returns to England, in ill health, in November.

A new parliament is summoned, which meets Dec. 30, and sits till May 25, 1702. Robert Harley is again chosen Speaker.

#### A.D. 1702.

Addresses are presented from the city of London and other places, urging further provision for the Protestant succession, and war with France.

The Commons resolve that no peace shall be made with France until reparation be given for the acknowledgement of James Edward.

The "pretended prince of Wales" is attainted of high treason, [13 & 14 Gul. III. c.3].

William falls from his horse, and breaks his collar-bone, Feb. 21.

The Commons again commit Colepeper, and pass resolutions in answer to the Kentish Petition and Legion, Feb. 26.

Act passed "for securing the succession to the crown in the Protestant line" [13 & 14 Gul. III. c.6]. All peers, members of parliament and office-holders to take an oath to support the Protestant succession, as settled in 1701; the penalty of neglect or refusal, forfeiture of any office, and a fine of £500.

William grants a commission to assent to certain bills, but has a stamp for his name, by which he himself gives the assent to the bill for the Protestant succession.

William dies at Kensington, March 8. He is buried at Westminster, April 12.

#### EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
The Turks recover Belgrade . . .	1690	War begins between Charles XII. of Sweden and Peter the Great of Russia . . .	1700
Battle of Salankemen; the Turks defeated . . .	1691	War of the Spanish Succession commences . . .	1701
France invaded by the duke of Savoy . . .	1692	Prussia declared a kingdom . . .	1701
The Turks gain great successes in Hungary . . .	1695	Revolt of the Camisards in Languedoc . . .	1702
Azof taken by the Russians . . .	1696		
Peace of Carlowitz . . .	1699		



Anne, from her Great Seal.

## ANNE.

ANNE, the second daughter of James, duke of York, by his wife Anne Hyde, was born at St. James's Feb. 6, 1665. Her education was entrusted to Dr. Henry Compton, (subsequently bishop of Oxford and of London), and she was by him so firmly grounded in the principles of Protestantism, that all attempts were vain to induce her to follow the unhappy course of her parents, in conforming to Romanism. Whilst still very young her hand was sought by George Louis, electoral prince of Hanover (ultimately her successor on the English throne as George I.), but she married (July 28, 1683) Prince George of Denmark, brother of Chris-

tian V., by whom she became the mother of several children, but left no surviving issue.

Anne, when a mere child, formed a vehement attachment to one of her attendants, a young girl\*, whose proud, impetuous temper was altogether different from her own, and this circumstance in a great measure determined the events of her after life. The servant became in reality the mistress, and marrying a man as ambitious and unscrupulous as herself, the pair induced the princess to forsake her father in his distress, and thus, as far as she had the power, to precipitate the Revolution. The Marlboroughs, how-

\* Sarah Jennings, born in 1660, the daughter of a Hertfordshire gentleman. In 1681 she married Colonel Churchill, and she was a most efficient assistant to him in his rise to rank and power. Hence she has by many writers to whom he is obnoxious been stigmatized in coarse terms, and this is especially the case in Lord Macaulay's History of England, where the worst possible interpretation is uniformly put upon every action of their lives, and

language is held respecting both, which is not warranted by the facts. It must be confessed that they pursued their own ends with too great earnestness, but the historian is lost in the partisan, when Marlborough is described as "a murderer," and his wife said to be "such a liar, that she is only to be believed when she testifies something to her own discredit."

ever, conceived their services insufficiently valued by the new rulers, and, for their own ends, they fomented quarrels between the princess and her sister, and formed a "Princess's party," which seriously embarrassed the government of William III.

Anne became queen, March 8, 1702, and as Marlborough was ambitious of military glory, the war which William had commenced was vigorously prosecuted until the proud Louis XIV. was constrained to sue for peace. The war had been marked by the great victories of Blenheim, Ramillies and Oudenarde; it had made Marlborough a duke, and had given him a princely estate; he had no wish to forego the further enormous gains which its continuance might produce<sup>b</sup>, and Louis's proposals were peremptorily rejected. But the downfall of the Marlboroughs was near at hand, and when it occurred it changed the aspect of affairs in Europe.

After a thirty years' rule the imperious duchess was supplanted by a waiting-woman (Mrs. Masham), and on the fall of their patron the Whig ministry were driven from office. They were replaced by Harley and other Tories. These men, intent on forwarding the queen's views with regard to the succession, made a hasty and inglorious peace, by which they abandoned their allies, and allowed the Spanish crown to become the prize of the arts (and apparently the bribes) of Louis. They then entered into intrigues for the purpose of setting aside the Protestant succession as marked out by the Act of Settlement<sup>c</sup>, but their measures were retarded by dissensions among themselves, and were at last frustrated by the somewhat

sudden death of the queen, Aug. 1, 1714, which brought to a close the rule of the House of Stuart.

Though much the greater part of Anne's reign was passed in war, and party feeling was indulged to an extravagant extent, a time and opportunity was found to ameliorate the condition of the Church, by restoring, for the augmentation of poor livings, a portion of its goods, forcibly torn away at the period of the Reformation; literature was adorned by many distinguished names, so that the period has been flatteringly termed the Augustan age; and the Union with Scotland, which the wisest statesmen had desired for the preceding century, was accomplished; a measure, it must be confessed, not popular with the bulk of either nation at the time, but from which both have subsequently derived many, and lasting advantages.

Anne married Prince George of Denmark, a man of coarse habits and of little influence, who died October 28, 1708. Their children were four daughters and one son who died in infancy, and one child, William, born July 24, 1689, who was created Duke of Gloucester, by William III., his godfather, and of whom great hopes were entertained<sup>d</sup>; but he died shortly after his twelfth birthday (July 30, 1700), and his death gave occasion to a new settlement of the crown.

In the early part of Anne's reign the royal arms were the same as those of her father, but the motto was "SEMPER EADEM." The union with Scotland occasioned a change of armorial bearings; and they then appeared, England and Scotland impaled, in the first and fourth quarter; France in the second; and Ireland in the third. On

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn, incidentally mentioning Marlborough in his Diary, appends the significant remark, "Note, this was the lord who was entirely advanced by King James, and was the first who betrayed and forsook his master." Such glaring ingratitude has naturally provoked much severe remark, but Marlborough has been censured even more heavily than he deserved. His whole career shewed that the love of wealth had a much greater influence than it should have had on a man of such commanding genius, yet it is certain that his faults and failings have been exaggerated with malignant ingenuity, and particularly that the charges of peculation brought against him in 1711 were mere political manoeuvres of unscrupulous adversaries. It is painful to think that a man who was himself most placable when offended, and lenient to delinquents (as in the case of Stephens—see A.D. 1707), should be pursued, even beyond the grave, as the

vilest of criminals, and worst of all, that the heaviest charges should be again brought forward at the present day, although the very slender foundations on which they rest have been conclusively shewn long ago.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1701.

<sup>d</sup> The earl of Marlborough was appointed his governor, with a flattering speech from William, who did not often indulge in compliments: "My lord, make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wish to see him." To meet William's views a military taste was sedulously fostered in the child; a corps of boys was raised for him, who were drilled and armed, and mounted guard at his quarters, Campden-house, Kensington, and he passed the greater part of his time in "playing at soldiers" with them. But he proved to be weak alike in mind and body, and the expectations indulged in were doomed to disappointment.

the great seal prepared in the year of the Union we have England and Scot-



Arms of Anne, before the Union.

land only, and a new badge, the rose and the thistle conjoined.



Arms and Badge of Anne, after the Union.

was at once elegant, refined, and virtuous; her charities were munificent; and her reign has this happy distinction from all preceding ones, that in it no arm was raised against the sovereign<sup>e</sup>, and no subject's blood was shed for treason<sup>f</sup>.

A.D. 1702.

Anne succeeds to the throne, March 8. She is crowned, April 23.

The parliament in being at the queen's accession sits till May 25.

Anne was, during her lifetime and long after, popularly known as the "good Queen Anne," and she appears to have had kindness of heart entitling her to the appellation. Unwisely giving way to the ascendancy of the play-fellow of her childhood, she was led to take part against her father, and to quarrel on a matter of money with her sister; but her heart evidently yearned for her brother, and she would willingly have secured his succession to the throne after her death, though not possessing the self-denial to resign it in his favour. Her conduct as a wife and a mother was exemplary; her court

The queen in her first speech to the parliament recommends to them the union of England and Scotland, March 11.

An act passed for the support of the royal household<sup>g</sup>, [1 Ann. c. 1].

The queen empowered to appoint commissioners to treat for union between England and Scotland, [c. 8].

Bernardi and five others continued in prison during the queen's pleasure<sup>h</sup>, [c. 23].

Jews obliged to maintain and provide for any of their children who may become Protestants, [c. 24].

<sup>g</sup> In 1703 Simon Fraser (afterwards Lord Lovat, and a desperate intriguer) professed to disclose a plan for the invasion of Scotland, and in 1708 James Edward landed there, but he was obliged to retire without striking a blow. Two persons were arrested in consequence of Fraser's information, of whom one died in prison before he could be brought to trial, but the other was pardoned.

<sup>f</sup> One William Gregg, it is true, was executed for what was legally styled treason, but his offence in reality was that of a needy public servant who betrayed state secrets for money, and had nothing of the personal dislike to the sovereign or her measures usually found in the traitor. He was a clerk in the office of the secretary of state, and he abused this trust, by inclosing information for the French

ministry in the letters of Marshal Tallard, then a prisoner in England, which in the course of business passed through his hands for examination and sealing.

<sup>h</sup> This granted the same sums as had been enjoyed by William, but the queen in giving her assent to it, declared that while her subjects remained under such heavy burdens she would straiten herself in her own expenses, and would devote £100,000 a-year out of her own revenue towards the public service.

<sup>i</sup> See A.D. 1696. One of the number, James Counter, was after a while released, but the rest remained in custody during the whole of the queen's reign.

An act passed for the relief of insolvent debtors<sup>1</sup>, [c. 19].

The earl of Marlborough is sent to Holland as ambassador, in order to concert measures for "the preservation of the common liberty of Europe, and for reducing the power of France within due bounds." He has an audience of the States, March 31, and a vigorous prosecution of the war is resolved on.

The earl of Nottingham is appointed secretary of state and Lord Godolphin<sup>k</sup> treasurer.

War proclaimed against France and Spain, May 4.

The earl of Marlborough is declared captain-general of the land forces, and Prince George of Denmark lord high admiral, May 21.

Marlborough is appointed to the command of the allied armies; he speedily drives the French out of Venloo and Ruremond.

Sir John Munden fails to intercept a French fleet bound for the West

Indies as an escort to the Spanish galleons, and is cashiered<sup>l</sup>.

A combined English and Dutch fleet, with land troops on board, is sent to the Spanish coast, under Sir George Rooke and the duke of Ormond<sup>m</sup>. Cadiz is unsuccessfully attacked, Aug. 15.

The union of the rival East India Companies provided for by an award drawn up by the lord treasurer (Godolphin) July 22. They were each allowed seven years to wind up their affairs.

Admiral Benbow falls in with the French fleet (missed by Munden) near St. Martha, Aug. 19. It retires before him, and he pursues it for five days, but not being properly supported by his captains, he is unable to effect anything, and is himself mortally wounded<sup>n</sup>, Aug. 24.

A fleet of Spanish galleons<sup>o</sup> is captured or destroyed in the harbour of Vigo, by Sir George Rooke, Oct. 12.

The parliament meets Oct. 20, and

<sup>1</sup> No person was to be discharged unless he had been in prison six months, nor, if under 40 years of age, unless he was willing to serve as a soldier or sailor. There is another act on the same subject [2 & 3 Ann. c. 10], which allowed a person to be discharged without personal service if he could find a substitute.

<sup>k</sup> Sydney Godolphin rose from the post of page to a lordship of the treasury under Charles II., and, from his valuable business habits, he became indispensable to the new and inexperienced men brought forward by the revolution. He was, perhaps in consequence, greatly disliked and distrusted by them, but retained office until accused by Sir John Fenwick of correspondence with the court of St. Germain's, which obliged him to retire. He was now, by the influence of Marlborough, placed at the head of the treasury, and he gave his cordial aid in support of Marlborough's views, to whom, indeed, he was considered so essential, that one of the first steps afterwards taken to derange the plans and stop the career of the great general was the dismissal of Godolphin, which Harley accomplished in the year 1710. Godolphin was very instrumental in procuring the grant of the first-fruits for the Church, and also in bringing about the union with Scotland. The building of Greenwich Hospital likewise was much forwarded by him; Evelyn remarks, that while all the great men were profuse of promises, Godolphin was the first who gave money towards it. He died in 1712.

<sup>l</sup> He had formerly shewn himself a brave and active officer, and was declared by the court martial that tried him to have behaved with great zeal and diligence, yet he was, like the earl of Torrington, sacrificed to political animosity (see A.D. 1690). He died in retirement in 1718.

<sup>m</sup> He was the grandson of the great duke, so long lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and twice held that office himself. He was one of the first to join the prince of Orange, afterwards attended him in his campaigns in Ireland and Flanders, and was severely wounded at Landen. His reputation as a soldier, however, was not high, but he was appointed in 1712 to succeed the great Marlborough,

the design being that nothing of importance should be attempted. Ormond was rewarded for this treacherous inactivity with the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, but on the accession of George I. he was impeached, and having withdrawn to France was attainted, and his estates, valued at more than £20,000 per annum, confiscated; his brother, however, was allowed to repurchase them. The duke resided chiefly at Avignon, the court of James Edward, living on a pension from the crown of Spain, and dying Nov. 16, 1745, his remains were brought to England, and buried in his family vault in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>n</sup> Benbow had but seven ships, while the French had fifteen; this alarmed four of his captains, who positively refused to join in the action. The admiral followed with two vessels only, and when he outsailed these, having come up with the sternmost French ship, (Aug. 24,) he made three attempts in person to carry it by boarding, and was desperately wounded in the arm and the face; soon after his right leg was shattered by a chain shot, but having had his wounds dressed, he insisted on being again carried on deck, and lay there in his cot, directing the action, until the whole French fleet bore up, rescued his opponent, and reduced his own ship to a mere wreck, by distant firing, but did not attempt to board it. Benbow was now obliged to retire to Jamaica, where he died, as much perhaps of rage and grief as of his wounds, Nov. 4, 1702. Of the captains who deserted him, Thomas Hudson died before he could be brought to trial; John Constable was cashiered, by sentence of court martial; and Richard Kirkby and Cooper Wade were shot at Plymouth, April 16, 1703.

<sup>o</sup> This was the fleet which Benbow had sought to capture. Several of the vessels, with their treasure on board, still remain at the bottom of the harbour, but would probably long ago have been raised, if the Spanish government would have consented to give a liberal share to companies set on foot in England for the purpose. A "Vigo venture" was formed only as lately as 1869, but its promoters could not obtain what they considered suitable terms, and therefore abandoned the project.

sits till Feb. 27, 1703. Robert Harley is chosen Speaker.

Violent debates occur in the convocation, and the terms High Church and Low Church come into use, mainly as distinguishing the opponents and the favourers of a comprehension of dissenters. Dr. Atterbury<sup>p</sup> is a leading man among the former.

A land-tax granted for carrying on the war against France and Spain<sup>q</sup>, [1 Ann. stat. 2, c. 1].

Money raised by the sale of annuities payable at the Exchequer to support the war<sup>r</sup>, [c. 5].

Marlborough captures Liege, Oct. 23. Marlborough returns to England<sup>s</sup>, is thanked in parliament, and created a duke.

The Protestants of the south of France take up arms, and receive succours from England and Holland.

A.D. 1703.

The Scottish parliament meets, May 6. An attempt is made to procure a legal toleration of the episcopalians, but it is defeated. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun<sup>t</sup> brings forward a Bill of Security, proposing to limit the royal authority to very narrow bounds, which is dropped; but no supplies are granted, and the parliament, after a most tumultuous sitting, is adjourned.

<sup>p</sup> Francis Atterbury was born near Newport Pagnell in 1662, was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and was one of the court chaplains to William III. He took a prominent part in the disputes regarding the rights of Convocation, was in 1712 preferred from the deanery of Carlisle to that of Christ Church, Oxford, and in the following year was made bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster. He was a warm partisan of the Stuarts, and was in consequence sent to the Tower in 1722. In the next year, legal evidence not being forthcoming, he was banished by a special act of parliament, and went to France, being, as he conceived, betrayed by Bolingbroke, who returned to England at the very same time. Bishop Atterbury died in France in 1732, but his body was brought to England and buried in Westminster Abbey. He is now generally considered to have been very harshly treated for his political opinions, and not for any treasonable acts, and it is certain that he was an eloquent preacher, an elegant poet, and most amiable and exemplary in private life.

<sup>q</sup> This tax was estimated to produce £1,979,931 19s. 1d.

<sup>r</sup> Natural-born subjects were to be allowed to advance £87,630, and were to receive for it annuities at the rate of £14 for every £210 paid, for a period of 89 years, a most improvident arrangement.

<sup>s</sup> On his voyage down the Maese towards the Hague he was stopped (Nov. 4.) by a straggling party from the French garrison at Guelde, but coolly producing an old passport which had been formerly granted to his brother, he was allowed to proceed, though his escort was captured.

The Irish parliament passes a law making it treason to impeach the Protestant succession, [2 Ann. c. 5]; also an act for the naturalization of foreign Protestants, [c. 14]. It adds to the severity of the existing laws against Romanists, by new statutes [cc. 3, 6, 7], one of which directs the Romanist clergy to register themselves, on pain of banishment, and the penalties of treason if they return, [c. 7].

The Methuen treaty concluded with Portugal<sup>u</sup>, May 6.

Marlborough captures Bonn, Huy, Limburg, and other places. On the other hand the French cross the Rhine, defeat the imperialists at Hochstadt and at Spire, and capture Augsburg.

Charles, an Austrian archduke, assumes the title of Charles III. of Spain, Sept. 12. He is assisted by the English, Dutch, and Portuguese.

The queen, by letters patent, of Nov. 3, restores the first-fruits and tenths to the Church.

The parliament meets Nov. 9, and sits till April 3, 1704.

A tempest, known as the Great Storm, ravages the coast of England, from Nov. 26 to Dec. 1, and does enormous damage<sup>x</sup>.

A quarrel occurs between the two

<sup>t</sup> He was the son of a Scottish knight, was born in 1653, and was early left an orphan. His tutor, Gilbert Burnet, inspired him with an idea of imitating the great republicans of antiquity, and he thus took so active a part in opposition to the government, that while still a very young man he was obliged to retire to Holland, and his estate was confiscated. He was one of the most active of the refugees, and accompanied Monmouth in his invasion, but was obliged to withdraw in a few days, having killed one of his associates in a quarrel. Fletcher then served in Hungary against the Turks, and having recovered his estate in consequence of the Revolution, he became an active member of the Scottish Parliament, where he forwarded the Darien scheme, supported the Hanoverian succession, and opposed the Union with vehemence near akin to frenzy. He carried his admiration of antiquity so far as to propose, in his "Discourses on Public Affairs," reducing all beggars to slavery. All accounts agree in representing him as a man of intolerably proud, fierce, and unrelenting temper, and he died little regretted in 1716.

<sup>u</sup> The Portuguese had in 1701 made a treaty with Louis XIV. to support his views upon Spain, but they were now induced by the concession of various commercial privileges to join the allies.

<sup>x</sup> Twelve ships and 1,500 men of the royal navy were lost, beside very many merchant vessels. Bishop Kidder and his wife were killed by the fall of a part of the episcopal palace at Wells; several of the colleges at Cambridge received great injury: and the lightning destroyed much agricultural produce.

Houses as to an alleged plot for the invasion of Scotland<sup>y</sup>.

Another quarrel arises between the Lords and Commons concerning a disputed election, which endures until the prorogation of parliament<sup>z</sup>.

The Scottish Order of the Thistle is re-established<sup>a</sup>, Dec. 31.

<sup>y</sup> Lord Lovat (Simon Fraser) accused the duke of Athol (John Murray) and others of a secret correspondence with the Court at St. Germain. The Peers, headed by Lord Somers, investigated the matter, and indirectly charged the earl of Nottingham, the secretary of state, with concealing the real facts of the case; the Commons then declared that such investigations belonged only to their House; and the Scottish Parliament afterwards expressed itself injured that a matter relating to Scotland had been discussed elsewhere. In consequence of these disputes, no one was punished, and Lovat persisted for many years in a course of violence and intrigue, betraying all parties, and gaining money alike from the Jacobites and the Hanoverians. At length, at the age of 80, he was brought under the law. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, April 9, 1747, asserting, in a Latin quotation, his gratification at "dying for his country," and maintaining an appearance of philosophic composure hardly to be expected from a man whose life had been so deeply stained with crime.

<sup>z</sup> Party feeling ran very high at Aylesbury, and the returning officers of that town refused to receive the votes of several of the burgesses. One Ashby obtained a verdict against them for this, which, though set aside by the court of Queen's Bench, was affirmed by the House of Lords, and in consequence five other persons brought similar actions. The Commons declared that the cognizance of disputed elections belonged only to their House, committed the complainants and their agents to Newgate, and held angry conferences with the Lords; the latter passed resolutions condemning these proceedings, both Houses also addressed the queen, and she was at length obliged to terminate the dispute by proroguing the parliament. The Commons, however, were victorious, and have ever since acted on the right then claimed; but in 1868 they delegated their power of inquiry to certain judges, who report to the House.

<sup>a</sup> This order is fabulously said to have been



Collar and Badge of the Order of the Thistle.

A.D. 1704.

The earl of Nottingham retires from the ministry. Harley becomes secretary of state, and St. John<sup>b</sup> and Howe<sup>c</sup> take office.

The queen's gift for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy confirmed<sup>d</sup>, [2 & 3 Ann. c. 20].

founded by Achaius, in the eighth century, in commemoration of a victory gained over a king of Northumbria. It was revived in 1540 by James V., and in 1687 by James VII. (II. of England), but had in each case been suffered to fall into disuse.

<sup>b</sup> Henry St. John, born at Battersea in 1672, was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford. He had for some time been an active member of Parliament, and he now became secretary of war, but resigned the post early in 1708. On the dis-



Arms of St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

missal of the Whig ministry St. John came into office with Harley, and he was in 1712 created Viscount Bolingbroke. He entered into the queen's views with regard to the succession of her brother, but the plan was frustrated, mainly owing to his rivalry with Harley, and soon after the accession of George I. he fled, disguised as a valet, to France, when he was attainted. Bolingbroke now became secretary to James Edward, but was distrusted by him, and having made his peace with the government, he was allowed to return to England in 1723. He employed himself with literature for awhile, and also busied himself in fomenting the differences between George II. and his son, Frederic prince of Wales. Impatient of his exclusion from public life, he again withdrew to France, but he returned to England in 1744, and died at his native place, in 1751, leaving the character of an elegant writer, but equally well known as an unbeliever, a dishonest politician, and a man of detestable private character.

<sup>c</sup> John Howe, a Nottinghamshire man, described by Evelyn as "little better than a madman," had been an officer of the household in the preceding reign, but had been dismissed, and expressed himself in the House of Commons with so much bitterness against the Dutch, the Partition Treaties, and a standing army, that William regarded him as a personal enemy. He was now made paymaster of the forces, and retained the office until 1708, when he was displaced by Walpole. He died in 1721. Having changed more than once from Whig to Tory and from Tory to Whig, and always employing vehement language against the party he had left, Howe bears a bad character, but it is to his credit that he originated the system of permanent half-pay to disbanded officers; before his time, when a war was ended they were cast off without any provision.

<sup>d</sup> The preamble of this act, which established the corporation known as the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, states that no sufficient settled



Marlborough comes to England in February, and concert measures for the relief of the emperor, who is hardly pressed by the Bavarians and the French. He returns to the Continent, and takes the field in May\*.

An English force sent to Portugal, not being seconded (as was expected) by the people of the country, is foiled by the French and Spaniards under the duke of Berwick.

Marlborough proceeds into Germany, against the French. He defeats the Bavarians at Schellenberg<sup>f</sup>, July 2, and advancing into Bavaria, in concert with Prince Eugene<sup>g</sup>, totally routs the French army at Blenheim<sup>h</sup>, Aug. 2. The elector of Bavaria is obliged to take refuge in the Spanish Netherlands.

The Scottish parliament meets July 6.

provision has yet been made for the clergy in many parts of the realm, "by reason whereof divers mean and stipendiary preachers are in many places entertained to serve the cures and officiate there, who, depending for necessary maintenance upon the good will and liking of their hearers, have been, and are thereby under temptation of too much complying and suiting their doctrines and teaching to the humours rather than the good of their hearers, which hath been a great occasion of faction and schism and contempt of the ministry."

\* He then first met Prince Eugene, who ever after remained his firm friend. Both were famed for politeness, and they found an opportunity for his exercise. When Marlborough's troops passed before the prince at Hippach, although they had made a long march, he exclaimed, "My lord, I never saw better horses, better clothes, finer belts and accoutrements, yet all these may be had for money; but there is a spirit in the looks of your men, which I never yet saw in any in my life." Marlborough replied, "If it be as your Highness is pleased to say, that spirit has been inspired in them by your presence." Marlborough, indeed, had compliments ready for every one. When he was sent in 1707 to learn the views of Charles XII. of Sweden, he, after gaining the victories of Blenheim and Ramillies, coolly assured the half-madman that he should esteem himself but too happy, could he have the advantage of studying under him the art of war.

<sup>f</sup> The Bavarians occupied an intrenched camp from which they were driven, with great loss. The attack was commenced by a battalion of the English foot-guards, preceded by a party of 50 grenadiers, only 10 of whom escaped unhurt.

<sup>g</sup> This celebrated commander was the son of Prince Maurice of Savoy and Olympia Mancini, the niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and was born in 1663. He was at first intended for the Church, but entered the army, and on the disgrace of his mother (who was believed to have some concern in the poisonings of the marchioness of Brinvilliers), he left France and went into the imperial service. He served in the campaigns in which the Turks were driven from before Vienna and ultimately from Hungary, and shewed so much talent and activity that Louis XIV. invited him to return to France, but he declined. Eugene defeated the Turks at Zenta in 1697, and on the breaking out of the War of the Spanish Succession had considerable success against the French in Italy. He was

The chief conditions of the Bill of Security<sup>i</sup> are tacked to a bill of supply, and receive the royal assent<sup>k</sup>.

Gibraltar is besieged, July 21, by Sir George Rooke and the prince of Hesse; it is captured by surprise July 23.

A French fleet, which had arrived to succour the fortress, is pursued to Malaga, and suffers severely in an action there, Aug. 13; the English are unable to follow up their victory for want of ammunition, and the French reach Toulon<sup>l</sup>.

An English merchant-fleet, under the convoy of two men of war, is attacked in the Channel, by a French squadron, and many vessels (including the men of war) taken, Aug. 4.

The French and Spaniards besiege Gibraltar, in October, but are unable to recover it. Their fleet is attacked

afterwards sent to the Netherlands, where he was a sharer in most of the triumphs of Marlborough, and continued the war even after the English troops were withdrawn; the peace that was at last concluded between the emperor and Louis XIV. was negotiated in a brief personal conference between Eugene and his most successful opponent, Marshal Villars. In 1716 Eugene again took the field against the Turks, defeated them at Peterwardein, and captured Belgrade. After several years of retirement he was again engaged against the French in the war of 1734, but was unable to save the strong fortress of Philipsburg, on the Rhine, which they had besieged, and returned to Vienna, where he died soon after, April 10, 1736. From his early destination to the Church Prince Eugene possessed more learning than most of the great commanders of his time, and he was distinguished through a very eventful life as modest, affable, disinterested, generous, and humane. His admiration for Marlborough's military talents was extreme, and he nobly bore testimony to them on all occasions, particularly on his visit to England in 1712, when that great captain was suffering unmerited disgrace.

<sup>h</sup> The confederates had about 50,000 men, the French 60,000. After a battle of five hours' duration, the French horse were driven to the brink of the Danube, where vast numbers of them perished in attempting to cross; they also lost 12,000 killed on the field, and 13,000 prisoners, among them Marshal Tallard, the commander, who was long confined in England. The confederates had near 5,000 men killed and 8,000 wounded, and for trophies they brought from the field 124 cannon and mortars, 300 colours and standards, 3,600 tents, the military chest, and all the camp equipage of the vanquished, including 34 coaches, and 300 laden baggage mules.

<sup>i</sup> See A.D. 1703.

<sup>k</sup> These provisions reserved to Scotland, in the case of the queen dying without issue, the right to choose an occupant of the throne independently of England, and allowed the training and arming of the people. The object of this was to secure the succession of the House of Hanover, which the queen was supposed to desire to frustrate.

<sup>l</sup> The English ships had by a long course of service fallen into bad condition, and were thus unable to keep up with the French, who were towed off by galleys; Sir George Rooke was unjustly blamed for this, and deprived of his command.

by Sir John Leake<sup>m</sup>, Oct. 29, and several vessels burnt; he also throws relief into the fortress.

The parliament meets, Oct. 29, and sits till March 14, 1705.

A.D. 1705.

The colours taken at Blenheim are set up in Westminster hall, Jan. 3, and the duke of Marlborough is entertained by the city of London, Jan. 6.

Sir John Leake raises the siege of Gibraltar, March 10. He also destroys a French squadron which formed part of the besieging force<sup>n</sup>.

The manor of Woodstock granted to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs "in consideration of the eminent services by him performed to her Majesty and the public<sup>o</sup>," [3 and 4 Ann. c. 4].

An act passed "for the effectual securing the kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that may arise

from several acts lately passed in the parliament of Scotland," [c. 6].

This act provides that until the succession to the throne is settled in Scotland as it is in England<sup>p</sup>, natives of Scotland are to be regarded as aliens, arms are forbidden to be exported to, or sheep or cattle imported from Scotland; neither is Scottish coal or linen to be allowed to be brought into England or Ireland, under heavy penalties. The penal clauses were repealed in 1705, [4 & 5 Ann. c. 15].

Marlborough takes the field in May, and prepares to invade France on the side of Lorraine; he is badly supported by the imperialists, and is recalled to the Netherlands to arrest the progress of the French; he forces their lines at Tirllemont, July 18, and retakes Huy.

The earl of Peterborough (Charles Mordaunt<sup>q</sup>) and Sir Cloudesly Shovel are sent with an expedition to Spain,

<sup>m</sup> He was born at Rotherhithe, in 1656, and when a mere youth served in the Dutch war of 1673, on board the Royal Prince, but afterwards entered the merchant service, and, like Benbow, distinguished himself against the Barbary corsairs. He rejoined the royal navy, and shewed both courage and skill in the relief of Londonderry and the battle of La Hogue. In 1702 he commanded a squadron which drove the French out of Newfoundland, for which he was knighted. After signaling himself in the battle of Malaga, as well as at Gibraltar and Barcelona, Sir John became, by the death of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and he performed his last great services at sea by reducing the islands of Sardinia and Minorca. On his return to England he was made one of the lords of the admiralty, but being believed to be favourable to the House of Stuart, he was, though his conduct was allowed to be without a blemish, on the accession of George I. deprived of all his offices. He died in retirement at Greenwich, Aug. 21, 1720, much regretted as a skilful sailor, and a kind-hearted, honest man.

<sup>n</sup> This victory annihilated the French naval power in the Mediterranean; what few ships remained, sheltered themselves behind the fortifications of Toulon during the remainder of the war.

<sup>o</sup> This princely gift was to be held "of her majesty, her heirs and successors as of her castle at Windsor, in free and common socage, by fealty and rendering to her majesty, her heirs and successors on the second day of August in every year for ever, at the castle of Windsor, one standard or colour with three flower de luces painted thereupon, for all manner of rents, services, exactions and demands whatsoever."

<sup>p</sup> The Scottish parliament had resolved, not long before, "that until essential provision was made for settling the rights and liberties of the Scottish nation independent of English interests and English councils, the succession to the Scottish crown should not ever more devolve on the person who wore the crown of England."

<sup>q</sup> This singular man, the grandson of the first, and nephew of the second earl of Peterborough, was born about 1658, and in his seventeenth year became Lord Mordaunt, on the death of his father. He commenced his adventurous career, like many of the young men of his time, by service in the

garrison of Tangier against the Moors, and displayed there all that reckless contempt of danger and impatience of subordination which marked his after life. Returning to England he joined the opposition party, and made himself so conspicuous, that he found it at last expedient to withdraw to Holland, and he was one of the most vehement in urging William of Orange to undertake his expedition. Mordaunt accompanied him, and was rewarded with the title of earl of Monmouth, and a strangely unsuitable post in the treasury, which he soon relinquished for a pension. He, however, like many others, became discontented with the government that he had helped to set up, entered into intrigues with the court at St. Germain's, was



Arms of Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough.

in consequence sent to the Tower in 1697, and, though soon released, he found himself distrusted by all parties. In the same year he became, by the death of his uncle, earl of Peterborough, and it was under that title that his romantic exploits in Spain were performed. Appointed in 1705, in conjunction with Sir Cloudesly Shovel, to the command of a fleet, he speedily captured the strong city of Barcelona, and then, serving with an army, he drove the French before him, and reduced a vast tract of country to acknowledge Charles III. His conquests were lost, however, almost as speedily as they were gained, and he returned to England, beaten and dispirited, in 1710, but was afterwards made governor of Minorca. To the end of his life he experienced strange vicissitudes; being generally embroiled in fierce quarrels with

in May. They besiege Barcelona Aug. 22, storm the great fort of Montjuich, Sept. 6, and reduce the city, Oct. 4.

The Portuguese invade Spain, and besiege Badajoz, but are obliged to retire. Meanwhile the earl of Peterborough overruns Catalonia and Valencia, where he establishes the authority of Charles III.

The Irish parliament passes a law disabling any Romanist to sit on the grand jury, [4 Ann. c. 6].

The Scottish parliament meets, June 28. A proposal for Union with England is made, by direction of the English ministry<sup>r</sup>. The matter is debated with great warmth, but at length commissioners are appointed to repair to London to discuss its terms.

William Cowper<sup>s</sup> is appointed lord-keeper, Oct. 11.

An English merchant fleet from the Baltic is captured, Oct. 20, by the Dunkirk privateers, commanded by M. St. Paul, who is killed in the action.

The parliament meets, Oct. 25, and sits till March 19, 1706. John Smith, Esq., is chosen Speaker. The Whigs

form the majority, and treat with ridicule the assertion of the Tories that the Church is in danger from the machinations of the dissenters.

In the Convocation the inferior clergy display a feeling of hostility to the bishops. Bishops Compton and Hough complain of this in the House of Lords, when Burnet defends them, and avows his presbyterian opinions.

A.D. 1706.

The princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and her issue naturalized, [4 & 5 Ann. c. 16].

An act passed for securing the Protestant succession<sup>t</sup>, [c. 20].

The effects of Kidd, the pirate<sup>u</sup>, amounting to £6,472 1s., granted to Greenwich Hospital, [c. 23].

The commissioners for the Union<sup>x</sup> hold their first meeting at Westminster, April 16.

Barcelona, besieged by the French and Spaniards, is relieved by Sir John Leake, May 11. The fleet under his command also reduces Alicante, Car-

all around him, reckless in his expenditure, and consequently overwhelmed with debt, yet a popular favourite from his generosity and courage. He died in 1735.

<sup>r</sup> The marquis of Queensberry (James Murray) and the earl of Stair, of Glencoe notoriety, had been engaged to support this measure, and their hands were strengthened by a liberal distribution of bribes among the rest of the nobility and gentry. Daniel Defoe, better known as the author of Robinson Crusoe, was the secret agent of the English government in the matter, and he has left a curious, though perhaps not very trustworthy narrative of his proceedings. He was born in London, of mean parentage, in 1668, was concerned in Monmouth's rebellion, but escaped punishment. At the Revolution he exerted his pen in favour of the new rulers, and was rewarded with a place in the glass-tax office. His zeal for his patrons, however, was intemperate, and he ventured to display it when they were out of power. The irony of a pamphlet which he published, in 1703, termed "The Shortest Way with Dissenters," being misunderstood, he was prosecuted, placed in the pillory (July 29, 1703), and imprisoned. His works are very numerous, and on a great variety of subjects, but they did not so occupy him as to prevent his engaging in an equal variety of commercial speculations, which were generally unsuccessful, and he died in poverty in 1731.

<sup>s</sup> He was the son of a Hertfordshire baronet, and was born at Hertford in 1664. He studied the law, and had just been called to the bar when the Prince of Orange landed, and both the Cowpers hastened in arms to join him. William Cowper obtained a seat in parliament in 1695, and he soon became a distinguished debater, especially exerting himself in favour of the bill for attainting Sir John Fenwick, when he found his most able opponent in Mr. Harcourt, who ultimately succeeded him as chancellor. He was a vehement assertor of Whig principles, and on the triumph of his party he was now

appointed lord-keeper; in 1706 he was made a peer, and became lord-chancellor the next year. On the overthrow of the Whig ministry he retired with his associates, though much against the wish of Queen Anne, Sept. 23, 1710. On the 22nd September, 1714, Lord Cowper became chancellor a second time, and he presided as lord-steward at the trial of the earl of Derwentwater and other Jacobite peers, in 1716, when he shewed himself wanting in the impartiality of the judge. He rendered himself unpopular by supporting a Mutiny Bill, which authorized the keeping of a standing army in time of peace, and being supposed to incline to the cause of the Prince of Wales in his dispute with his father, George I., he was subjected to so many mortifications that he resigned the great seal, April 15, 1718, and retired into private life. He died Oct. 10, 1723, esteemed only second to his friend Lord Somers as a constitutional lawyer, and, like him, the subject of much scandal regarding his private life.

<sup>t</sup> By this act, maintaining in writing that the queen was not a lawful sovereign, and that the kings or queens of England with and by the authority of parliament cannot limit the descent of the crown, was declared treason; preaching or advisedly speaking to the same effect, a præmunire. Seven great officers were appointed to administer the government in case the next Protestant successor should not be in the realm at the time of the queen's death, and all persons neglecting or refusing to proclaim such successor were made liable to the penalties of treason.

<sup>u</sup> See A.D. 1701.

<sup>x</sup> The English commissioners were, the two archbishops, the lord-keeper (Cowper), lord-treasurer (Godolphin), and 28 others; the Scots sent their chancellor (James, earl of Seafield) and 31 others. The Scots were inclined only to agree to a federation, but the English pressed for an incorporation, and eventually they carried their point.

thagena, and the Balearic Isles, except Minorca.

Marlborough defeats Villeroy at Ramillies, May 12, and gains possession of all Brabant, the states of which solemnly recognise Charles III., June 7. Ostend surrenders, July 16; Menin, Aug. 25; Dendermonde, Aug. 29; Aeth, Oct. 3.

The English and Portuguese take

Alcantara, drive the duke of Berwick before them, and enter Madrid, June 24.

A fleet and army are fitted out, under Earl Rivers (Richard Savage) and Sir Cloudesly Shovel, for an attack on the coast of France<sup>†</sup>; but the design is abandoned, and they proceed to Spain in June.

## THE UNION WITH SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1706.

The terms of Union are agreed on by the commissioners, July 22. They consist of 25 articles, which provide that the two states shall, from a day to be named, form one "United Kingdom of Great Britain," the armorial bearings whereof shall be determined by the queen. The maintenance of the episcopal Church in England, and the presbyterian Kirk in Scotland, is made a *sine quâ non* by the embodiment of acts passed by each parliament for that purpose; and Scotland is to be represented in the legislature of the United Kingdom by 16 peers and 45

commoners chosen for each parliament. The laws and customs of each country are to be preserved unaltered, unless the United Parliament shall at any time determine otherwise in any particular case, and an equivalent shall be paid to the Scots for losses that they may sustain by alterations in the coinage, and in the mode of levying and applying certain taxes. Finally, hostile laws are to be repealed before the Scottish parliament separates; navigation and intercourse are to be free, and natives of either country are to be considered as denizens of the other.

A.D. 1706.

Charles III. fails to reach Madrid with proper support. The English and Portuguese are in consequence obliged to quit it, and Philip V. regains possession, Aug. 5.

The French are successful in the early part of the year in Italy. Prince Eugene takes the command against them, totally defeats them at Turin, Sept. 7, and drives them to the borders of France.

Louis XIV. begins to make overtures for peace, October<sup>‡</sup>.

The Scottish parliament meets, Oct. 3. The terms of Union agreed on in

London are brought forward, but are very ill received.

The parliament meets, Dec. 3, and sits till April 24, 1707.

Mrs. Masham<sup>§</sup> gains the queen's favour, and introduces Harley to private audiences with her. He concert measures with St. John for driving the Whig ministers from office, but is unable to effect his purpose for a while, owing to the powerful support which they receive from Marlborough's successes.

A.D. 1707.

The Scottish parliament, by 110 votes to 69, passes the Act of Union,

<sup>†</sup> The expedition was projected by a renegade Frenchman, who had assumed the title of marquis de Guiscard, but his representations, when examined into at sea, were disbelieved by the admiral and general, who declined to act on them. Guiscard, however, was employed in the English service for a while, and then pensioned, but he entered into intrigues with France, was apprehended, and while under examination by the privy council, stabbed Harley, though not dangerously; Guiscard himself died soon after of injuries received in the scuffle.

<sup>‡</sup> The proposal was in the form of a private letter from the elector of Bavaria to Marlborough, who laid it before the ministers of the allies at the Hague, but no further notice was taken of it.

<sup>§</sup> Abigail Masham was the daughter of a reduced Turkey merchant named Hill, and she was distantly related both to the duchess of Marlborough and to Harley. She had been placed by the duchess in a menial position about the queen, and being of a supple, insinuating nature, she gained influence, which Harley turned to his own purpose.

Jan. 16. Debates on the Act of Union commence in the English parliament, Feb. 15; a bill embodying the treaty is at length passed [6 Ann. c. 11], and receives the royal assent.

A pension of £5,000 per annum settled on the duke of Marlborough, [6 Ann. cc. 6, 7].

An act passed for the security of the English Church<sup>b</sup>, [c. 8].

Living not exceeding £50 a-year freed from the payment of first-fruits, tenths, and arrears [c. 24].

The English, Dutch, and Portuguese are defeated by the duke of Berwick at Almanza, April 14, and all the conquests of the allies are speedily lost, except such as can be protected by their fleets.

The Union with Scotland takes effect, May 1. A proclamation is issued,

by the fleet under Sir Cloudesly Shovel, June 30.

Toulon is unsuccessfully attacked by the English fleet, July 17. The French Protestants keep aloof<sup>d</sup>, and the allies retire into Piedmont by the end of August.

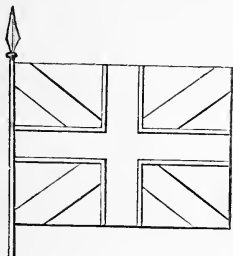
The French, under Villars, have some success in Germany, but being opposed by George Louis, elector of Hanover (afterwards King George I.), they are obliged to withdraw.

Marlborough and Vendome face each other in the Netherlands. No great battle is fought, and their armies go into winter quarters early in October.

The Lisbon fleet is attacked off the Lizard, by the Dunkirk squadron, Oct. 10. The merchant ships escape, but of the five men-of-war three are captured, one blown up, and one seeks shelter in Kinsale<sup>e</sup>.

Sir Cloudesly Shovel, returning to England, is wrecked, with four of his ships, on the rocks of Scilly, Oct. 22.

The first United parliament of Great Britain meets, October 23, and sits till April 1, 1708. John Smith, Esq., is chosen Speaker. Many acts were passed in relation to the lately accomplished Union. By one [6 Ann. c. 40,] "to render the Union more complete," justices of the peace were appointed for Scotland, and the Scottish privy council dissolved; by c. 53, a court of exchequer was erected in Scotland; by c. 78, the election of the 16 Scottish peers was regulated; and by c. 51, provision was made for the payment of what was called the "equivalent money," which professed to be a compensation for loss that the Scots might sustain by the depreciation of their coin, but which was very generally looked on as a bribe, and occasioned discontent in both countries<sup>f</sup>.



National Flag of Great Britain.

appointing the national flag of the united kingdoms<sup>g</sup>, July 28.

Two men of war and above 20 merchant-vessels are captured near Dungeness by a squadron from Dunkirk, May 2.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy invade France, in June, being assisted at their passage of the Var

<sup>b</sup> This was rendered necessary by the Treaty of Union, the Scottish parliament having already passed an act for the maintenance of the presbyterian form of church government.

<sup>c</sup> This flag is the same as had been directed by James I. in 1606 (see p. 377), but which had fallen into disuse.

<sup>d</sup> The more vehement of the party, termed Camisards, had recently been in arms, but had been reduced to submission, when some regiments of them were allowed to leave the country, and enter the service of the allies; the others had not forgotten that they had been abandoned by William III. in concluding the peace of Ryswick. See A.D. 1697.

<sup>e</sup> This was the Royal Oak, whose commander (Baron Wylde) was cashiered, but subsequently re-admitted to the service.

<sup>f</sup> The amount was £398,085 ros., part of which was adjudged as compensation to the African (Darien) Company, ruined in the late reign. Much of the sum was sent in notes of the Bank of England, which the Scots were unaccustomed to, and positively refused to receive, esteeming them worthless; and the wagons laden with specie, though guarded by dragoons, were assailed, so that it was with great difficulty that they were got safely into the castle of Edinburgh; not that the people desired to plunder them, but because they looked on the gold as the price for which the independence-

Statutes were also passed for the security of the Hanoverian succession; c. 41 provided that the parliament should not be dissolved by the death of the queen, and ordered certain high officers of state to proclaim the protestant heir, under pain of treason; and c. 66 enacted an oath to maintain the succession, to be taken by all Scottish office-holders, before April 20, 1708, on pain of deprivation.

William Gregg, a clerk in Harley's office, is detected in betraying state secrets to the French ministry. Harley is charged with being privy to the matter.

The ministers are attacked in pamphlets, as unfriendly to the Church. They proceed with severity against the writers, as libellers<sup>g</sup>.

A.D. 1708.

Harley is removed from office, and St. John resigns, Feb. 11. They are succeeded by Robert Walpole and Cardonel.

James Edward, son of James II., sails from Dunkirk, March 6, and lands in Scotland. Sir George Byng<sup>h</sup> puts to flight a large convoy with troops and stores, dispatched to him from Dunkirk, and he soon returns to France.

The Habeas Corpus Act is, in con-

sequence of the attempt, suspended from March 10 till Oct. 28, 1708, [6 Ann. c. 67].

The East India Companies agree to lend £1,200,000, and obtain a fresh grant of exclusive trade until March 25, 1726, [c. 71].

Convoys appointed for merchant vessels<sup>i</sup>, [c. 65].

The two East India Companies united, in virtue of the agreement of 1702<sup>k</sup>.

Commodore Wager intercepts a fleet of Spanish galleons on their passage between Porto Bello and Carthagena, May 28. He blows up the admiral's ship, and captures the rear-admiral, but owing to the negligence of two of his captains<sup>l</sup>, the rest of the fleet (15 in number) escape.

The French advance into Flanders, and surprise Ghent and Bruges, early in July. They are attacked by Marlborough, and totally defeated at Oudenarde, July 11, their fortified lines near Ypres destroyed, Ghent taken, and Artois and Picardy laid under contribution.

Sardinia and Minorca are surrendered to Sir John Leake<sup>m</sup>.

The duke of Savoy drives the French army beyond the Alps.

Prince George of Denmark dies, Oct. 28. His office of lord high admiral

of their country had been sold. Defoe, who was in Edinburgh at the time, has given a lively description of the tumult.

<sup>g</sup> Several who were convicted were placed in the pillory, but one of the number (William Stephens, already mentioned, A.D. 1700) escaped this degradation by sending an abject petition to the duchess of Marlborough. The duke, who had been scandalously attacked, was consulted, and on his urgent request the libeller was pardoned.

<sup>h</sup> He was the son of a Kentish gentleman, had gone to sea very early, and afterwards served in the garrison of Tangier, with Peterborough and others, who like himself rose to eminence. When the Revolution was impending, Byng, then only a young lieutenant, was very active in the service of the Prince of Orange, and was soon after made captain, first of a frigate, then of a line-of-battle-ship, and he was very conspicuous for his gallantry and conduct, not only in the battles of Beachy Head and La Hogue, but also in watching the French ports to prevent the invasion threatened in 1696. He now again performed a similar service, and in 1715 he was similarly employed, when by capturing many transports with stores he rendered the success of the rising in that year hopeless. Two years later he was again successful in foiling an invasion projected by Charles XII. of Sweden, and he next inflicted a heavy blow on the Spaniards and drove them from Sicily. For these services he was created Viscount Torrington, and was afterwards first lord of the admiralty, in which post he died, in 1732, in the 70th year of his age. The unfortunate Admiral

John Byng, shot by sentence of a court-martial, in 1757, was his son.

<sup>i</sup> By this statute 43 vessels of war were ordered to be kept constantly in the neighbourhood of Great Britain to protect commerce from the daring enterprises of the French privateers. <sup>k</sup> See p. 527.

<sup>l</sup> Simon Bridges and Edward Windsor; they were cashiered. The ship taken had a very large sum of money on board, of which, according to the prize regulations of the day, the commodore was entitled to as much as he chose to take; his captain had accordingly secured £30,000 for him, but finding on his return to Jamaica that a proclamation had recently been issued which acted more fairly by the common sailors, Wager at once surrendered the money, and took instead his allotted share, though that was rendered much less than it would have been, in consequence of his having, agreeably to the old rule, suffered the seamen to plunder the prize; his disinterestedness was appreciated, and he became one of the most popular men in the service. He was afterwards employed in various important commands, was for several years first lord of the admiralty, and died, greatly regretted, May 24, 1742.

<sup>m</sup> Sardinia was given to Charles, the Austrian competitor for the crown of Spain, but Minorca was ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht. It remained a British possession until captured by the French and Spaniards in 1756, a loss which occasioned the death of Admiral Byng, who was charged with not having "done his utmost" to succour the garrison.

is given to the earl of Pembroke, and among other changes, Lord Somers is made lord president of the council.

The parliament meets, Nov. 16, and sits till April 24, 1709. Sir Richard Onslow, a Whig, is chosen Speaker<sup>a</sup>.

The citadel of Lille is surrendered to the allies, Dec. 29, and the whole of Flanders falls into their hands.

A.D. 1709.

Foreign Protestants naturalized, on taking the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in some Protestant or reformed congregation, and also taking certain oaths<sup>b</sup>, [7 Ann. c. 5].

The privileges of ambassadors declared<sup>c</sup>, [c. 12].

An act passed for the prevention of laying wagers on matters of public interest, [c. 16].

An act passed for "improving the Union," [c. 21,] by introducing the English law of treason to Scotland<sup>d</sup>.

A small English force beats off Du Guai Trouin's squadron, of much greater number, off the Lizard, March 2. He, however, keeps the sea, fights an indecisive action (April 9) with a squadron under Lord Dursley; captures a 64-gun ship, Oct. 26, and drives a 50-gun vessel to seek shelter in Baltimore harbour, Nov. 2.

Marlborough and Prince Eugene collect their forces at Lille. They capture Tournay<sup>e</sup>, June 30, and give

a terrible defeat to the French at Malplaquet<sup>f</sup>, Sept. 11.

The parliament meets, Nov. 15, and sits till April 5, 1710.

Mr. Dolben<sup>g</sup> complains of two sermons preached by Dr. Sacheverell<sup>h</sup> as "contrary to Revolution principles," Dec. 13. They are voted "scandalous and seditious," and their author impeached.

An act passed for securing the Hanoverian succession [8 Ann. c. 15], which extended the time for taking the oaths required of all office-holders to June 28, 1710.

A.D. 1710.

Dr. Sacheverell is tried, (Feb. 27—March 23,) and is found guilty, and silenced for three years. His sermon is burnt by the hangman, as is the Oxford Decree of 1683<sup>i</sup>.

Conferences for peace are commenced at Gertruydenberg, March 11. They are broken off without any result, July 20.

Marlborough and Prince Eugene take Montaigne, April 18, and Douay, June 26.

Sir John Norris takes Cette, in Languedoc, July 23, but the enterprise is not followed up.

The Whig ministry are dismissed, Aug. 8, when Harley is made chancellor of the exchequer, and St. John secretary of state.

<sup>a</sup> His election was very distasteful to the Tories, one of whom (General Mordaunt) ironically proposed that the clerk of the house should be chosen, "for, having been assistant to good speakers, to bad ones, and to the worst, he seemed to be as well qualified for that station as any body."

<sup>b</sup> This Act was repealed in 1711, [10 Ann. c. 9].

<sup>c</sup> The ambassador of Peter, Czar of Russia (Andrew Artemonowitz Matueof) had been arrested for debt, by one Thomas Morton, a laceman, at which his master expressed so much indignation that an embassy was sent to soothe him, and this act was passed, which declares the persons and property of ambassadors absolutely free from process for any civil cause.

<sup>d</sup> Torture was abolished by this act, but it is declared that the enactment "shall not extend to take away that judgment which is given in England against persons indicted of felony who shall refuse to plead or decline trial." This is the *peine forte et dure*, or pressing to death, a barbarous practice which prevailed in this country from an early period, and, though happily long fallen into disuse, was not abolished by statute until 1772 [12 Geo. III. c. 20], when it was provided that persons obstinately refusing to plead should be considered as convicted of the crime of which they were accused.

<sup>e</sup> It had been captured by the French in 1667, and a strong citadel was added by Louis XIV. in 1671 to its other fortifications, "in order," as a vain-glorious inscription found on one of its lunettes stated, "that it might be no more taken." Both town and citadel fell, however, before Marlborough.

<sup>f</sup> This was, perhaps, the most desperately contested action of the whole war. The French had intrenched themselves in a small plain near the river Sart, and in driving them out the allies lost 13,000 men, killed and wounded, and the French 15,000.

<sup>g</sup> A son of John Dolben, formerly archbishop of York.

<sup>h</sup> Henry Sacheverell, a Wiltshire man, was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and became tutor there. The sermons complained of were preached, the first at Derby, and the second at St. Paul's. Though censured by the parliament, they were acceptable to the queen, and their author was rewarded with the rich living of St. Andrew, Holborn. He died in 1724. It is customary to speak of him as a man of mean abilities, but this is probably unjust, as he was honoured with the friendship and commendation of both Atterbury and Addison, who are esteemed good judges of literary merit.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 479

The parliament is shortly after dissolved.

The French settlements in Newfoundland are visited by an English squadron, and many vessels captured or destroyed, August and September.

Marlborough takes Venant, Sept. 28, and Aire, Nov. 9.

The imperialists are successful for a while in Spain. They gain the battles of Almenara, July 27, and Saragossa, Aug. 20. Charles III. enters Madrid in triumph, Sept. 28.

The duke of Vendome is sent to Spain. He replaces Philip V. in Madrid, defeats and captures Stanhope and the English forces at Brihuega, Dec. 10, and Stahremberg and the imperialists at Villa Viciosa, Dec. 20.

Lord Cowper resigns the chancellorship. He is succeeded by Sir Simon Harcourt<sup>y</sup>, as lord-keeper, Oct. 19.

The new parliament meets, Nov. 25, and sits till June 8, 1711. Mr. Bromley is chosen Speaker. No mention is made in the queen's speech of Marlborough's services and victories, and an attempt to vote him the thanks of the House of Lords is defeated.

The French settlement of Port Royal, in Acadia, (now Nova Scotia)

captured, and named in honour of the queen, Annapolis.

The property and other qualifications of members of parliament settled, [9 Ann. c. 5].

A general Post-Office established for all the British dominions, [c. 11].

The South Sea Company established<sup>z</sup>, [c. 15].

A sum of money voted for the relief of the islands of Nevis and St. Kitts, in the West Indies<sup>a</sup>, [c. 16].

A duty on coal granted for the purpose of building 50 new churches in and around the metropolis<sup>b</sup>, [c. 17].

A.D. 1711.

Mrs. Masham succeeds the duchess of Marlborough as the queen's favourite.

John, duke of Argyle, is sent to command the English forces in Spain. The French capture Gerona, Jan. 31, and reduce in the course of the summer most of the places yet held by Charles III.

Mr. Secretary Harley is stabbed at the council-table by Guiscard<sup>c</sup>, Mar. 18.

An expedition under General Hill (brother of Mrs. Masham) is sent to

<sup>y</sup> He was born in 1660, and was the son of Sir Philip Harcourt, a loyal Oxfordshire baronet, by the sister of Sir William Waller, the parliamentary general. Young Harcourt was educated at Oxford, and imbibed those principles of divine right, which ever after influenced his conduct. At the time of the Revolution he was recorder of Abingdon, and he laboured, though ineffectually, to serve his royal master, believing that no faults of a king could justify resistance in the subject. He, however, took the oaths to the new government, apparently only for the purpose of procuring a seat in parliament, and thus opposing their measures, which he most effectually did, his opposition to the attainder of Sir John Fenwick, and his conduct in the impeachment of Lord Somers, greatly embarrassing them. Under Queen Anne his well-known principles raised him to the post, first of solicitor and then of attorney-general, in which last capacity he conducted the prosecution of Defoe. Being out of office, he was counsel for Dr. Sacheverell, and he was greatly instrumental in the overthrow of the Whig ministry, which happened soon after. Harcourt then regained his post of attorney-general, was next made lord-keeper, and (April 7, 1713,) chancellor. On the death of Queen Anne he faithfully performed the duty imposed on him by the Act of Succession, by proclaiming the elector of Hanover king, but he was treated with personal rudeness, and deprived of office immediately the new king landed. Lord Harcourt lived in retirement awhile, but circumstances having caused an intimacy between him and Walpole, he became reconciled to the new dynasty, and again appeared in public life, using the influence he thus acquired to favour his old friends, Atterbury and others. He died July 28, 1727, with the character of a generous patron of literature, an elegant writer, a steady friend, and a pattern of every domestic virtue.

<sup>z</sup> This corporation, like the Bank of England, arose from the embarrassments of the government occasioned by its foreign wars. In 1710 it was found that the debts and deficiencies of various branches of the public service amounted to £8,971,325, and to a joint-stock company which agreed to make itself responsible for their payment, this statute secured the sum of £568,279 10s. yearly as interest, and the exclusive trade to the South Sea, as well as many privileges regarding the fishery, and liberty to trade in unwrought iron with the subjects of Spain. The affairs of the corporation were first unwisely and then dishonestly managed, and after the shares had been raised to ten times their original price, they suddenly fell, in 1720, to a mere nominal sum, thus ruining thousands, who however received some degree of relief from the confiscation, by act of parliament, of the estates of the directors, amounting in value to upwards of £2,000,000.

<sup>a</sup> They had been invaded and ravaged by buccanniers, assisted by the French; the sum granted was £103,003 11s. 4d.

<sup>b</sup> The duty was 2s. per chaldron from 1716 to 1720, and 3s. from 1720 to 1724. £4,000 of the sums to be thus raised was granted towards the repairs of Westminster Abbey, and £6,000 towards finishing Greenwich Hospital and its chapel. The same act declares St. Paul's Cathedral to be completed, and directs that the half salary of Sir Christopher Wren, its architect, which had been suspended since Sept. 29, 1697 [8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 14.] shall be paid to him on or before Dec. 25, 1711, and that all other standing salaries in connexion with the building shall cease from that day.

<sup>c</sup> See A.D. 1706. This attempt gave occasion for a statute [9 Ann. c. 21], which renders any attempt on the life of a privy councillor felony without benefit of clergy.



attack Canada, in May; it returns unsuccessful in October<sup>d</sup>.

Harley is created earl of Oxford, May 24, and lord treasurer, May 29. His associate St. John cannot brook his supremacy, and begins to intrigue against him<sup>e</sup>.

A man of war (the Advice, commanded by Kenneth Sutherland, lord Duffus) is captured in Yarmouth roads by the Dunkirk privateers<sup>f</sup>, June 27.

Marlborough takes the field, and drives Villars from the strong lines of Arleux, Aug. 5. He besieges Bouchain, which surrenders, Aug. 13.

Charles III. quits Spain, Sept. 27. He returns to Germany, where he is elected emperor (Charles VI.)

The ministry enter into private negotiations for peace, which are readily acceded to by Louis<sup>g</sup>.

Marlborough returns to London, Oct. 18.

The ministers announce their intention of treating for peace, and name Utrecht as the place of conference, Oct. 20.

The parliament meets, Dec. 7, and sits till June 21, 1712.

Marlborough defends his character and conduct in parliament. He earnestly disclaims any wish to prolong

the war for his personal advantage, and states his readiness to vote for a peace if concluded on terms adequate to his successes.

Marlborough<sup>h</sup>, Walpole, and Cardonel are charged with peculation, Dec. 21. The duke is deprived of all his offices, and Walpole and Cardonel<sup>i</sup> are expelled from the House of Commons.

Twelve new peers<sup>k</sup> are created, Dec. 31, the House of Lords being favourable to the displaced ministry.

A.D. 1712.

The duke of Ormond is appointed commander-in-chief of the British troops, Jan. 1. He is subsequently sent to take the field, but with orders not to attempt any considerable enterprise.

The allies protest against the proposed conferences, but they are nevertheless opened<sup>l</sup>, Jan. 29.

The Lords and Commons present rival addresses. The Peers disapprove of the terms offered at the conferences by France, Feb. 16; the Commons complain that the allies have thrown the great burden of the war on England, and advise their acceptance, March 4.

<sup>d</sup> The expedition had been designed by St. John, as a rival to the brilliant successes of Marlborough, but its failure only rendered the merits of the duke more conspicuous.

<sup>e</sup> He paid assiduous court to the favourite Mrs. Masham, and inspired her with a dislike of Harley, who did not always so control his words but that she could see that he still viewed her as his poor relation.

<sup>f</sup> They were eight in number, and the Advice had two-thirds of her crew killed or wounded before her flag was struck. Lord Duffus, who was desperately wounded, was not released until the conclusion of peace. He joined in the insurrection in 1715, escaped from the field, but was captured at Hamburg, and sent to the Tower. In 1717 he was released under the Act of Grace, when he withdrew to Russia, where he obtained the rank of admiral, and where he died about 1730. His grandson re-obtained the forfeited title in 1826.

<sup>g</sup> The agents were Matthew Prior, the poet, and a French priest, named Gaultier, who had been long employed as a spy.

<sup>h</sup> The charges against Marlborough were that he had made deductions from the pay of his troops, and had received a large gratuity from a Dutch Jew (Sir Solomon Medina) who had had a contract for supplying the army with bread. In his answer he shewed clearly that such a gratuity was customary, but he had derived no benefit from it, as he had expended it, and also the deduction of 6*d*. in the pound from the pay of the army, in procuring intelligence.

<sup>i</sup> Walpole had been secretary of war, and Cardonel, formerly Marlborough's secretary, was his successor in office. Walpole, (afterwards for many

years the minister of George II.), through the exertions of St. John, was clearly convicted of having received bribes for commissions, and also of corrupt dealings with army contractors, for which he was committed to the Tower, Jan. 17, 1712; but Cardonel's main offence seems to have been his connexion with Marlborough.

<sup>k</sup> They were, two peers' sons raised to peerages; a Scottish and an Irish peer called to the English house; and eight commoners ennobled; among these latter was Stephen Masham, the husband of the queen's new favourite. Much discontent was expressed at this step, which, though not illegal, was regarded as an extraordinary stretch of the prerogative.

<sup>l</sup> The principal English negotiator was John Robinson, bishop of Bristol, who was born in Yorkshire in 1650, educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and in early life went to Sweden as chaplain to the British ambassador. He shewed so much aptitude for diplomacy that he was appointed resident, and eventually ambassador, and when he returned, after several years' absence, to England, he published a well-known Account of Sweden. In 1709 he was made dean of Windsor, and in 1710 was raised to the episcopal bench. He was next made lord privy seal, and became a privy councillor. In 1714 he was translated to the see of London, and he died in 1723. Bishop Robinson was of a very kindly and charitable disposition, and a liberal benefactor to almost every place that he became connected with; he founded a school at his native place, repaired a portion of his college, and laboured to augment the livings of the poor clergy in both his dioceses.

The episcopal congregations in Scotland protected from disturbance<sup>m</sup>, [10 Ann. c. 10].

A stamp duty imposed on pamphlets and newspapers<sup>n</sup>, [c. 19].

An act passed to restore to patrons "their ancient rights of presenting ministers" in Scotland<sup>o</sup>, [c. 21].

The charter of the East India Company renewed, and their exclusive trade confirmed to Lady-day, 1736, [10 Ann. c. 28].

A fresh act passed for the relief of insolvents [c. 29] which obliged creditors to accept the utmost satisfaction that debtors might be capable of making<sup>p</sup>.

The ministers of the episcopal and presbyterian churches, and the members of the Scots' College of Justice, granted till Nov. 1, 1712, to take the oaths concerning the Protestant succession required by 6 Ann. c. 66<sup>q</sup>, [c. 39].

The duke of Ormond takes the field in May. The Dutch complain of his inactivity; and at length the English plenipotentiaries consent that he shall attack Quesnoy.

The proposed terms of peace are laid before the parliament, June 6, and undergo vehement discussion.

Ormond besieges Quesnoy, June 8, which surrenders July 4. He separates from the allies, leaving only a small corps with prince Eugene, July 10; and a cessation of arms between England and France is proclaimed, July 17.

The French now make head against the imperialists. They defeat prince

Eugene's army at Denain, July 24; drive him from the siege of Landrecy, Aug. 21, and recapture Douay, Sept. 8; Quesnoy, Oct. 4; and Bouchain, Oct. 19.

St. John (created Viscount Bolingbroke, July 7,) labours to drive Harley from office.

Marlborough leaves England in November, and remains abroad until after the queen's death. He is everywhere received with almost sovereign honours<sup>r</sup>.

#### A.D. 1713.

The parliament meets, Jan. 8, but adjourns to Feb. 17, and then to April 9.

Treaties of peace are signed at Utrecht, between Great Britain, France, and all the other parties to the war except the emperor, March 31, July 2.

The parliament meets, April 9, and sits till July 16.

The treaties are laid before the Houses, and approved of.

These treaties may be justly considered as unworthy of the high position which England had gained by the successes of Marlborough. They gave up the very point on which the war had commenced, and allowed the grandson of Louis XIV. to become king, on a promise that the two crowns of France and Spain should not be united. Louis bound himself "on the faith, word, and honour of a king," to uphold the Protestant succession in England, and to cause "the person who since the decease of King James did

<sup>m</sup> They were supposed to be very generally attached to the cause of the exiled family, and therefore it was enacted that their ministers should formally renounce "James III. of England or VIII. of Scotland," and should pray for Queen Anne, and the Electress Dowager of Hanover.

<sup>n</sup> This was believed to be done, less for any revenue that it might produce, than to cause the suppression of numerous publications in which the conduct of the Ministers was fiercely assailed. If so, it answered the expectation.

<sup>o</sup> This act rescinded that of the Scottish parliament in 1690, which gave the right of appointing ministers to "the heritors and elders" of each parish.

<sup>p</sup> See A.D. 1702.

<sup>q</sup> See A.D. 1707.

<sup>r</sup> He had recently sustained a severe loss in the death of his attached friend, Lord Godolphin, and he had been harassed with lawsuits about the building of Blenheim; under pretence that the workmen had been interfered with, he was now rendered responsible for their payment, and he laid out upwards of £60,000 in completing the building, a fact greatly at variance with the aversion so confidently attributed to him. Marlborough

returned on the accession of the House of Hanover, and planned the military measures which foiled the rising in 1715. He soon after had two paralytic seizures, which reduced him to a state of childishness, and he died June 16, 1722, and was buried in Westminster abbey. His duchess survived until 1744, and she shewed her affection for his memory by publishing Vindications of his conduct and her own. These works contain much curious matter, and are at least as well worth attention as those better-known productions, in which the duke is represented throughout as a miser and a traitor, and the duchess as a systematic liar, and as maintaining her influence over Queen Anne only by violence and abuse.

Marlborough had two brothers, but neither attained to eminence. George, a naval man, who in 1689 was sent to the Tower for corruption, became an attendant on Prince George of Denmark, was made an admiral, and received a pension; he died in 1710. Charles served in the Netherlands, rose to the rank of general, and died in 1714. Marlborough's sister, Arabella, the mother of the duke of Berwick, married a Colonel Godfrey.

take upon him the title of King of Great Britain," to quit France; he also engaged to demolish the fortifications and fill up the harbour of Dunkirk; but he kept none of these stipulations. The new king of Spain promised an amnesty to the Catalans, which promise he disregarded, and also granted a limited trade for the space of thirty years from the 1st of May, 1713, to the South Sea Company. England, however, gained some valuable accessions of territory: the Hudson's Bay country was restored, Nova Scotia and the island of St. Christopher were ceded, and the French settlements in Newfoundland abandoned.

Spain gave up Gibraltar and Minorca, but with the condition that neither Moors nor Jews were to be suffered to reside in either, and that Gibraltar should not be allowed any communication by land with the interior.

The emperor continues the war with France, but agrees to evacuate Spain. His troops withdraw from Barcelona, April 2. The inhabitants, however, sustain a siege against Philip, and are not reduced until Sept. 12, 1714<sup>a</sup>.

The parliament dissolved, Aug. 8.

The Clarendon Press is established at Oxford, from the profits of the sale of Lord Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion."

## IRELAND.

Very few matters of public interest are to be noted in Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne. The earl of Rochester was removed from the viceroyship early in 1703, and the government was in reality committed to the primate (Narcissus Marsh, archbishop of Armagh), the chancellor (Sir Constantine Phipps), and one or two others, as lords-justices, the noblemen named as lords-lieutenant paying but occasional visits to the country. The duke of Ormond was appointed in 1703, and again in 1710; the earl of Pembroke in 1707; the earl of Wharton<sup>c</sup> in 1708, and the duke of Shrewsbury<sup>d</sup> in 1713. During the earlier part of this period, the lords-justices were chiefly engaged in supporting the Pro-

testant ascendancy, and some severe laws were for that purpose enacted, but the Romanists had been too much disheartened to attempt any resistance, and no disturbances followed. In the time of the duke of Ormond, however, the lords-justices applied themselves to forward what were understood to be the views of the queen regarding the succession of her brother, James Edward, and they thus aroused the jealousy of the Commons, who shewed so much distrust of their proceedings that it became necessary to commit the government to the duke of Shrewsbury, and he took such steps as effectually prevented the opponents of the Hanoverian succession from achieving their object.

A.D. 1714.

The new parliament meets, Feb. 16<sup>e</sup>, and sits till July 9. Sir T. Hanmer is chosen Speaker.

The Lords address the queen to interpose with King Philip of Spain in favour of the people of Barcelona, April 6.

An act passed to prevent the growth of schism<sup>e</sup> [13 Ann. c. 7], and another

<sup>a</sup> Their province (Catalonia) possessed many important privileges, of most of which it was then deprived, in the face of the express stipulation in their favour in the treaty of Utrecht.

<sup>c</sup> Thomas, earl of Wharton, born 1646, was the son of Philip, lord Wharton, a noted Puritan. He joined in the invitation to William of Orange, and was one of the most active of the Whig party; was renowned for his wit, courage, and activity, but utterly scandalous in his private life. In 1715 he was made a marquis, and lord privy-seal. He died in the following year, and was succeeded in his title by his son Philip, created duke of Wharton in 1718, who after many strange vicissitudes died in exile and poverty in the year 1731.

<sup>d</sup> Charles Talbot, son of the eleventh earl of Shrewsbury, who was killed in a duel by the duke of Buckingham, was born in 1660. He entered

warmly into the cause of the Revolution, and was in consequence in 1694 created marquis of Alton and duke of Shrewsbury, but, like most of the leading men of his time, he kept up a secret intercourse with the little court at St. Germain's. He shewed much fickleness and indecision in public life, yet held at various times many high offices. Having quitted Ireland after a very brief vice-royalty, he was summoned by Queen Anne to her aid when the earl of Oxford was deprived of office, and, acting with unusual promptitude and decision, he mainly contributed to the peaceable succession of the House of Brunswick. Shrewsbury, however, was soon after removed from office, as he was little trusted by any party, and he died in 1718.

<sup>e</sup> The houses assembled on the day named, but the queen's speech was not delivered until March 2.

<sup>f</sup> Dissenters keeping schools, contrary to the

to render effectual the statutes of 1606 against Papists, [c. 13].

Enlisting without licence in the service of any foreign prince declared treason<sup>a</sup>, [c. 10].

An act passed offering a reward for an improved mode of discovering the longitude at sea<sup>b</sup>, [c. 14].

An act passed for the preservation of wrecks<sup>b</sup>, [c. 21].

The laws against vagrants consolidated<sup>c</sup>, [c. 26].

The princess Sophia of Hanover dies, June 8, by which her son George becomes heir to the British throne under the Act of Settlement.

The earl of Oxford is driven from office, July 27.

The queen falls ill, July 29, and sends for the duke of Shrewsbury to take the direction of affairs. She dies at Kensington, Aug. 1, and is buried at Westminster, Aug. 24.

The death of Queen Anne, happening somewhat suddenly, entirely frustrated the plan that had been formed by Harley, Bolingbroke, and others, of calling her brother James Edward to the throne. The lords-justices, as directed by the Act 6 Ann. c. 41<sup>d</sup>, at once proclaimed the elector of Hanover as king, under the style of George I., and sent a message to hasten his arrival. He accordingly landed at Greenwich, Sept. 18, and was not slow in demonstrating that he had chosen his party, and that the late ministers and their adherents had no chance of his favour; they were at once deprived of office, and refused an audience. Bolingbroke, who had before made approaches to him, even while plotting in favour of his rival, renewed his advances, but was so decidedly repulsed<sup>e</sup> that he became alarmed, and fled in disguise to France, early in 1715. The duke

of Ormond also fled, but the earl of Oxford remained to face the storm; he was impeached, and lay for two years in the Tower. Meantime the friends of the Stuarts had taken arms in both Scotland and England, but being decisively foiled, the House of Brunswick was firmly established on the throne, and has ever since continued to sway the sceptre. George I. reigned until June 11, 1727; his son, George II., until October 25, 1760; he was succeeded by his grandson, George III., who died Jan. 20, 1820, after the longest reign recorded in our history. His sons George IV. and William IV. reigned after him, the first until June 26, 1830, and the latter until June 20, 1837; when he was succeeded by his niece, our present most gracious Sovereign, Victoria, whom God long preserve!

provisions of the Act of Uniformity, were rendered liable to imprisonment, but the act did not apply to schools where English only was taught. Persons who had made the required declarations, if they used any other than the Church Catechism, or if they frequented any "conventicle, assembly, or meeting," where the queen was not prayed for in express words, were rendered incapable of teaching any longer. The preparation of this statute was generally ascribed to Bolingbroke, who was a professed unbeliever; it was therefore looked on with suspicion by all parties, and the queen's death following soon after it was passed, it in reality became a dead letter.

<sup>a</sup> The preamble states that several ill-affected persons have lately presumed openly to enlist men for the service of "the person taking upon himself the style and title of James III."

<sup>b</sup> The Board of Admiralty was to appoint commissioners to examine inventions for this purpose, and the sum of £10,000 was to be paid if the longitude were ascertained within one degree; £15,000

if within two-thirds of a degree; and £20,000 if within half a degree.

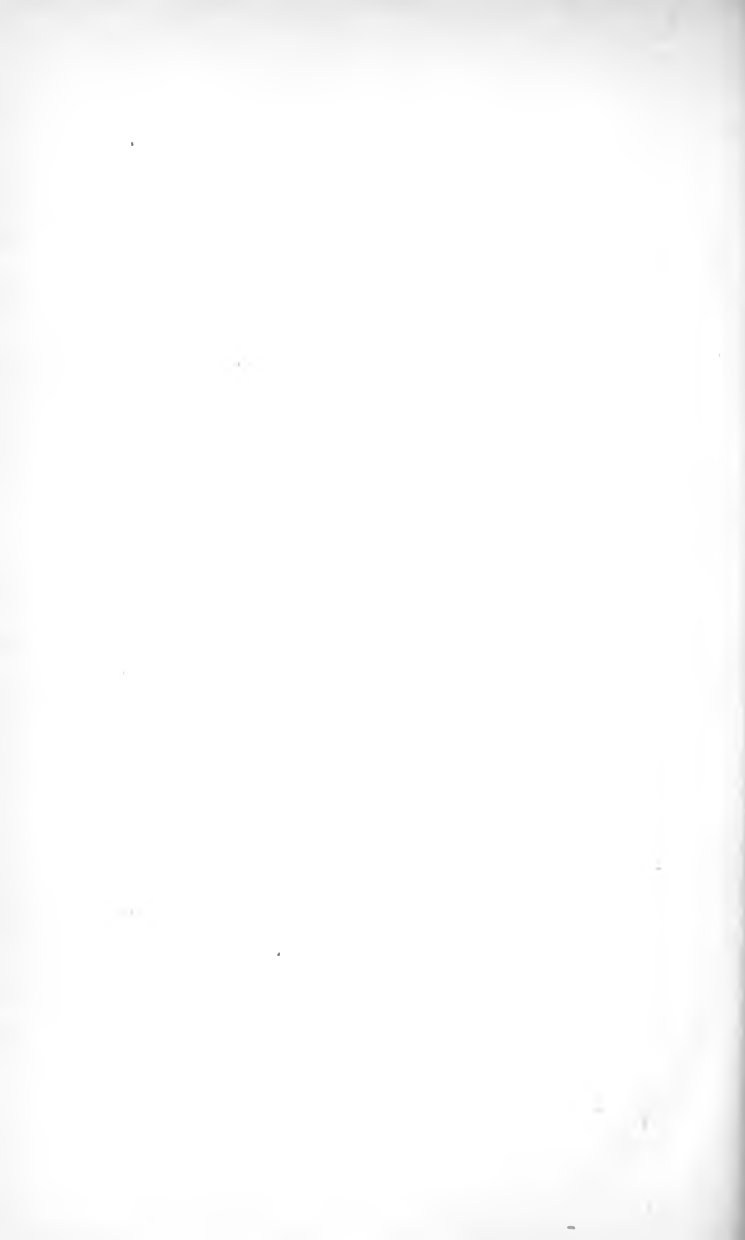
<sup>c</sup> Sheriffs, mayors, and custom-house officers, may summon both ships and men to assist vessels in distress; persons aiding are to have reasonable wages for their service, to be raised if necessary by sale of goods saved; and any one damaging a vessel, or doing anything tending to its immediate loss, is to be considered a felon. The act was to be read in church four times a-year in all seaport towns.

<sup>d</sup> Vagrants are by this statute directed to be whipped, and then passed on to their parishes; but if they do not appear to have made any settlement, this is to be taken as a proof that they are dangerous and incorrigible, and they are to be "apprenticed" for seven years in any British factory in Africa or America.

<sup>e</sup> He attributed this to the advice of Robert Walpole, who had become a person of great importance at the new court, and who could not forget that he had been disgraced a short time before through St. John's means. See A.D. 1711.

## EVENTS IN GENERAL HISTORY.

	A.D.		A.D.
Foundation of St. Petersburg, for the capital of Russia . . . .	1703	Charles XII. defeated at Pultowa, finds a refuge in Turkey . . .	1709
Charles XII. dethrones Augustus, king of Poland . . . . .	1703	The Turks make war successfully on Russia, and recover Azof . .	1711
The French driven from Italy . .	1706	Treaty of Utrecht . . . . .	1713
France invaded by the allies . .	1708		



## APPENDIX.

### NO. I. THE MATERIALS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

IN drawing up these Annals the Compiler has sought for information from writers or records belonging as nearly as might be to the same eras with the events described, so as to present contemporary, in preference to modern views, on the remarkable events which make up the chain of English history<sup>a</sup>. An alphabetical list, therefore, of these authors and documents is here given, not merely for the purpose of shewing the bases for the work, but of being of use to historical students generally.

Most of the Chronicles mentioned are readily accessible, being found in some collection of writers such as those of Gale, Savile, Twysden, Wharton, or Bouquet; or in series such as Hearne's, or the Abbé Migne's; or in the recent and more carefully edited series under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. Much historical material may be also found in such compilations as Kemble's "*Codex Diplomaticus*," Dugdale's "*Monasticon*," and Leland's "*Collectanea*;" and still more in the Calendars of the Records and State Papers which have been issued from time to time by the Government. On the other hand, some authors are printed only in the volumes issued by literary societies, such as the Surtees, the Camden, the Bannatyne, &c.

Beside, therefore, the general alphabetical list of historians and historical material, with references to the collections where such are to be found, brief accounts have been given of the Collections themselves, with a short summary of the chief contents of each,

so far as they bear directly upon English history.

This list, however, does not profess to afford a complete view of English historical materials, as it is purposely confined to those authors and chronicles which have been printed. Beside these there exist, in public libraries as well as in private hands, many manuscripts, which, if brought before the world by the agency of the press, would be found to contain facts that would give a new aspect to many parts of our history, but the publication of very few of them entire, will probably ever be undertaken, unless at the public expense. Of these manuscripts (though some have been employed by the Compiler), no list is here attempted to be presented, partly because they are so extensive, but chiefly because this much needed work has for many years engaged the attention of one of the very few men of our time possessing the extensive knowledge and the untiring diligence required for the proper execution of such a task, and the result of his labours is in course of publication, being one of the series of works issued under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls<sup>b</sup>. In addition to this, the labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are bringing to light day by day new treasures, a full account of which is given in the blue books issued by the Commissioners<sup>c</sup>.

From so large a list as is here presented a few leading writers may with moderate trouble be selected, to furnish each something like the history of his own time, if taken either wholly or

<sup>a</sup> Thus, though the valuable works of Tyrrel, Rapin, Carte, Henry, Turner and Lingard, have all been consulted, no statements of theirs have been adopted, except such as are based on contemporary authority.

<sup>b</sup> Of the "*Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain*," by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the

Public Records," three volumes, extending from the earliest times to the year 1327, have been published. From this work it will be seen, that of several early printed Annals, Chronicles, &c., continuations exist in MS., containing much valuable information.

<sup>c</sup> See Appendix, Section V. (c.)

in part, according to their chronological succession, which we will now briefly point out.

The venerable Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, obviously a contemporary record from the reign of Alfred, extends also through the whole time of the rule of the Norman kings, closing in 1154; and it should be read in connection with Florence of Worcester, and Henry of Huntingdon, the latter often introducing circumstances which had been handed down to his day in local traditions or songs. For useful elucidation of its statements, for the last hundred years which it comprises, the Romance of Wace, the Gesta of William of Poitou, and the Ecclesiastical History of Orderic must be consulted, as well as William of Malmesbury, whose Kings of England closes in 1142. William of Newburgh continues the history to near the death of Richard I., and the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi, till recently ascribed to Geoffrey de Vinesauf, details his crusade. Giraldus Cambrensis treats of Wales and Ireland in connexion with English history of the times of Richard and John. The series of works known as Flores Historiarum, extends to 1307; Hemingburgh to 1346; Knighton, Walsingham and Elmham relate events to the year 1422. The history of the remaining hundred years of the middle ages, and of the earlier Tudors, is to be found in Halle, and in the laborious compilations of Grafton and Holinshead; these latter are, with Stowe, contemporary authorities for the reign of Elizabeth; but the more the Public

Records are consulted<sup>d</sup>, the more evident will it become, that much of their history must be re-written. Camden gives, under similar circumstances, much of the reign of James I. (to 1622).

From this time we have an abundance of writers who narrate the disputes of James and Charles with their parliaments, and furnish lively pictures of the unhappy Civil War; of the Commonwealth which arose from it; of the Restoration; and of the Revolution, with its consequence, the Hanoverian Succession; but unfortunately almost all their works are so deeply tinged by personal or party feeling, or both, as indeed must be expected, that if used alone they are unsafe guides. It is only by comparing, among others, such opposite writers as Clarendon, Whitelock, and Ludlow, Laud and Prynne, Burnet and Mackenzie<sup>e</sup>,—by studying the Collections of Husband, Rushworth and Nalson<sup>f</sup>, the State Papers of Strafford, Ormond, Thurloe, Dalrymple and Carstares,—and by examining the Statute-book<sup>g</sup>, the Journals of Parliament, and more particularly the Public Records, that any satisfactory idea of the real history of the Stuarts can be formed. A still more extended course of reading, embracing many new subjects, will be necessary as the student approaches modern days; and the results arrived at will probably be liable to question, as the official documents, so necessary as a check on irresponsible writers, are seldom accessible until long after the period to which they relate.

<sup>d</sup> No writer of English history can expect to deal satisfactorily with his subject without frequent reference to these sources of information; but, owing to the liberal access now allowed, and the excellent Calendars (see Sect. II.), the task is light, compared to what it was, a very few years ago.

<sup>e</sup> In the following alphabetical list these writers are placed under the reigns to which their writings refer. See JAMES, CHARLES, &c.

<sup>f</sup> These three writers may be especially mentioned in proof of the necessity of the comparison above recommended. The work of Husband is regarded as impartial, the animosity between the two parties not having risen in his time to the height that it afterwards attained; but that of Rushworth is fairly chargeable with the suppression of important documents favourable to the king, and it was avowedly to supply its deficiencies that Dr. Nalson compiled his own work.

John Rushworth was born in Northumberland about 1607, and became a member of Lincoln's Inn. Long before the civil war broke out he was in the habit of attending the Starchamber and other courts, and taking down notes of their proceedings in short-hand, which notes were afterwards turned to their own purposes by the parliamentary party. As a reward Rushworth was appointed an assistant to the clerk of the House of Commons, and he was often employed as the messenger between the Long Parliament and the king. He became secretary to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and was afterwards a member of Parliament. In 1650 he began the publication of his Collections, but he left the work incomplete, although he lived till 1690, when he died in the King's Bench, after having been several years a prisoner there for debt.

<sup>g</sup> See Appendix No. III. for a summary of Statutes most important to the historical inquirer.



## SECTION I.

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF WRITERS AND CHRONICLES, WITH REFERENCES TO GOOD EDITIONS.

As a rule, the Chronicle is entered under the presumed author's name. In some cases, works by anonymous or by several authors are put under the title by which the work is generally known, or that by which it would most probably be sought for in the List. Cross references also are frequently given. A number of works containing Documents and State Papers belonging to each reign, have been inserted under the name of the sovereign, e.g. EDWARD, HENRY, &c. "*Record*;" "*Berkshire Ashm. Soc.*," and similar references are to Sections II.—V., where the several Collections are described.

ABINGDON. *Chronicon Monasterii de*; from the reign of Ina, the founder of the abbey, to the time of Richard I. 2 vols. *Record*; (*Berkshire Ashm. Soc. in part.*)

Two MSS. exist, each written by inmates of the monastery, early in the thirteenth century, and incorporating a very extensive series of early Charters. To the *Record* edition is added, Ælfrie's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*.

ADAMNANUS, Abbas Hiiensis, c. 705. The reputed author of the *Vita S. Columbræ*. *Bannatyne*.

ADELMUS Scireburnensis. Some few works of Adhelm, the monk of Malmesbury, and afterwards Bishop of Sherburne, A.D. 705 to 709 (?), are extant. Svo., *Oxford*, 1844. See his *Life*, by WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

ÆTHELWEARD. *Chronicon*, From the Incarnation to A.D. 975. *Savile*; *Monumenta*.

Written by a person who claims for himself descent from King Ethelwulf, and who is supposed to have lived about the close of the tenth century.

AILRED. See RIEVAULX.

ALBANI S. *Monasterii Chronica*. *Record*. The Chronicles extend from A.D. 793 to 1464, and consist of two works by Walsingham, one by Rishanger, another by Trokelowe and Blancford, two anonymous Chronicles from A.D. 1259 to 1296, and from A.D. 1392 to 1406, one by John Amundesham, and a Register of Abbot Whethamstede. 11 vols.

See also under their respective names, as WAL-SINGHAM, RISHANGER, &c.

ALCUIN. *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesie Eboracensis Poema*; from the foundation of the see to the death of Archbishop Ethelbert, in 781. *Gale*; *Mabillon*.

The celebrated Saxon abbot of Tours. He was patronized by Charlemagne, and died in 804.

— *De Conversione Saxonum*. *Works*.

ALCUIN. *De Clade Lindisfarnensis Monasterii*. *Works*.

— *Works complete*. 4 vols. *Ratisbon*, 1776. Also *Migne*.

— *Monumenta Alcuina*. *Berlin*, 1873.

A complete and most carefully edited volume, forming vol. vi. of Jaffe's *Monumenta Germanica*.

ALNWYKE. *Chronicon Monasterii de*. Ex quodam libro *Chronicorum* in Cantabrigia de dono Henrici VI. fundatoris. *Newcastle*.

AMUNDESHAM, JOHN, a monk of St. Alban's. *Annals*, in continuation of those of Walsingham. *Record*.

ANGLO-NORMANNIÆ POEMA. Ed. Fr. Michel. Svo., *London*, 1837.

A poem on the Conquest of Ireland by Henry II. from a MS. in the Lambeth Library.

ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, extending from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to A.D. 1154. *Record*; (*Monumenta*, to A.D. 1066). The origin of this most interesting and valuable work is probably due to King Alfred, but it is evident from Beda that *Annals* were kept in some monasteries at least in his time, and it is from such sources no doubt that the early part of the Chronicle was chiefly compiled. Several copies of it exist, which having been continued in different monasteries, vary materially, both in their chronology and in incidental mention of matters peculiar to each, as well as in the time to which they come down—one closing in 977, another extending to 1154.

There are several editions beside the two named: one by Earle (*Oxford*, 8vo., 1865), giving the two chief Chronicles in parallel columns, is perhaps as convenient as any.

ANNALES MONASTICI. 5 vols. *Record*.

These range from the Incarnation to A.D. 1432, but refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III. and Edward I. They contain the *Annals* of

Bermondsey, Burton, Dunstaple, Margan, Oseney, Tewkesbury, Waverley, Winchester and Worcester, and Wykes' Chronicle.

See under their respective names,—as BURTON, MARGAN, WAVERLEY.

ANNE.

*The following works may be consulted.*

Ker of Kersland's Memoirs of his secret Transactions and Negotiations in Scotland, England, Hanover, and other foreign parts. 3 vols. Svo., London, 1726-7.

Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs and Commentaries on the Affairs of Scotland, from A.D. 1702 to 1715. Svo., London, 1714.

Defoe's History of the Union. Folio, Edinb., 1709.

Defoe was employed in the preliminary negotiations.

Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough. Svo., London, 1712.

Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. Svo., London, 1742.

Both prepared by the wish of the duchess, and containing more historic truth than they usually have credit for.

ASSER. De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi, extending from A.D. 849 to 887. Oxford, 1722; Parker; Camden, A. N.; Monumenta.

The author was bishop of Sherborne. According to his own account, he visited the court of Alfred about 885, and he gives many interesting details of the life of his patron.

AUGUSTINI, S. Cantuariensis, Historia Monasterii. History of the Abbey, from the coming of St. Augustine to A.D. 1191, with a Chronology to 1418. Record.

The author was Thomas Elmham, treasurer of the Abbey. See ELMHAM, also SPROTT, and THORNE.

AVESBURY, ROBERT OF. Historia de mirabilibus Gestis de Edwardi III. Hearn.

An incomplete work, by an author of whom nothing is known.

BAKER. Galfredus le Baker de Swinbrok, Chronicon Angliæ, temp. Edw. II. and III. Caxton Soc.

— Historia de Vita et Obitu Edw. II. (1307—26), in Gallico Thomæ de la More Latini versa. Camden.

A more concise version, in French, of the previous Chronicle.

BARBOUR, JOHN. The Bruce, or History of Robert I., King of Scotland, (together with Wallace, q. v.) 2 vols., 4to. Edinb., 1820.

Archdeacon of Aberdeen; he died in 1396.

BATH AND WELLS. History of the Controversy between its Bishops and the Monks of Glastonbury, by Adam de Domerham. Wharton.

BECCENSIS CHRONICON. A Chronicle of the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, from the foundation, 1024—1468. Printed with Lanfranci Opera, folio, Paris, 1648.

BECKET, Life of Thomas. From an Icelandic Saga, with an English Translation. In prep. Record.

BEDA. Chronicon, from the Creation to A.D. 725.

— Historia Ecclesiastica, from Julius Cæsar to A.D. 731, (with the addition of a portion of a brief Northumbrian Chronicle, from A.D. 547 to 737). Basle, 1563; Colon., 1688; Camb., 1727; Monumenta; Heidelberg; Eng. Hist. Soc.; Migne, &c. &c.

These are the two historical works of the Venerable Beda, a priest of Jarrow, who was born about 672, and died May 26, 735. He also wrote De ratione Temporum, a Martyrologium, and others, which will be found in

— Opera Miscellanæ. 6 vols., Svo. Giles, Migne, &c.

BEERE, RICHARD, Abbot of Glastonbury, c. 1503. Terrarium Cænobii Glastoniensis. Hearne.

BEKYNTON, THOMAS. Official Correspondence, t. Hen. VI. 2 vols. Record.

— Journal during his embassy in 1412. Royal Svo., London, 1828.

BEKYNTON, BR. Vide HENRY VI.

BELLO. Chronicon Monasterii de Bello. A Chronicle of Battel Abbey, A.D. 1066—1176. Anglia Christiana Soc.

A translation by M. A. Lower, London, 1851.

BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. See HENRY II.

BENOIT DE ST. MAUR. Estoire et la Genealogie des Ducs qui ont este par ordre en Normandie. Printed entire by Michel in Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie. 3 vols. 4to., Paris, 1836—44. Benoit wrote circa 1180.

BERMONDSEY. Annals, from A.D. 1042 to 1432. Record.

BERNARDUS, Andreæ Tholesatis. See HENRY VII.

BEVERLACENSIS JOANNIS Vita. See FOLCARD.

BEVERLEY, ALURED OF. Annals, mainly from Simon of Durham and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Hearn.

He was treasurer of Beverley Minster, and died circa 1130.

BIRCHINGTON, STEPHEN. Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, from St. Augustine to the year 1368. *Wharton*.

BLAKMAN, JOHN. Collectarium mansuetudinum et bonorum morum Regis Henrici Sexti. *Hearn*. A record of King Henry's virtues, drawn up with a view to his canonization.

This will be found at the end of Hearne's edition of Thomas Otterbourne.

BLANEFORD, HENRY, a monk of St. Alban's. Chronicle, A.D. 1323, 1324, in continuation of Trokelowe. *Hearn*; *Record*.

BLESSENSIS, PETRUS. See INGULF.

BOETHIUS (BOECE, HECTOR). Historia Episcoporum Aberdonensium et Murthlacensium. *Paris*, 1522. *Bannatyne*.

— Historiæ Scottorum a prima gentis origine, cum Continuatione Joannis Ferrerii. *Paris*, 1526, &c.

Hector Boece was born at Dundee about 1470, and educated at Paris. In 1500 he became principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and he died before 1550, but the exact date is not known. A translation was made by Bellenden, fol., *Edinb.*, 1536; edited after by Sir Walter Scott, *Edinb.*, 1821, 2 vols. 4to.; also printed in *Holinshed* and *Bannatyne*. A metrical version also is entitled a Buke of the Chronicles of Scotland, vide SCOTLAND.

BOSTON, ROBERTUS DE. See PETERBOROUGH, John of.

BOUCHARD, ADAM. Les grands Chroniques de Bretagne, parlans de tres pieux Nobles, Roys, &c., tant de la Grande Bretagne que de nostre Bretagne. *Paris*, 1514, 1541, &c.; *Caen*, 1514, 1532.

The author wrote at Rennes circa 1510.

BOWER, WALTER. Continuation of Fordun's Scotichronicon. *Gale*; *Hearn*.

Abbot of St. Colm, in Scotland; died circa 1440.

BRAKELOND, JOCELIN OF. Chronicle of S. Edmund's. *Camden Soc.*

BRIDLINGTONA, Vita Joannis de, in dioc. Eboracensi, canon. regul., ob. 1379. *Bollandus*.

— PETER DE. See LANGTOFT.

BRITO, GULIELMUS. Historia de Vita et Gestis Philippi Augusti Regis Gallie. *Duchesne*; *Bouquet*.

BRITTANIE, Le Livre de Reis de, e le Livre de Reis de Engleterre. *Record*. Probably the work of Peter of Ickham.

BROMPTON, JOHN, abbot of Jervaux, circa 1440. A Chronicle, from the coming of Augustine to A.D. 1199. *Twysden*.

BRUNNE. Chronicle of Robert of. *In prep.* *Record*. See also LANGTOFT.

BRUT Y TYWYSOGION. Chronicle of the Princes of Wales, from A.D. 681 to 1282. *Record*; *Monumenta* to A.D. 1066.

Ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who lived about the middle of the twelfth century.

BUELLIAN. Annals, from A.D. 420 to 1245, kept in a monastery (probably Boyle), in Connaught. *O'Connor*.

BURTON. Annals, from A.D. 1004 to 1263. The Chronicle of the abbey of Burton, in Staffordshire. *Gale*; *Record*.

Mainly a compilation from Hoveden and Matthew Paris.

BURTON, THOMAS DE, Chronicle of the Abbey of Meaux (vide MELSA).

CALENDARS OF ROLLS. See Sect. II.

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS. See IRELAND, SCOTLAND, SPAIN, VENICE.

Also, under names of Sovereigns, e.g. ELIZABETH, MARY, JAMES, &c.

CAMBRIA. Annales Cambriae, from A.D. 447 to 1288. *Record*; *Monumenta*, to A.D. 1066.

Probably written by Blegewryd, archdeacon of Llandaff.

CAMDEN. Britannia. *London*, 1590, 1607, 1610.

— Annales rerum Anglicarum regnante Elizabetha. *Lyons*, 1628; in English, *London*, 1635.

CANTALUPUS or CANTLOW. Chronica fundationis Cantabrigiae. *Hearn*.

A monk of Bristol, ob. 1441. Printed by Hearne at end of Sprotti Chronica.

CANTERBURY. Annales Cantuarienses, A.D. 618—690. *Pertz*.

— History of the Controversy between the sees of Canterbury and York. *Wharton*.

See also AUGUSTINI S. CANTUARIENSIS. For Lives of Archbishops, see BIRCHINGTON; Catalogue of Archbishops, see ESTRIA.

CANTERBURY, GERVASE OF. A Chronicle, from A.D. 1122 to 1199. *Twysden*.

CAPGRAVE, JOHN. Chronicle of England, from the Creation to A.D. 1417. *Record*.

In English, and of considerable value as a specimen of the language spoken in Norfolk in the 15th cent.

— Liber de Illustribus Henricis, a collection of memoirs of German emperors, English kings, bishops, &c., named Henry, from A.D. 918 to 1446. *Record*.

An extract, the life of Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, is given in *Wharton*.

Capgrave was a monk of Lynn, born 1393; died about 1464.

CARADOC LLANCARVAN, the presumed author of Brut y Tywysogion, q.v.

CARNARVON. Record of. *Record*. See DOMESDAY BOOK.

CARPENTER, JOHN, author of the *Liber Albus*. See LONDINENSIS GILDHALLÆ MUNIMENTA.

CANTON, WILLIAM. The Chronicles of England, (1480,) a History of the Kings of England, abridged from the Cottonian MS. Galba, E. viii., extending from Albina to the coronation of Edward IV., and accompanied by a Description of Britain, mainly taken from Higden's Polychronicon. Orig. Edition, *London*, 1480. Reprinted, various dates, 1483—1528.

William Caxton, the introducer of printing to England, was a mercer of London, but for many years in the service of Margaret, duchess of Burgundy. He was born in the Weald of Kent, about 1410, and died in 1491.

CHAMBRE, WILLIAM DE. History of the Church of Durham, from A.D. 1333 to 1559. *Wharton; Surtees*.

CHANCERY. Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. With examples of earlier Proceedings, from Richard II. *Record*.

CHANDLER, THOMAS. Lives of Bishops Becketton and William of Wykeham. *Wharton*.

He was chancellor of Oxford, A.D. 1457 to 1461.

CHANSON moult pitoyable des grieuouses oppressions qe la povre Commune de Engleterre souffre. Un chant que fust fet sur la mort du Seignour Symon de Mountfort. 4to. *London*, 1818.

CHARLES I. Domestic State Papers of Charles I. Vols. I. to XIV. A.D. 1625 to 1639. This Calendar, which contains many hitherto unknown documents, will be continued through the Interregnum, down to the restoration of Charles II. *Record*.

— Works of King Charles, with a Collection of Declarations, Treaties, and other Papers, concerning the Differences between his Sacred Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament. Folio, *London*, 1662.

— Declaration of King Charles concerning the late Tumults in Scotland. Folio, *London*, 1639. Declaration concerning his Proceedings in Scotland. 4to., 1640.

— An Exact Relation of all Remonstrances, Declarations, &c., between the King's Majesty and his High Court of Parliament, Dec., 1641, to March 21, 1643.

— Iter Carolinum. A succinct Relation of the necessitated Marches, Retreats, and Sufferings, from Jan. 10, 1641-2, till the time of his Death, 1648-9. Col-

CHARLES I. (*continued*).

lected by a daily attendant on his Majesty. 4to., 1660. Reprinted in *Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa*. *Oxford*.

— Symonds' Diary of Marches, 1644—46. *Camden Soc.*

*The following works may be consulted.*

Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. New ed., 7 vols. Svo., *Oxford*, 1849.

Earl of Strafford's Letters and Dispatches, from A.D. 1611 to 1639. 2 vols. folio, *London*, 1739.

Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs. Fol., *London*, 1732; Svo., *Oxford*, 1853.

Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs of Charles I. Svo., *London*, 1701.

R. Baillie's Letters and Journals, from A.D. 1637 to 1662. 2 vols. Svo., *Edinb.*, 1775.

Sir David Dalrymple's (Lord Hailes) Memorials and Letters relating to Charles I. *Glasgow*, 1766.

Ormond's Letters, contained in Carte's Life of James, Duke of Ormond. 6 vols. Svo., *Oxford*, 1851.

Sir W. Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles in England; with a Narrative of the Treaty of Uxbridge, 1644. Folio, *Oxford*, 1681.

Sir W. Dugdale's Diary and Correspondence. 4to., *London*, 1827.

Husband's (folio, *London*, 1646), Rushworth's (3 vols. folio, *London*, 1659—80), and Nalson's (folio, *London*, 1682), Collections, extending from A.D. 1618 to 1648.

Archbishop Laud's Troubles and Trial. 2 vols. folio, *London*, 1695—1700; also in *Ang. Cath. Library*.

Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, 1641. 4to., *London*, 1646.

Memoirs of Denzil, Lord Holles (*London*, 1699), Sir Thomas Fairfax (*London*, 1699), and Edmund Ludlow (4to., *London*, 1771), written by themselves.

Waller's Vindication of his taking up arms against Charles I., written by himself. Svo., *London*, 1793.

Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, written by his Widow. 4to., *London*, 1806; Svo., *Bohn*, 1848.

Mercurius Rusticus; or The Country's Complaint of the barbarous Outrages begun in 1642, by the Sectaries. Svo., *London*, 1647.

Querela Cantabrigiensis. Svo., 1655.

Probably by Dr. John Earwick, who after the Restoration became dean of St. Paul's; he died in 1664.

CHARLES I. (*continued*).

Dowsing's Journal in Suffolk, A.D. 1643—44. 12mo., London, 1844.

✓ Evelyn's Diary, from A.D. 1641 to 1706. 2 vols., 4to., London, 1811; 4 vols., Bohn, 1859.

Sir Leoline Jenkins' Life, by Wynne. Folio, London, 1724.

May's History of the Long Parliament, Svo., Oxford, 1864.

Sprigg's Anglia Rediviva. Folio, London, 1647; Svo., Oxford, 1854.

A panegyric on Fairfax and the New Model.

Matthew Carter's True Relation of the Kentish Rising and the Siege of Colchester. 12mo., 1650.

Clement Walker's Complete History of Independency. 4to., London, 1661.

Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, relative to Charles I. and Charles II. Folio, London, 1705.

The author (Garter king of arms) was secretary of war to Charles I. and clerk of the council to Charles II.

✓ John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy; from contemporary documents. Folio, London, 1714.

An Epitome of this work was published with reference to the Bicentenary of the Act of Uniformity. 12mo., Oxford, 1862.

✓ Marquis of Clanricarde's Memoirs. Folio, Lond., 1757. These detail the civil war in Ireland, until the surrender of Galway, which the writer (Ulrich Burke) long defended.

Scobell's Acts and Ordinances of general use, made in the Parliament from A.D. 1640 to 1656. Folio, London, 1658.

✓ Thurloe's State Papers, from A.D. 1638 to 1660. 7 vols. folio, London, 1714.

John Thurloe, the son of an Essex clergyman, was born in 1616, espoused the Parliamentary party, and became secretary of state during the Interregnum. After the Restoration he was for some time in danger of prosecution; but as he had acted with forbearance in his office, he was passed over, and had his goods, which some zealous royalist had seized, restored to him. He died in obscurity in 1668.

Collection of Tracts, chiefly relating to the Period of the Civil War between Charles I. and his Parliament, in the Library of the London Institution; with a Catalogue, drawn up by the late R. Thomson, the Librarian.

See also BANNATYNE.

CHARLES II. Domestic State Papers of Charles II. Vols. I. to VII. A.D. 1660 to 1667. Record.

— Account of Preservation after the Battle of Worcester, drawn up by himself. Svo., Glasgow, 1766.

CHARLES II. (*continued*).

The following works may be consulted.

Burton's Diary of the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, A.D. 1654 to 1659. 4 vols. Svo., Lond., 1828.

✓ Reresby's Memoirs of Transactions from the Restoration to the Revolution. Svo., London, 1734.

Pepys' Diary, from A.D. 1659 to 1669. 2 vols. 4to., London, 1825; 4 vols., Bohn, 1858.

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs, from Charles II. to the Battle of La Hogue. 2 vols. 4to., Edinburgh, 1771.

Macpherson's Original Papers, containing the Secret History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover, 1688—1714. 2 vols. London, 1775.

Bp. Burnet's History of his Own Time, from the Restoration to 1713. 6 vols. Svo., Oxford, 1853.

See also BANNATYNE.

CHARTER, CLOSE, and PATENT ROLLS.

Rotulus Cancellarii. An account of the King's revenue, 3 John (A.D. 1201, 1202). Record.

Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. Vol. I. From A.D. 1199 to 1216. Record.

Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. Vol. I. From A.D. 1204 to 1224. Vol. II. 1224—1227. Record.

Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati. Vol. I. From A.D. 1201 to 1216. Record.

These are the commencing volumes of a printed edition of the whole of these most valuable records. They were edited by Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Duffus Hardy, and have elaborate Introductions, in which a few of the facts thus first brought to the knowledge of the historian, e.g. *s.a.* 1202, 1215, 1217, are pointed out.

The names indicate the general nature of the contents of each set of records. The Charter Rolls are official witnesses of privileges granted to corporations or individuals; the Close Rolls, of letters addressed to such on matters in which they were alone or chiefly concerned; and the Patent Rolls, of directions in carrying out which the co-operation of third parties would be necessary; but the distinctions are not always strictly preserved. For complete list see Section II.

Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum; et Inquisitionum "Ad quod damnum?" A Calendar of the Charter Rolls [then] in the Tower, extending from A.D. 1199 to 1483, which contain grants of privileges to cities, corporations, guilds, religious houses, and individuals. Record.

CHARTER ROLLS, &c., (*continued*).

Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem sive Escetorum. Vol. 1, Hen. III.—Ed. II.; vol. 2, Ed. III.; vol. 3, Ric. II., Henry IV.; vol. 4, Ric. III. Calendars to the inquisitions, sometimes called Escheats, which were taken on the death of individuals, to enquire of what lands they died seized, and by what services held. *Record*.

Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium in Turri Lond. from 3 John 1201, to 23 Edw. IV. 1483. Containing references to grants of offices, manors, and lands; restitutions of temporalities to bishops and other ecclesiastical persons; commissions under the great seal, &c. *Record*.

CHARTHAM, WILLIAM. Life of Archbishop Simon of Sudbury. *Wharton*.

CHESTER, RALPH OF, ROGER OF. See HIGDEN.

CHESTERFIELD, THOMAS, canon of Lichfield. History of the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield from the foundation of the see to A.D. 1347. *Wharton*.

CHRONICLE, an English, of the reigns of RICHARD II., HENRY IV., V., and VI. *Camden Soc.*

CHRONICON Anglicanum, from A.D. 1066 to 1200. *Martene et Durand*; *Bouquet*; *Dunkin*, 1856.

Attributed to Ralph of Coggeshall.

CHRONICON Terræ Sanctæ et de Captis a Saladino Hierosolymis, from A.D. 1187 to 1191. *Martene et Durand*; *Dunkin*.

The authorship of this work is doubtful, and the above editions are incomplete. A new edition is in preparation in the *Record* Series, with Ralph of Coggeshall's Chronicle.

CHRONICON SCOTORUM. *Record*.

CHRONOLOGIA brevissima ad Northanhymbrospectans, 547—737. *Monumenta*.

CIRENCESTER, RICHARD OF. De Gestis Regum Angliæ. From A.D. 447 to 1066. *Record*.

This is the work of Richard of Cirencester, who was a monk of Westminster (A.D. 1355—1400), and was apparently left incomplete by its author. It contains many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and one whole book is occupied with the reign of Edward the Confessor.

— De Situ Britannię, a spurious work professing to describe Roman Britain, was published under the name of Richard of Cirencester, by C. J. Bertram. *Hajnic*, 1757.

CLOSE ROLLS. See CHARTER ROLLS.

COGGESHALENSIS ABBAS. Chronicon Ra-

dulphi Abbatis Coggeshalensis Majus; and, Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ et de Captis a Saladino Hierosolymis. *In frag. Record*.

COGGESHALENSIS ABBAS. Libellus de Motibus Anglicanis sub Johanne rege, 1213—16. *Martene et Durand*.

Ralph, abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Coggeshal, died circa 1228.

COLDINGHAM, GEOFFREY OF. History of the Church of Durham, from A.D. 1144 to 1214. *Wharton*; *Surtres*.

COLONIES. Colonial State Papers. Vols. I., II., III. A.D. 1574 to 1621. *Record*. A calendar of papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office and the British Museum.

CORINENSIS. See CIRENCESTER, RICHARD OF.

COTTON, BARTHOLOMEW DE. Historia Anglicana, from A.D. 449 to 1298. *Record*.

— Annals of the Church of Norwich, from A.D. 1042 to 1299, with an anonymous Continuation to 1445. *Wharton*; *Record*.

A monk of Norwich, who died about 1300.

COVENTRY, WALTER OF. Historical Collections. *Record*; *Bouquet*. The early part is a mere compilation, but after the beginning of the thirteenth century the work is very valuable.

CURIA REGIS. Rotuli Curie Regis. Vols. I. and II. A portion of the official minutes of the courts held by the king's justiciaries, from A.D. 1194 to 1199; remarkable as shewing the great variety of matters brought before the court, and illustrating many imperfectly known points of history. *Record*.

— Placitorum in Domo-Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum Abbreviatio. Pleadings before the king or his courts, in the time from Richard I. to Edward II. *Record*.

Many very curious examples of these pleas are given, in the form of an English summary, in Furely's "History of the Weald of Kent," vol. ii. pp. 30—64, London, 1874, a work of great research.

DAMIETTA. Historia Captionis, from A.D. 1217 to 1219. *Gale*. The history of the siege of Damietta, by an eyewitness; it is copied almost entire in Matthew Paris.

DENE, WILLIAM DE. Historia Roffensis, A.D. 1314 to 1350. *Wharton*.

DICETO, RADULFUS DE. Abbreviationes Chronicorum, from the Creation to A.D. 1197, partially in *Twysden*; *Gale*.

DICETO, RADULFUS DE. *Imagines Historiarum*, A.D. 1148 to 1199. *Twysden*.

— *De Regibus Britannum* (from Brute to Cadwallader). *Gale*.

Ralph de Diceto was dean of St. Paul's, London, and is believed to have died in 1210. A new edition of his works is in progress, for the *Record Series*.

DIVIISIENSIS, RICARDI. *Chronicon de gestis Ricardi I.* *Eng. Hist. Soc.*

Richard of Deizes was a monk of Winchester, living in 1192.

DOECHIN, a German abbot, living A.D. 1200. See MARIANUS SCOTUS.

DOMERHAM, ADAM DE. *History of Glastonbury*, from A.D. 1126 to 1290, in continuation of Malmesbury. *Hearne*.

— *History of the Controversy between the Bishops of Bath and Wells and the monks of Glastonbury.* *Wharton; Hearne*.

Adam of Domerham was a monk of Glastonbury, of uncertain date.

DOMESDAY-BOOK. This important record, which is described at some length in the early part of this work (pp. 92—95), was published in what was meant for facsimile by the Government in 1783.

— Facsimile of, reproduced in phot zincography, 1861—63. *Record*.

— *Registrum vulgariter nuncupatum The Record of Caernarvon, e Codice MS. Harleiano 696 descriptum.* *Record*.

Under the direction of the Record Commission, an elaborate Introduction and Indexes to Domesday, abounding with interesting matter, was prepared by the late Sir Henry Ellis, and published, in folio, 1816; in 8vo., 1833. A supplementary volume, styled *Additamenta* (folio, 1816), contains some kindred records, as the Exon Domesday; the *Inquisitio Eliensis*; the *Winton Domesday*; the *Balden Book*. The *Record of Caernarvon* is separate.

— *Recherches sur Domesday*, by MM. Lechaudé, D'Anisy et de Ste Marie. Vol. I. *Caen*, 1842.

This work contains the commencement only of a very complete Index to the names in Domesday, with an account of the family history of each holder of land.

DONEGAL, *Chronicle of*. See IRELAND.

DUDO, *Historia Normannorum, seu Libri III. de moribus et actis primorum Normannie Ducum*, A.D. 860—1002. *Duchesne; Bouquet; Perts*.

DUNSTAN, *Lives of Archbishop.* *In prep. Record*.

DUNSTAPLE. *Annals*, from the Creation to A.D. 1297. *Hearne; Record*. Probably commenced by Richard, who became prior in 1202.

DURHAM, *De Exordio et Progressu Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*, ascribed, but incorrectly, to Turgot, prior of Durham, in 1104. *Twysden*.

— *Four Continuations* (A.D. 1096—1144, anonymous; 1144 to 1214, by Geoffrey, sacrist of Coldingham; 1214 to 1336 by Robert Graystones, sub-prior of Durham; 1333 to 1559, by William de Chambre.) *Wharton*: (last 3, *Surtces*).

DURHAM, Dunelmense, *Registrum Palatinum*. The Register of Richard de Kelawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham; 1311—1316. 2 vols. Contains the proceedings of his prelacy, both lay and ecclesiastical.

DURHAM, SIMEON OF. *Historia de Gestis Anglorum* (in part), from A.D. 732 to 1066. *Twysden; Monumenta. Surtces*.

— A Continuation to A.D. 1156, by John of Hexham. *Twysden. Surtces*.

— *Historia Dunelmensis.* *London, 1732. Twysden*.

The author was precentor of Durham, and probably died about 1130. His work extends to A.D. 1130.

EADMER. *Historia Novorum*, A.D. 959 to 1122. *Lives of Odo, Bregwin, St. Oswald, Dunstan and Anselm.* *London, 1623. Wharton; Migne*.

A monk of Canterbury, who died about 1124.

EBORACENSIS. *Catalogus Præsulum in Anglia*, A.D. 627—681.

Printed in L'Abbé Nova Bibliotheca MSS. Librorum. Tom. II. *Paris, 1657*.

ECCLESTON, THOMAS DE. *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Anglia.* See MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA.

EDDIUS, STEPHANUS. See HEDDIUS.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. *Lives of.* *Record*. Three Lives, the first a poem in Norman French, probably written in A.D. 1245; the second, about A.D. 1440 or 1450; and the third, which differs considerably in its facts from the received accounts, soon after the Norman conquest.

EDWARD I. *Diary of the Expedition of King Edward I. into Scotland, 1296.* *Bannatyne*.

— *Year Books of the reign of Edward I.* Reports in Norman French (with translations) of cases argued and decided in the courts of common law, in A.D. 1292, 1293, 1302, and 1304. 2 vols. *Record*.

See also HENRY III. *Calend. Geneal.*; ROTULI Hundredorum; TAXATIO Pape Nicholai; TESTA de Nevill; PARLIAMENTARY WRITS; BANNATYNE.

EDWARD II. Vita. With the Annales by TROKELOWE (*q.v.*) *Hearne*.

EDWARD III. History of the Reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second; from a Manuscript in the British Museum, by an Anonymous Writer. *In prep. Record*.

See also EXCHEQUER, Issue Rolls of Brantingham.

EDWARD IV. Chronicles of the White Rose of York. Contemporary Documents relating to the reign of Edw. IV. Translated. *London*, 1845.

— Chronicle of the first Thirteen Years of Reign, &c. *Camden Soc.*

— History of Arrival, &c. *Camden Soc.*

EDWARD VI. Domestic State Papers of Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth. Vols. I. to VII., A.D. 1547 to 1603. *Record*.

— Foreign State Papers of Edward VI. A.D. 1547 to 1553. *Record*.

— Literary Remains. *Roxburghe*.

ELIZABETH. Domestic State Papers, A.D. 1558 to 1603. *Record*.

— Foreign State Papers of Elizabeth. Vols. I. to IX., A.D. 1558 to 1571. Many illustrations of the religious wars in France will be found in these volumes. *Record*.

*The following works may also be consulted.*

Lord Burghley's State Papers, from A.D. 1542 to 1596. 2 vols. folio, *London*, 1740—59.

Algernon Sydney's Letters and Memorials of State, from A.D. 1559. Svo., *London*, 1825.

Murdin's State Papers, from A.D. 1571 to 1596. Folio, *London*, 1759.

Melvil's Memoirs, mainly relating to Mary Queen of Scots. Folio, *London*, 1683. *Maitland*.

D'Ewes' Journal of the Votes, Speeches, and Debates during the reign of Elizabeth. Folio, *London*, 1682.

Heywood Townshend's Historical Collections, detailing the Proceedings of the last four Parliaments of Elizabeth. Folio, *London*, 1680.

Camden's History of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Translated. 3rd ed., *London*, 1635.

Monson's (Sir W.) Last Seventeen Years of Queen Elizabeth's Reign. Folio, *London*, 1682.

Bowes' Correspondence. *Surtees*.

Poulet's Letters. *Roxburghe*.

Leicester's Letters. *Camden Soc.*

Unton's Correspondence. *Roxburghe*.

Hutton's Correspondence. *Surtees*.

Zurich Letters, three series, illustrating the religious affairs of the period. *Parker Soc.*

Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra: Mysteries of State and Government, in Letters of Illustrious Persons, from A.D. 1536 to 1629. Folio, *London*, 1691.

Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State, from A.D. 1596 to 1613. 3 vols. folio, *London*, 1725.

See also CAMDEN; CHANCERY, Proceedings in; EDWARD VI., Domestic State Papers.

ELMHAM, THOMAS OF. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, A.D. 596 to 1191. *Record*.

— Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Record*.

— Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti, Anglorum Regis. *Hearne; Eng. Hist. Soc.*

Elmham was a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and afterwards prior of Lenton, in Nottinghamshire, where he died about 1426.

ELY. Historia Ecclesiæ Eliensis, from A.D. 963 to 984; and the Second Book from A.D. 970 to 1066. *Gale*, vol. i.; *Anglia Christ. Soc.*

— History of the Church of Ely, from its foundation to the year 1107, by THOMAS, a monk, with four Continuations (A.D. 1108—1169, by RICHARD, the prior; 1174—1388, anonymous; 1388—1486, anonymous; 1486—1554, by ROBERT STEWARDE, the last prior). *Wharton*.

ENCOMIUM EMMÆ Anglorum Regina Richardi Ducis Normannorum filiae, 1012—1040. *Duchesne; Maseres; Pertz*. Also in smaller *Pertz*, under title of "Cnutonis Regis Gesta."

ENGLAND, Ancient Laws and Institutes of. Comprising Laws enacted under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, from Æthelbirt to Cnut, with a translation of the Saxon; the Laws called Edward the Confessor's; the Laws of William the Conqueror; and those ascribed to Henry I.; Monumenta Ecclesiastica from seventh to tenth century; the Ancient Latin Version of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, with Glossary, &c. *Record*.

This belongs to the Historical Series projected by Mr. Petrie, and may be considered as a supplementary volume to the "Monumenta Historica."



ENGLAND. Rotuli Selecti ad Res Anglicas et Hibernias spectantes. A selection from the Documents in the Chapter-house at Westminster. *Record.*

ERNULPHUS Roffensis. *Wharton; Hearne.*

ESTRIA, HENRICUS DE. Catalogus Episcoporum Cantuariensium, A.D. 599—1313. *Wharton.*

ETHELWOLF. Carmen de Abbatibus S. Petri in insula Lindisfarnensi. *Mabillon.*

EULOGIUM HISTORIARUM, from the Creation to A.D. 1366, with a Continuation to A.D. 1413. *Record.* A Chronicle, by a monk of Malmesbury, from the Creation to A.D. 1366, with a Continuation to A.D. 1413. It contains much interesting matter about the Poitiers campaign (A.D. 1356), and a good account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV.

EVESHAM. Chronicon, from the foundation of the Abbey (circa 690) to 1418. *Record.*

"Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded."

EVESHAM, MONK OF. History of Richard II. from A.D. 1377 to 1402. *Hearne.*

EXCHEQUER. Liber Niger Parvus Scaccarii, 2 vols. *Hearne.*

#### EXCHEQUER RECORDS.

Magnus Rotulus Scaccarii, vel Magnus Rotulus Pipæ, 31 Henry I.

A singular name given to one class of the records of the Exchequer, on account of the form of a pipe which they assumed.

— The great Rolls of the Pipe. 2, 3, 4 Henry II., 1155—1158. *Record.*

— The great Roll of the Pipe. 1 Ric. I., 1189—1190. *Record.*

— Rotulus Cancellarii, vel Antigraphum Magni Rotuli Pipæ. 3 John. (A.D. 1201, 1202). *Record.*

An account of the king's revenue.

— Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Præstitis, regnante Johanne. *Record.*

— Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati, tempore Regis Johannis. *Record.*

A very interesting record of the gifts made to the king on receiving any new honour or privilege from him.

— Calendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer, with an elaborate Introduction and

#### EXCHEQUER RECORDS, (continued).

notes. Contains many curious particulars regarding the regalia, crown jewels, and plate of several of our monarchs,—Edward II., Edward III., Henry VI., Henry VIII., and James I. *Record.*

— Nonarum Inquisitionum, temp. Edward III. (1340). *Record.*

A curious record of the returns of jurors appointed to determine the value of the ninth part of the corn, wool, and lambs in each parish in England, granted as an aid for the conquest of France.

— Testa de Nevill, temp. Henry III. and Edward I. *Record.*

It contains an account of the holdings of the king's chief tenants, with the amount of scutage and aids payable by each; lists of widows and heiresses whose marriage belonged to the crown; of churches in the king's hands, forfeited estates, &c. The origin of the name is quite uncertain.

— Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio. Henry III. to Edw. III., 2 vols. *Record.*

Abstracts of the Estreats transmitted from the Court of Chancery to the office of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, and of all Grants of the Crown enrolled on the Patent Rolls whereon any rent is reserved or service performed.

— Documents Illustrative of English History in the 13th and 14th centuries. Selected from the Records of the department of the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer. *Record.*

— Issues of the Exchequer, Henry III. to Henry VI. Extracted from the Pell Records. *Record.*

— The Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, bishop of Exeter, lord-treasurer, A.D. 1370. *Record.*

— Issues of the Exchequer of James I. Extracted from the Pell Records. *Record.*

FABIAN. The Concordance of Histories, a Chronicle of the affairs of England and France down to 1509. Folio, Lond., 1516; 4to, 1811.

Robert Fabian, the compiler, was sheriff of London in 1493, and afterwards an alderman.

FACIUS, BARTH. De Origine Belli inter Gallos et Anglos, 1415. Printed ad fin. *Ciacconii Bibl.*

FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM M. Joannis Wyclif. *Record.*

Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, provincial of the Carmelites in England, confessor to Henry V. It gives an insight into the religious and philosophical controversies which mark the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.

## FINE ROLLS.

— *Excerpta à Rotulis Finium in Turri Londinensi asservatis*, Vol. I., from A.D. 1216 to 1246. *Record*.

Mainly an account of feudal payments to the king, on such occasions as succession to lands, wardship, marriage, forfeitures and pardons, aids and tallages, but also containing much information regarding the state of the Jews shortly before their expulsion from England.

— *Fines, sive Pedes Finium*, Vol. I., from A.D. 1195 to 1214. *Record*.

A collection of proceedings before the Court of Exchequer, relating to lands, between private individuals.

FITZSTEPHEN, WILLIAM, a monk of Canterbury, who died about 1190. *Vita S. Thomæ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi*. *Sparke; Migne*.

FLORES HISTORIARUM. From the Creation to 1307. *Parker*. The author is altogether uncertain, the ascription to Matthew of Westminster being unwarranted by the oldest MSS., while others name John Rochfort, or John of London. See WESTMINSTER, MATTHEW OF, and WENDOVER, ROGER OF.

FŒDERA, RYMER'S. *Fœdera, Conventiones Literæ et cujuscunque generis Acta publica, inter Reges Angliæ et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, &c., ab anno 1101, ad nostra tempora*.

The first edition, 20 vols. folio, London, 1704—15; second edition, by Holmes, 20 vols. folio, London, 1727—35; third edition, containing the French translations of the English documents, and index, 10 vols. folio, 1745; a new edition, by Caley, folio, Vols. I., II., III. (A.D. 1066—1377). London, 1816—30; Vol. IV. (A.D. 1377—83). London, 1869.

Thomas Rymer, the son of a vehement Non-conformist who suffered for treason in 1604, was born about 1641 at Yafforth, in Yorkshire, was educated at Sidney College, Cambridge, and was called to the bar in 1672. In 1692 he was appointed historiographer royal, and in 1693 he was named editor of the *Fœdera*. Fifteen volumes were produced by him, coming down to July, 1886, but he was very indifferently repaid for his labour, and he died in poverty December 14, 1713. The last 5 vols. were compiled by Robert Saunderson, keeper of the Rolls Chapel records, who had been his assistant. Rymer was also the author of various works, plays, poems, dramatic criticisms, &c., of little merit.

FEDERA.—A collection of Conventions, Letters, and Public Acts between the Kings of England and Foreign Powers. Vols. I. to IV., from A.D. 1066 to 1383. These four volumes are all that were printed by the Commissioners of a new edition of Rymer, which, with Saunderson's Continuation, extends to 1654. *Record*.

— *Syllabus*, in English, of Rymer's *Fœdera*. Vol. I. A.D. 1066 to 1377. Vol. II. A.D. 1378 to 1654. This is a summary of the contents of about 20,000 documents from the time of William I.

to that of Charles II.; and tables of regnal years, and of contemporary Sovereigns, are also given. *Record*.

FOLCARD. *Vita S. Joannis Beverlaccensis Epis. Eboracensis* (A.D. 720). *Mabillon; Bellandus*.

Written c. 1066.

FORDUN, JOHN, a canon of Aberdeen, who lived circa 1360. *Scotichronicon*, with Continuation by Walter Bower, from Moses to A.D. 1460. *Gale; Hearne*.

FOUR MASTERS, *Annals of the*. See IRELAND.

GAIMAR. *L'Estorie des Angles*. A Norman-French poem, extending from A.D. 495 to 1066. *Monumenta; Caxton Soc*.

The earlier part (from Jason to the arrival of Cerdic) is supposed to be lost; what remains is mainly a paraphrase of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. It appears to have been written about the middle of the twelfth century, by Geoffrey Gaimar, of Troyes.

GEMETICENSIS. See JUMIEGES.

GERVASE. See CANTERBURY.

GESTA REGUM BRITANNIÆ. *A Metrical History of the Britons of the 13th century*. Printed from three MSS. *Cambrian*.

GILDAS. *De Excidio Britanniae*. *Monumenta; Gale; Heidelberg; Bertram; Eng. Hist. Soc*. The work of Gildas, who is presumed to have been a British priest or monk of the sixth century. It is accompanied by an Epistle, and the two extend from the Incarnation to A.D. 560.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. *Expugnatio Hiberniæ*, sive *Historia rationalis*, extending from A.D. 1170 to 1187. *Camden; Record*.

— *Legenda S. Remigii*. *Wharton*. Contains lives of St. Remigius and six of his successors in the see of Lincoln, beside brief notices of Thomas Becket and several other prelates.

— *Topographia Hiberniæ*. *Camden; Record*.

— *Descriptio Cambriæ*, Book II. *Wharton*; the whole work in *Record*.

— *Life of Geoffrey Plantagenet*, archbishop of York. *Wharton; Record*.

— *De Instructione Principum*. *Angl. Christ. Soc*.

Gerald Barry was archdeacon of Brecknock, and in 1199 he was elected, though not unanimously, bishop of St. David's; his opponent was Walter, abbot of St. Dogmael. Gerald appealed to Rome, when Pope Innocent III. interfered in his favour, but without effect. This is styled by Bishop Kennett, in his *MS. Collections*, "the first papal provision to any English see;" but the statement is

inaccurate. The pope, appearing to regard Wales as a barbarous country, professed to bestow the see on him by his own power, without reference to any question of disputed election. King John refusing to admit him, he at length resigned the title, Nov. 30, 1203; he died about 1223. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, but until recently only portions of them had been printed, as above. The whole are in course of publication in the Record series of Chronicles and Memorials. Six volumes have been already issued. The seventh is in the Press.

GLANVILLA, RADULFUS DE. *Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ temp. Henry II.* Comp. *London*, 1607—1673; *Rouen*, 1776 (with others); translated by Beames. *London*, 1812.

GLASTONIENSIS, JOANNES. *Chronica de rebus Glastoniensibus.* *Hearne*.

GLOUCESTER, BENEDICT OF. *Life of St. Dubricius, archbishop of Caerleon.* *Wharton*.

GLOUCESTER, ROBERT OF, lived circa 1280. A Chronicle, in verse, from Brute to A.D. 1271. *Hearne. In prep. Record.*

The latter part is very valuable as being a contemporary poem, describing many incidents of the time.

GLOUCESTER. *History and Chartulary of St. Peter's Monastery, from A.D. 691 to about 1380.* *Record.* Commonly, but erroneously ascribed to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot.

GOSCELIN, a monk of Canterbury. *Life of St. Augustine.* *Wharton*.

This is termed *Historia Minor*. It is little else than an abridgment of another *Life* by the same author, published by Mabillon.

GRACE, JACOBUS. *Annales Hiberniæ; 1074—1370.* *Irish Arch. Soc.* See IRELAND.

The author was a monk of Kilkenny, and wrote circa 1370.

GRAFTON. Abridgment of the Chronicles of England (1562), and the Chronicle at large (1569), by Richard Grafton, a printer, who was also one of the earliest English printers of the Holy Bible.

GRAY, SIR THOMAS. *Scala Cronica: a Chronicle of England and Scotland, from A.D. 1056 to 1362.* *Maitland Club*.

GRAYSTANES, ROBERT. *History of the Church of Durham, from A.D. 1214 to 1336.* *Wharton; Surtees*.

Robert Graistan, or Graistun, sub-prior of Durham, was consecrated bishop of the see in 1333, but obtaining neither the royal nor the papal approval he was set aside.

GROSSETESTE, BISHOP. *Letters of. Record.* The letters, 131 in number, range from A.D. 1210 to 1253, and though dealing with the political history of the time, refer especially to the writer's own diocese of Lincoln.

GUALO CAMBER. *Britannicus Carmen in Monachos.*

He wrote circa 1170. The poem will be found printed in *Fabrics Bibliotheca Latina*, 3 vols. royal 8vo., *Turin*, 1858.

HADENHAM, EDMUND OF, a monk of Rochester. *Annales Roffenses. Part (from A.D. 604 to 1307) in Wharton.*

HAGUSTALDENSIS. See HEXHAM, JOHN OF, RICHARD OF.

HALLE. Union of the two noble illustrious Families of Lancaster and York, *London*, 1548; afterwards issued as "*Halle's Chronicle*," containing the History of England during the reign of Henry IV., 4to., *London*, 1809. Mainly describes the Wars of the Roses, but was continued by Grafton so as to include the reign of Henry VIII.

Edward Halle was a scholar of Eton, who became recorder of London, and died in 1547. His grandfather, David Halle, had been a constant attendant on Richard, duke of York, and his recollections of the events of his time are so interwoven with the work as to give it something like the authority of a contemporary production.

HARDING, JOHN. A Chronicle, in verse, "from the first beginning of England" to the reign of Edward IV., with a prose Continuation by an unknown writer, to A.D. 1538. *London*, 1543; and with Grafton's Continuation, *London*, 1812.

Harding was a North countryman, who professed to have discovered many documents proving the feudal subjection of Scotland to England, for which he was rewarded by Edward IV., but his papers appear to have been forgeries.

HARFLET, Siege of, and "Batayl of Azen-court," by King Henry V., 1415.

Printed in the "*Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises*," by *Buchon*. *Paris*, 1824—29.

HARRY, BLIND; or, HENRY THE MINSTREL. Acts and Deeds of the most famous Champion Sir William Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie. 4to., *Edinb.*, 1578; 3 vols. 8vo., *Perth*, 1790; 2 vols. 4to., *Edinb.*, 1820.

The author of this poem lived circa 1470. The Edinburgh edition contains Earboure's Hist., and is entitled "*The Bruce and Wallace*." They are from two ancient MSS. preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates.

HASTINGENSI, *Carmen de Bello (1066).* *Monumenta.* See WIDO.

HEDDIUS, STEPHANUS. *Vita S. Wilfridi, Episcopi Eboracensis (A.D. 664—709).* *Gale*.

A monk of Canterbury, who was brought to the north by Wilfrid to instruct his people in psalmody.

HEIMSKRINGLA: a Chronicle of the Seakings of Norway, from A.D. 841 to 1177. It is a collection of ancient sagas, collected and arranged by Snorro Sturlason,

an eminent character in Iceland, about the close of the twelfth century.

The work does not embody any English writer, but it is mentioned here as affording the native version of the exploits of the Northmen. See some extracts, A.D. 1066, 1098. The Icelandic text was published at Upsala, 3 vols. 8vo., 1816; and an English translation, 3 vols. *London*, 1844.

HEMINGFORD, or HEMINGBURGH, WALTER OF. *Chronica*, from A.D. 1066 to 1272. *Gale; Eng. Hist. Soc.*

— Lives of Edward I., II., and III. [in part, A.D. 1272 to 1346, *Hearné*] have been ascribed to him, but it is believed that all after A.D. 1297 is the work of some other writer.

Hemingford was a canon of Gisburn, in Yorkshire, and died 1347.

HEMMING, a monk of Worcester. *Vita S. Wlstaní Episcopi Wigorniensis* (A.D. 1062—95). *Wharton; Migne.*

HENRY THE MINSTREL. See HARRY.

HENRY. See under EXCHEQUER, Pipe Rolls; ROTULI de Dominabus.

HENRY II. and RICHARD I. *Chronicle of the Reigns of.* *Record.* This work is known under the name of Benedict of PETERBOROUGH, *q. v.*

HENRY III. *Royal and Historical Letters of Henry III.* *Record.* The collection consists of nearly 700 letters, many now printed at length for the first time, though a summary of very many is to be found in the "Calendar of Royal Letters" in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

— *Calendarium Genealogicum*, for the Reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. *Record.* Of special value for elucidating early family history.

See FINE ROLLS, *Excerpta*; ROTULI Hundredorum.

HENRY IV. *Royal and Historical Letters of the Reign of.* *Record.* These letters illustrate biographical history, and give a familiar view of the characters, events and manners of the time (1399 to 1404).

See also English Chronicle of HENRY IV., V., VI. *Camden Soc.*

HENRY V. *Memorials of.* *Record.* Three Lives, now first printed. 1. A Life by Robert REDMAN; 2. A Metrical Chronicle, by Prior ELMHAM; 3. Verses in praise of King Henry, by a monk of WESTMINSTER.

— *Henrici quinti Angliæ Regis Gesta.* This, with the *Chronica NEUSTRIA*, contains the history between 1414—1422. A French MS. With Translation, *Eng. Hist. Soc.*

HENRY VI. *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry VI., and Bishop of Bath and Wells.* 2 vols. *Record.*

These curious volumes contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the king's name.

— *French Wars of Henry VI., Illustrations of.* 2 vols. *Record.* Derived mostly from French sources, they shew step by step the decline of the English power.

HENRY VII. *Memorials of.* *Record.* Contain a very laudatory life of Henry, by Bernard André, of Toulouse, his poet laureate; notices of various embassies, chiefly in relation to Henry's marriage projects; and an account of the reception of Philip of Castile in England in 1506.

— *Materials for a History of the reign of.* *Record.* Illustrates the proceedings of Henry on ascending the throne, and shadows out his future policy.

HENRY VIII. *Historical Notes relating to the History of England, from Accession of Henry VIII. to Death of Queen Anne.* *Record.* Useful for reference in dates, chronology, &c.

— *State Papers during the reign of Henry VIII., with Indices of Persons and Places.* Vol. I. *Domestic Correspondence.* Vols. II. and III. *Correspondence relating to Ireland.* Vols. IV. and V. *Correspondence relating to Scotland.* Vols. VI.—XI. *Correspondence between England and Foreign Courts.* *Record.*

*Foreign and Domestic State Papers of Henry VIII.* Vols. I. to IV. A.D. 1509 to 1528. This Calendar includes papers from a great number of sources, and is intended to embody "whatever authentic original material exists in England" regarding the reign of Henry VIII. *Record.*

— *Records of the Reformation. The Divorce, 1527—33.* 2 vols., *Oxford*, 1870.

See also VALOR Ecclesiasticus.

HEXHAM, JOHN OF. A continuator of Simeon of Durham (1130—1154). *Trysden; Surtees.*

John was prior of Hexham in the twelfth century.

HEXHAM, RICHARD OF. *De Gesti Regis Stephani et Bello Standardii*, 1135—1139. *Trysden; Surtees.*

Richard became Prior of Hexham in 1143.

HIBERNICI, *Annales.* See IRELAND.

**HIGDEN, RALPH** (or **RALPH OF CHESTER**). *Polychronicon*, from the Creation to A.D. 1357. Vol. i.—iv.; Vol. v. in prep.: together with Trevisa's Translation. *Record*; *Gale*. Mainly derived from Polycratica temporum, by Roger of Chester, an earlier member of the same house, which remains unprinted. The *Polychronicon* was continued to A.D. 1460, by Caxton, and printed by him 1482.

Higden was a monk of St. Werburgh's, Chester, who died about 1363.

**HISTORIA DE GESTIS REGUM BRITANNORUM.** VIDE LANERCOST.

**HOLINSHED.** *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577); 2 vols. folio, London, 4to., 1807.

The principal writer was Raphael Holinshed, of whom little is known, except that he was steward to a gentleman of Warwickshire. He was assisted by William Harrison, a canon of Windsor; Richard Stanyhurst, a Jesuit; John Hooker (or Vowell), chamberlain of Exeter; Francis Thynne, Lancaster herald; and John Stowe.

**HOLY ROOD, EDINBURGH.** *Chronicle*, from the invasion of Julius Caesar to A.D. 1163. Part, from A.D. 595, *Wharton*; *Bannatyne*.

The first part is chiefly from Bede, and ends with 734. The second part commences 1065, and throws light upon the ecclesiastical history of the north of England and south of Scotland.

**HOLY TRINITY, RICHARD OF.** Author of the *Itinerary of RICHARD I.*, *q.v.*

**HOVEDEN, ROGER.** *Annales*, in two parts, A.D. 731 to 1154, and 1154 to 1201. *Savile*; *Bouquet*; *Record*. 4 vols. Professor Stubbs divides the work into four parts, not all of equal value. From A.D. 732 to 1148 Hoveden has added little to a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161; from 1148 to 1169 is from some other source, with additions; from 1170 to 1192 there is a general agreement with Benedict of Peterborough; from 1192 to 1201 appears to be wholly the work of Hoveden, and it is an excellent authority.

Little more is known of the author, than the fact that he was one of the king's clerks in 1174, and a justice itinerant of the forests in 1189.

**HUGH, ST.**, *Life of.* *Record*.

St. Hugh was bishop of Lincoln from A.D. 1186 to 1200. His biographer was probably his confessor, Adam, abbot of Evesham.

**HUGO CANDIDUS**, a monk of Peterborough. *History*, from A.D. 654 to 1175. *Sparke*. The work is a mere amplification of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

**HUGONIS Rothomagensis**, *Epistola ad Innocentiam Papam II. de obitu Stephani*

*Regis Anglorum* (ob. 1154). *Martene et Durand*.

Hugh was abbot of Reading, 1123—30, before he was made Archbishop of Rouen.

**HULMO**, *Chronicon S. Benedicti de.* *Chronicle of S. Benet Holme*, from the Incarnation to 1294; continued by the Canons of Hickling to 1503; with John of Oxenedes. *Record*.

**HUNTINGDON, HENRY OF.** *Historia Anglorum*. Part, from the Incarnation to A.D. 1066, *Monumenta*; *Savile*; *Migne*.

— *De Contemptu Mundi*. A Letter to Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford, circa 1150. *Wharton*.

The writer was educated in the household of Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, and became archdeacon of Huntingdon about 1110; he travelled to Rome and elsewhere, and lived into the reign of Henry II.

**HYDE.** *Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, from A.D. 455 to 1023. *Record*. This, known as the Book of Hyde, gives much information about the reign of Alfred not met with elsewhere, and contains the will of that king both in the original, and in an English translation of the time of Edward III.

**ICKHAM, PETER DE.** *Le Livre de Reis de Britannie, and Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre*, *Record*. Two treatises which are careful abstracts of previous historians, and have also interest for the philologist as furnishing examples of half-naturalized French.

**INGULFUS.** *Historia Croylandensis* from A.D. 626 to 1089, *Fulman*; *Savile*; to which there are four separate Continuations (1089—1117, attributed to Peter of Blois; 1149—1470; 1459—1486; 1486).

An abbot of Croyland, who enjoyed the favour of William I., and died about 1109. To him has been ascribed the early part of the History, but this and the first Continuation are full of anachronisms and contradictions, and are all but certainly fabrications of the 13th or 14th centuries; the other Continuations are considered authentic, but nothing is known of their authors.

**INISFALLEN.** *Annals*, from A.D. 201 to 1096, kept at Inisfallen, in the lake of Killarney. *O'Connor*. In reality a modern compilation by Bishop O'Brien and John Conry, in the early part of the eighteenth century.

**INQUISITIONES ad quod Damnum.** See CHARTER ROLLS.

**IRELAND.** *Chronicon Scotorum*: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. *Record*. Gives a legendary

IRELAND, (*continued*).

account of the peopling of Ireland, and details the invasions of foreigners and the intestine wars of a later period. Translated from a MS. part Latin, part Irish.

- *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill. *Record*. The tale of the invasions of Ireland by the Northmen, told in the style of the Scandinavian Sagas, intermingled poetry and prose. Translated from an Irish MS.

- Annals of Loch Cé, from A.D. 1014 to 1590. *Record*.

A valuable addition to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland.

- Annals of Ireland, from the earliest period to A.D. 1616. Translated by John O'Donovan. A compilation (in Irish) from ancient sources by the three brothers O'Clery, assisted by Peregrine O'Duigenan, in their temporary retreat in the monastery of Donegal, 1632 to 1636, and so called Annals of the Four Masters, executed at the expense of Fergal O'Gara, lord of Coolavin, and M.P. for the county of Sligo. A part of the work (in Latin) is given in *O'Connor*.
- Annals, from A.D. 1074 to 1515, the last 145 years, however, being mainly a mere obituary of the Lacies, Burkes, Butlers and Fitzgeralds. *Irish Arch. Soc.*

The author, James Grace, prior of St. John in Kilkenny, died of the plague in or about 1539.

- Acta Sanctorum veteris Scotiæ sive Hiberniæ. Tom. i. ii., fol. *Louvain*, 1645.
- Historic and Municipal Documents, from the Archives of the City of Dublin, A.D. 1172—1320, by John T. Gilbert. *Record*.
- History of the Viceroys of Ireland. By J. T. Gilbert. 1865.
- Roll of the Privy Council of Ireland, 16 Richard II. *In prep.* *Record*.
- The Statutes at large passed in Parliaments held in Ireland from 3 Edw. II. (1310) to 40 George III. (1800), fol., 20 vols. *Record*.
- Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Repertorium, 2 vols., folio, 1826—1829. *Record*.
- Rotulorum Patentium et Clausarum Cancell. Hib. Calendarium, Henry II. —VII., Vol. I., fol., 1828. *Record*.
- Chartæ Privilegia et Immunitates, Ric. II. *Record*. Unfinished.
- Calendar of Patent Rolls, 5—35 Henry VIII. *Record*. Unfinished.

IRELAND, (*continued*).

- Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1—16 James I. *Record*. Unfinished.
- Repertory of Patent Rolls of Ireland, James I. et seq., 2 vols. *Record*.
- Rotuli Selecti ad res Anglicas et Hibernicas spectantes. *Record*.
- Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls, Henry VIII., Edw. VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, Vol. i. *Record*.
- Irish State Papers. Vols. I., II. A.D. 1509 to 1585. *Record*.

- Irish State Papers, of the reign of James I. Vols. I., II., A.D. 1603—1608. *Record*.

- Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ, ab an. 1152 usque ad 1827; or The Establishments of Ireland. *Record*.

An incomplete work, containing a vast mass of valuable matter, relating to both Church and State, but with difficulty consultable, from its utter want of systematic arrangement.

- Carew Papers in the Lambeth Library. Vols. I. to VI. A.D. 1515 to 1624. *Record*. These papers are of great value to all students of Irish history.

See also MARLBOROUGH, HENRY OF, ANGLO-NORMAN POEMA, and the publications of the *Irish Archaeological and Ibero-Celtic Societies*.

- JAMES I. Domestic State Papers of James I. 5 vols. A.D. 1603 to 1625. New light is here thrown on the Gunpowder plot, the Overbury murder, the death of Raleigh, &c. *Record*.

*The following works may also be consulted.*

- Secret History of the Court of James I., by Osborne, 12mo., *London*, 1658, *Weldon*, 2 vols. *Edinb.*, 1811, and others.
- Sir David Dalrymple's (Lord Hailes) Memorials and Letters relating to the reign of James I. 8vo., *Glasgow*, 1766.
- Carleton's (Sir Dudley) Letters during his Embassy in Holland, from A.D. 1615 to 1620. 4to., *Lond.*, 1757.
- Ruthven's Letters, 1615—1662. *Roxburghe*.
- Letters and Dispatches from Sir II. Wotton to James I., 1617—20. *Roxburghe*.
- King James' Works (published by Bp. of Winton). Folio, *London*, 1616—20.
- Relations between England and Germany, 1618. *Camden Soc.*
- Spanish Account of the proposed Marriage of Prince Charles and the Infanta, 1623. *Camden Soc.*
- See also EXCHEQUER; IRELAND, State Papers; ABBOTSFORD and BANNATYNE CLUBS.

**JAMES II.** Life of James II., collected out of Memoirs, writ of his own hand, by Rev. J. Stainer Clarke, 2 vols. 4to., London, 1816; a work of doubtful authority.

*The following works may be consulted.*

Clarendon's State Letters during the reign of James II. 3 vols. folio, Oxon., 1767.

Correspondence and Diaries of Henry and Lawrence Hyde, earls of Clarendon and Rochester, from A.D. 1687 to 1690. 2 vols. 4to., London, 1828.

The Hydes were sons of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and consequently uncles to Queens Mary and Anne. Henry refused to take the oaths to William III., and lived in retirement, but his brother Lawrence accepted office, and was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Burnet's History of James II. Ed. Routh. Oxon, 1852.

See also BANNATYNE, CAMDEN.

**JOANNES** Historiographus, Chronicon Angliæ, 1347.

Printed in Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum, by Ludewig, Frankfurt, 1720.

**JOHN.**

See under EXCHEQUER, Liberate Rolls, and Oblata Rolls, temp. Reg. Joannis.

**JORDANUS FANTOSMA.** Anglo-Norman Chronicle of the War between the English and Scots in 1173-4. *Surtees.*

Printed also by Michel in the Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie, 3 vols. 4to., Paris, 1836-44. Jordan Fantosme wrote c. 1174.

**JUNIEGES, WILLIAM OF.** Historia Normannorum, from A.D. 860 to 1137. Camden; Duchesne.

**KNIGHTON, HENRY.** Chronicon de Eventibus Angliæ, from A.D. 950 to 1395. *Twysden.*

A canon of Leicester, living about the close of the reign of Richard II.

**LAGAMON, or LAYAMON.** Brut, or Chronicle of Britain. 3 vols. 8vo., London, 1837. A poetical Semi-Saxon Paraphrase of the Brut of Wace.

**LANCASTRIÆ Ducatus.** Calendarium inquisitionum post mortem, and a Calendar of the Pleadings, Depositions, &c., Henry VII. to end of Elizabeth. 3 vols. *Record.*

**LANERCOST, Canonicus de.** Historia de Gestis Regum Britannorum et Anglorum a Cassibellano ad ann. 20 Edw. III., 1346, per quemdam Canonicum de Lanercost in Comitatu Cumbriæ. *Edinb.*, 1839.

— Chronicon de, 1201-1346. *Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs.*

**LANFRANCI** Epistolæ Archiep. Cant. IX. (1070-1089). In Lanfranci Opera, fol., Paris, 1648; also in *Migne.*

**LANGTOFT, PETER.** Chronicle, from Brute to Cadwallader, and from Cadwallader to A.D. 1307. *Hearn; Record.* The work is in verse, and is a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire. The latter part only was translated from the French, by Robert of Brunne, circa 1330.

A canon of Bridlington, living in the time of Edward I. and Edward II.

**LANQUET.** The Epitome of Chronicles, 4to., London, 1549; brought down by Lanquet only to the birth of our Lord, but continued (in two editions) by Thomas Cooper, bishop of Lincoln, to 1558.

Thomas Lanquet was a student of Oxford, but little more is known concerning him. Cooper was also an Oxford man; he was successively dean of Christ Church and of Gloucester, and bishop of Lincoln and of Winchester; he died in 1594.

**LAUDUNENSIS** Anonymi Chronicon, ab A. C.—1218. *Bouquet.*

This Chronicle touches upon English history.

**LINDWOOD, GUIL.** Bishop of St. David's, 1442-46. Provinciale seu Constitutiones Angliæ, lib. 5. Fol., Paris, 1506; 8vo., London, 1557; fol., Oxon., 1679.

**LLANCARVAN, CARADOC OF.** See BRUT Y TYWYSOGION.

**LLANDAFF, STEPHEN, or GEOFFREY OF.** Life of St. Teliav, bishop of Llandaff (c. 550). *Wharton.*

**LOCH CE'.** See IRELAND.

**LONDON, CHRONICLE OF.** An anonymous work, extending from A.D. 1189 to 1483. 4to., London, 1827.

— Chroniques de London, depuis l'an 1260 à l'an 1344.

— Chronicon Majorum et Vice-comitum Londoniarum, 1178-1274, (De Antiquis Legibus Liber). *Camden Soc.*

— Londinensis Gildhalke Munimenta. *Record.* Contains Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, and Liber Horn, and furnishes an account of the laws, regulations and institutions of the city of London, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

**LONDON, JOHN OF.** See FLORES HISTORIARUM.

**MAILROS,** Chronica de, from A.D. 731 to 1270. *Fulman; Stevenson; Bannatyne.* The early part of the Chronicle of Melrose is of little moment, but from about the beginning of the reign of Henry II. it contains much information on Scottish affairs in connexion with England.

MALMESBURY, WILLIAM OF. *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, from A.D. 449 to 1125, with a Continuation (*Historiæ Novellæ*) to 1142. *Monumenta* to 1066; *Eng. Hist. Soc.*; *Savile*; *Migne*.

— *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, from A.D. 601 to 1122. *Savile*; *Record*; *Migne*.

— Life of Aldhelm and Antiquities of Glastonbury. *Gale*; *Migne*; *Wharton*.

Of this writer little is known, except that he was a Benedictine of Malmesbury, and died in 1143, or later.

MANNIA. *Monumenta de Insula*. A Collection of National Documents relating to the Isle of Man, with Translations. *Manx Soc.*

— *Chronicon Manniæ et Insularum*, 1066—1266. Printed by Johnston, with other extracts, in *Antiquitates Celto-Normaniciæ*. *Copenhagen*, 1786; *Christiana*, 1820; and in *Camden's Britannia*, *London*, 1610.

Styléd also *Chronicon Regum Manniæ*.

See publications of the *Manx Society*, p. 582.

MAPES, Gualterus. *De nngis Curialium distinctiones Quinque*. *Camden*.

Walter Mapes was Archdeacon of Oxford, c. 1196.

MARGAN. *Annals*, from A.D. 1066 to 1232, imperfect, *Gale*; *Record*. Mainly an abridgment of Malmesbury, with notices of Welsh affairs added, it having been kept at the abbey of Margan, in Glamorganshire.

MARIANUS SCOTUS. *Chronicon Universale*, from the Creation to A.D. 1083; with a Continuation to A.D. 1200, by Dodechin, abbot of St. Disibod, near Treves. *Pistorius*; *Pertz*. Portions in *Leland*, *Bouquet*, &c.

Marianus the Irishman went to Germany, and was a monk at Mayence at the time of his death, A.D. 1086.

MARISCO, ADA DE. *Epistolæ*. See *MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA*.

MARK THE ANCHORITE. See *NENNIIUS*.

MARLBOROUGH, HENRICUS DE. *Cronica excerpta de medulla diversorum Cronicorum*, præcipue Ranulphi Cestrensis, una cum quibusdam capitulis de Cronicis Hiberniæ (1421). *Camden, Brit.*, 1371—1421.

An English translation by Ware, folio, *Dublin*, 1633. See also *HOLINSHED*.

MARLBOROUGH, THOMAS OF, joint author of the *Evesham Chronicle*. *Record*.

MARY. *Foreign State Papers of Mary*. A.D. 1553 to 1558. Much new matter relating to the loss of Calais is to be found in this volume. *Record*.

— *Domestic State Papers*. See *EDWARD VI.*

MARY Queen of Scots. *Accounts and Papers* relating to. *Camden Soc.*

— *Scottish State Papers*. *Record*.  
See also *ABBOTSFORD CLUB*.

MELSA. *Annals of the Cistercian Abbey of Meaux*, in Yorkshire, from A.D. 1150 to 1406. *Record*.

The author was Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

MENEVIA. *Annals of the Church of St. David's*, from A.D. 438 to 1286. *Wharton*.

MONMOUTH, GEOFFREY OF. *Historia Britonum*, or *Britanniæ utriusque Regum et Principum origo et gesta*. *Caxton Soc.*; *Heidelberg*.

He was Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, and died about 1154. His work is professedly a translation of some work in the British tongue, which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, requested him to translate. It possibly contains some truth, but is in the main fabulous, and is used largely in the mediæval romances.

MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA. *Record*.

Contains *ECCELESTON*, *g. v.*, also original materials for the history of the settlement of the Franciscans in England, letters of Adam de Marisco, &c.

MONTE, ROBERTUS DE. *Suo de Torineio Accessiones et Appendix Germana de rebus præcipue Anglo-Normannicis*, 385—1100. *Pistorius*; *Bouquet*; *Duchesne*; *D'Achery*; *Pertz*.

A continuation of *Marianus Scotus*, with special reference to England and Normandy.

MORE, SIR THOMAS DE LA. *De vita et morte Edwardi II.* *Camden*.

A knight of Gloucestershire, living in the time of Edward III.

MURIMUTH, ADAM. *Chronicle*, from A.D. 1303 to 1336, with a Continuation to 1380. Ed. Ant. Hall, *Svo.*, *Oxon.*, 1722. *Eng. Hist. Soc.*

He was a canon of St. Paul's, who lived in the time of Richard II.

NENNIIUS. *Historia Britonum*, from Brute to A.D. 680. *Monumenta*; *Gale*; *Bertram*; *Eng. Hist. Soc.*, &c. (Ed. Gunn, *London*, 1819).

Nothing is known as to the author, and the work has been by some ascribed to Gildas, to Mark the Anchorite, or to an anonymous writer.

NEOT, ST. *Chronicon*. *Gale*. A compilation mainly from Beda and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, extending from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to A.D. 941; sometimes ascribed to Asser, but more probably belonging to the 12th or 13th century.



NEUBRIGENSIS, WILHELMUS. *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*. From A.D. 1066 to 1197. *Heidelberg; Hearne; Eng. Hist. Soc.*

This William was a monk of Newburgh, near Easingwold, in Yorkshire, and died *c.* 1208; he is sometimes called Willelmus Parvus, or William of Rievaulx.

NIGER, RADULFUS. *Chronicon succinctum de vitis Imperatorum et tam Francie quam Anglie Regum*, A.D. 1206.—(2.) *De Regis Anglie, &c.* *Caxton Soc.*

NONARUM Inquisitiones. See EXCHEQUER, Records.

NORMAN ROLLS.—*Rotuli Normannie in Turri Londinensi asservati, Johanne et Henrico V., Anglie Regibus*. Containing the rolls for A.D. 1200 to 1205, and for 1417. *Record.*

Very valuable as shewing the steps by which Normandy was lost by John, and the rapid success of Henry V.

NORMANDY. *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannie*, with Observations on the Great Roll of the Exchequer of Normandy. *Ant. Soc.*

— Narratives of the expulsion of the English from, A.D. 1449, 1450. *Record.* An account, by French eye-witnesses, who write with considerable power and minuteness.

NORMANNORUM *Gesta in Francia*, A.D. 837—896. *Duchesne.*

NORTHERN REGISTERS, *Historical Papers and Letters from the.* *Record.*

Illustrating the general history of the north of England, particularly in its relation to Scotland.

NORTHMEN. A Collection of Sagas and other Historical Documents relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles. Vols. I. and II. *In prep.* *Record.*

NORWICH. *Annals of the Church of Norwich*, from A.D. 1042 to 1299, by Bartholomew de Cotton, with an anonymous Continuation to 1445. *Wharton; Record.*

OBLATA ROLLS. See EXCHEQUER.

ORDERICUS VITALIS. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, from the Creation to A.D. 1124; the latter portion has much valuable matter relating to the Normans in England. *Duchesne; Migne.* Ed. Prevost, Paris, 5 vols. 8vo., 1838. A portion only in *Maseres*.

Orderic was born in England, but became a monk in Normandy, and died probably about 1142.

OSBERNE, a canon of Canterbury, living in 1070. Life, Passion, and Translation of St. Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury. *Wharton.*

— Life of Dunstan. *Wharton; Mabillon.*

OSENEY. *Annals*, from A.D. 1016 to 1347. *Gale; Record.*

OTTERBURNE, THOMAS. *Chronicle*, from Brute to A.D. 1420. *Hearne.*

A Franciscan, supposed to have died about 1421.

OXFORD, University of. *Munimenta Academica. Record.* Supplies materials for a history of academic life and studies at Oxford in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

— Enactments in Parliament specially concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 13 Henry IV.—32 Vict. *Oxford*, 1869.

OXNEDES, JOHN DE. *Chronica*, from the time of Alfred to A.D. 1292. *Record.* Contains some notices of the east of England not found elsewhere.

PAISLEY. Register of the Monastery, from A.D. 1163 to 1529. *Maitland.*

PARIS, MATTHEW. *Historia Major*, from the Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. I. Vol. II. *in prep.* *Record.* This portion is now published for the first time; the latter part, from A.D. 1066 to 1259, by Parker and by Wats. Folio, London, 1640.

— *Historia Minor*, from A.D. 1067 to 1253. *Record.* A Continuation, 1259—1307, ascribed to Rishanger. *Ibid.*

— *Vitæ duorum Offarum*, a compilation from Henry of Huntingdon, Hoveden and Malmesbury. In Wats' edition.

— *Vitæ viginti trium Abbatum Sancti Albani*, from Willegod, the first abbot (A.D. 787), to John, the twenty-third (A.D. 1235). In Wats' edition.

Matthew Paris was a monk of St. Alban's, who was much favoured by Henry III., and was also employed on a mission to Norway, by Pope Innocent IV., but little more is known of him. He died in 1259.

PARLIAMENT. *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum. Record.* An ancient treatise on the mode of holding Parliaments in England.

— Journals of the House of Lords (commencing A.D. 1509). *Record.*

PARLIAMENT. Journals of the House of Commons (commencing A.D. 1547). *Record.*

In the "Documents illustrative of English History." (Cole, fol., *Record*, 1844, will 1: found the 2 Rolls of 12 Edw. II. not in the ed. of 1775.

PARLIAMENTARY WRITS. Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons. Confined to the reigns of Edward I. and II. 4 vols. folio, 1273—1327. Together with the Records and Monuments relating to the suit and service done to the King's High Court of Parliament, &c. *Record.*

PARLIAMENTORUM ROTULI, ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento. Six vols., extending from the time of Edward I. to the nineteenth year of Henry VII. (1504). *Record.* One of the most important of the Government publications for our constitutional history. By the complete Index printed in 1832 reference is made easy.

PATENT ROLLS. See CHARTER ROLLS.

PERTH. Chronicle of, from A.D. 1210 to 1668. *Scottish.*

PETERBOROUGH. BENEDICT OF. Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. *Record; Harma.* A very valuable work, and one of the best existing specimens of a mediæval Chronicle, extending from A.D. 1169 to 1192, whose author is unknown, the ascription to Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, (circa 1200,) being supposititious.

— Vita S. Thomæ. *Camden Soc.*

PETERBOROUGH. JOHN OF. Chronicle, from A.D. 654 to 1363. *Sparks; Camden Soc.*

John appears to have been an abbot of Peterborough. Sparks calls the author Robert de Boston.

PETROBURGENSE Chronicle; auctore Monacho anonymo, A.D. 1122—1195. *Camden Soc.*

PICTAVENSIS, GUILIELMUS. Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum. *Duchene; Mezeris; M.* An imperfect work, only extending from A.D. 1035 to 1067; it is more of a panegyric than a reliable history.

William of Poitou, an attendant of William in his invasion of England, was archdeacon of Lisieux.

PIPE ROLLS. See ENCHEQUEER RECORDS.

PLACITORUM in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensis. See CURIA REGIS.

POLITICAL POEMS and Songs, from Edward III. to Henry VIII. 3 vols. *Record.*

POLITICAL Songs of England, from John to Edw. II. *Camden Soc.*

PONTICUS VIRUNNIUS. Epitome of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of Britain. *Heidelberg.*

PRIVY COUNCIL. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England. From 1386 to 1542. 7 vols. *Record.*

RADULPHUS. Vide DICETO, NIGER, HIGDEN.

RAGMAN ROLLS. Instrumenta Publica, sive Processus super redditibus et hominibus Scotorum Domino regi Anglie factis A.D. 1291—1296. *Bannatyne.*

RAMSEY. Historia Ramesiensis, (Ramsey Abbey, in Cambridgeshire,) from A.D. 924 to 1066. *Gale.* Written during the time of Abbot Walter, who died in 1160.

— Ramsiense Chronicon. *Mabillon.*

RASTELL. Chronicles of divers Realms, an Anglo-Saxon specially of the realm of England, otherwise called The Pastime of People. Folio, *London*, 1529. The Chronicles are of the Papacy, of France, Normandy, Flanders, and England, but the last is much more full than any of the rest.

John Rastell, the compiler, was a native of London. He was a printer, and was the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, who died in 1536. The Chronicle was reprinted by Dr. Mead in 4to., *London*, 1811.

REEMAN, ROBERT, author of a Life of Henry V. *Record.*

REGAN, MAURICE. Histoire d'Irlande. A Fragment belonging to 1167—73. Contained in *Harris's Hibernica*. 8vo., *Dublin*, 1770.

RICARDUS CANONICUS. See RICHARD I.

RICHMARCH. Life of St. David, incorporated by Giraldus Cambrensis in his work on the see of St. David's. *Wharton.*

A bishop of St. David's (died 1096).

RICHARD I. Chronicles and Memorials of. *Record.* Vol. I. Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II. Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury. 1187—99.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now generally given to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187—99, and relates chiefly to the exploits of Richard I. from his departure from England in December, 1189, to his death. It was no doubt written by an eyewitness.

Vol. II. throws much light upon the ecclesiastical condition of England during Richard I.'s reign, referring especially to the dispute about Abp. Baldwin's proposed College of Secular Canons at Hackington.

See in ENCHEQUEER, Roll of the Pipe; PETERBOROUGH, Benedict of.

RICHARD I. (*continued*).

— Chronique Abrégée du Roi Richard Cœur-de-Lion depuis son retour de Palestine jusqu'à sa mort (1192—99).

An extract from a "Histoire Universelle," by Jean Raveneau, 1477. Printed by Potier, at Rouen, in *Recue Retrospective Normande*.

RICHARD II. Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy D'Engleterre. *English Historical Society*.

This work affords strong grounds for doubting the commonly received account of the death of Richard II.

— Chronique de Richard II. depuis l'an 1377—1399, par Jean le Beau, Chanoine à Liège (c. 1450).

Printed at end of Froissart in Buchon's Edition, Paris, 1824.

— Historia Vitæ et Regni Ric. II., a Monacho quodam de Evesham consignata. *Hearnæ*.

— Poems on the Deposition of. *Camden Soc.*

— English Chronicle of Reigns of Ric. II., Henry IV., V., VI. *Camden Soc.*

RICHARD III. and HENRY VII. Letters and Papers illustrative of the reigns of. *Record*. Contain hitherto unpublished diplomatic papers of Richard III., Spanish and Scottish correspondence, t. Hen. VII., and many most interesting particulars regarding the De la Poles and other Yorkist exiles.

RIEVAULX, AILRED OF. (1.) De Bello Standardii, 1138; (2.) Genealogia Regum Anglorum (from Ethelwulf to Harold); (3.) De Sanctimoniali de Wattun. *Twysden*.

Ailred was abbot of Rievaulx, circa 1160.

RIEVAULX, WILLIAM OF. See NEWBURGH, WILLIAM OF.

RISHANGER, WILLIAM, a monk of St. Alban's, temp. Edw. I. Chronicle of English History, from A.D. 1259 to 1307. *Record*.

MSS. exist, imperfect, one of which comes down to A.D. 1322.

— De Bellis Lewes et Evesham. *Camden Soc.* Contains a collection of miracles attributed to Simon de Montfort.

ROCHFORD, JOHN. See FLORES HISTORIARUM.

ROFFENSIS Annales. See HADENHAM.

ROFFENSIS Textus. *Hearnæ*.

A collection of early documents illustrating the ancient laws. Part only has been printed by Hearnæ.

ROTULI de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis de donatione Regis in xii. Comitibus de itinere Hugonis de Morewich, Rad.

Murdac, &c., 31 Hen. II., 1185. Curante Stacey Grimaldi, 1830.

ROTULI Hundredorum temporibus Henrici III. et Edwardi I. et Turri Londinensi et in Curia receptæ Seaccarii Westmonasterien-servati. *Record*.

The records of inquiries made in every hundred in the beginning of the reign of Edward I. as to the injuries that the royal revenue had suffered from tenants alienating their lands, and illegally holding courts and levying tolls, during the recent civil war. See A.D. 1288.

An English summary of these rolls, so far as relates to Kent, will be found in Furlley's "History of the Weald," vol. ii. pp. 121—162. London, 1874.

ROUS, JOHN. Historia Regum Angliæ. *Hearnæ*. From the first peopling of Britain to the accession of Henry VII.; remarkable as containing the earliest statement of the charges on which the popular estimate of the character of Richard III. is founded. See pp. 262, 265, 266 of this work.

Rous was an antiquary of Warwick, who died in 1491.

RUDBORNE, THOMAS. Historia Major. *Wharton*. A history of the see of Winchester, from its foundation to A.D. 1138.

Archdeacon of Sudbury, and afterwards bishop of St. David's, in which post he died in 1442.

RYMER. See FÆDERA.

SALISBURY, CHRONICLE OF. See WYKES.

SALISBURY, JOHN OF. Life of St. Anselm. *Wharton; Migne*.

— Life of Becket. *Migne; Gües*.

Wrote circa 1175. Afterwards bishop of Chartres.

SALTERIA, HENRY DE. St. Patrick's Purgatory.

Supposed to have lived about 1150.

SCOTLAND. Bulk of the Croniklis. *Record*. A metrical translation, made early in the 16th century by William Stewart, of the Latin prose Chronicle of Hector Boece. Though of little historical value, it is of interest for the student of languages.

— Addicioun of Scottis Croniklis and deedis, and a Short Chronicle of the reign of James II. King of Scots, 1460. *Edinb.*, 1818.

An historical fragment from a MS. in the Auchinleck Library.

See also BOETHIUS and WYNTOUN.

— Rotuli Scotiæ, in Turri Londinensi et in Domo-Capitulari Westmonasterien-servati. Vols. I. and II., from A.D. 1291 to 1516. *Record*.

Containing, among other matters, records relating to the succession to the Scottish crown; negotiations for the ran-

SCOTLAND, (*continued*).

som of prisoners of war (as of David II.); grants of rewards to persons in Scotland, adherents of the English kings; attainders; licences for trade between the two countries; safe conducts through England for Scots, particularly of ecclesiastics journeying to or from Rome or Palestine; and licences for the resort of Scottish students to Oxford or Cambridge.

— Documents and Records illustrative of the History of Scotland, Vol. I. *Record*.

These documents, preserved in the Exchequer, extend from A.D. 1237 to 1307, and in a particular manner illustrate the attempts of Edward I. on the independence of Scotland. They shew that the preservation of the freedom of the country was the work rather of the common people than of the nobles, as many of the latter had lands also in England, and even those who had not, are seen craving Edward's favour, and acknowledging his supremacy in the most unqualified terms.

— Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis retornatarum. Abbreviatio, with Indices. *Record*.

— Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum in Archivis Publicis Asservatum, 1306—1424. *Record*.

— Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints (Acta Dominorum Auditorum), 1466—94. *Record*.

— Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes (Acta Dominorum Concilii), 1478—95. *Record*.

— Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1424—1707, 11 vols., folio (1814—44). *Record*. See also p. 575.

— Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, Vol. II. From A.D. 1424 to 1706. *Record*. The first volume, containing the earlier statutes, has not been published.

— Scottish State Papers. 2 vols. A.D. 1509 to 1603. The papers relating to the detention of Mary Queen of Scots in England (A.D. 1568 to 1587) form a very important part of this work. *Record*.

— Sir Ralph Sadler's State Papers and Letters, from A.D. 1540 to 1570. 2 vols. *Edinb.*, 1809.

See also in SECT. III. the publications of the *Abbotsford*, *Bannatyne*, *Maitland* and *Spottiswoode* Clubs.

SELGRAVE, HENRICUS DE. *Chronicon*. *Caxton Soc.*

SERLO, JOHN, abbot of Fountains, living

circa 1160. A History of his house is attributed to him, as also some satirical verses on the defeat of the Scots at the battle of the Standard. *Troysden*.

SPAIN. Spanish MSS. relating to England. Vols. I.—III. A.D. 1485 to 1526. *Record*. A Supplement contains new matter as to Henry VII.'s projected marriage with Queen Juana of Spain, the private life of Katharine of Aragon, &c.

SPECULUM HISTORIALE. See CIRENCESTER, RICHARD OF.

SPROTT, THOMAS. *Chronicles*, from the Creation to A.D. 1272, continued to 1377; and a Fragment relating to Edward IV. (1440—1470) added. Mainly taken from Higden. *Hearn*.

Attributed on insufficient grounds to Sprott, a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, who died in 1274.

STATE TRIALS. A complete Collection of, and Proceedings for High Treason, 11 Ric. II. to 16 George III., by Hargrave. Folio, *London*, 1776.

STATUTES AT LARGE, from Magna Charta to 30 George II., by Hawkins, 9 vols. folio, *London*, 1734—59.

There are also several other editions, e.g. by Cay, 6 vols. with Continuation, by Ruffhead, to 13 George III., 3 vols., *London*, 1758. By Pickering, 42 vols. 8vo., 1762—1800. From Magna Charta to 2 George III., by Ruffhead, 8 vols., with Continuation to 41 George III., 18 vols. 4to., *London*, 1763—1800. Index to Statutes at Large, by Raithby, from Magna Charta to 49 George III., 4to., *London*, 1814, &c., &c.

STATUTES OF THE REALM. In eleven vols., extending to the death of Queen Anne. *Record*. These Statutes are preceded by the various Charters of Liberties; and taken, as they ever should be, in connexion with the Anglo-Saxon and Welsh Laws, they furnish an authentic record of the legislation of more than one thousand years. Many statutes are here printed for the first time; and consequently the numbering is different from that ordinarily adopted. It is necessary to mention this, as the new numbering is also used in this work.

STEPHANI Regis Anglorum et Ducis Normannorum Gesta. *Duchesne; Eng. Hist. Soc.*

STOWE. *Chronicles of England*, originally extending only to 1580, but continued by the Author to 1598, and by Edmund Howes to 1615.

John Stowe, a Londoner, was born about 1525. He devoted himself to historical studies, travelling on foot all over the country in search of manuscripts, and at length died in poverty in 1605.

STUBBS, THOMAS. *Chronica Pontificum ecclesie Eboraci*, from A.D. 625 to 1373.

- Twysden.* In its earlier part derived from the work of Hugo de Sotevagina, Canon of York in the twelfth century.
- STUBBS, THOMAS.** *Corpus Historicum Eboracense. Chronica Pontificum Ecclesie Eboraci auctore Thoma Stubbs Dominicano* (living circa 1373); and other Documents relating to the Primacy of York. *In prep. Record.*
- SUDBURY, WILLIAM OF,** author of a portion of the *Speculum* of Richard of Cirencester. *Record.*
- SWAPHAM, ROBERT,** a monk of Peterborough. History, in continuation of Hugo Candidus, from A.D. 1177 to 1245. *Sparke.*
- TAXATIO ECCLESIASTICA ANGLIÆ et WALLIÆ auctoritate Papæ Nicolai IV.** circa A.D. 1291. *Record.* This is a record of the value of ecclesiastical benefices, the tenths of which were granted by Pope Nicholas IV. to Edward I. for three years, in contemplation of an expedition for the relief of the Holy Land. See A.D. 1288. This valuation remained in force until 1534, when it was superseded by that made by authority of Henry VIII., under the name of "Valor Ecclesiasticus."
- TAXTER, JOHN,** a continuator of Florence of Worcester. *Eng. Hist. Soc.*
- TESTA DE NEVILL.** See *EXCHIEQUER.*
- TIEWKESBURY.** Annals, from A.D. 1660 to 1263. *Record.*
- THORN, WILLIAM.** *Chronica de gestis Abbatum Cantuariæ.* *Twysden.* A History of St. Augustine's Abbey, from its foundation to A.D. 1397.  
A monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, circa 1400.
- TIGERNACH.** *Annales Hibernici,* from B.C. 305 to A.D. 1088. *O'Conor.*  
An abbot of Cloncyne, in the latter part of the eleventh century.
- TILBURY, GERVASE OF.** *Otia Imperialia,* containing Notices of the Kings of England to John. *Duchesne; Leibnitz.*  
His master, Otto IV., was grandson of Henry II.
- TINMUTHENSIS, JOHANNES.** *Acta S. Oswini Regis Northumbrie et Mart. in Anglia, 651.* In the *Legenda Angliæ* of Capgrave.
- TITUS LIVIUS, Foro-liviensis.** *Vita Regis Henrici Quinti.* *Hearne.* Little more than an abridgment of Elmham.  
This name was probably an assumed one.
- TREASURY.** Treasury Papers. Vols. I.—III. A.D. 1557 to 1707. *Record.* These papers give information, particularly on financial matters, nowhere else recorded.
- TREVISA, JOHN.** Higden's Polychronicon translated into English. *Record.*  
A fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and vicar of Berkeley, circa 1400.
- TRICKINGHAM, ELIAS OF.** Annals, from A.D. 626 to 1269, mainly relating to the abbey of Peterborough and Ramsey. Ed. Pegge. 4to., *Lond.*, 1789.  
To which of these houses the author belonged is a matter of doubt.
- TRIVET, NICHOLAS.** *Annales Sex Regum Angliæ,* from A.D. 1135 to 1307, with a Continuation to 1318. Ed. Ant. Hall. 8vo., *Oxon.*, 1719; *D'Achery; Eng. Hist. Soc.*  
Trivet was prior of the Dominicans in London; died in 1328.
- TROKELowe, JOHN,** a monk of St. Alban's, living circa 1330. *Chronicles and Annals of St. Alban's,* (with Blanford). *Hearne; Record.*
- *Annales Edwardi II.* *Hearne; Record.* Extend from A.D. 1307 to 1323.
- TURGOT.** See *DURHAM.*
- TYSILIO.** *Chronicon.*  
A Welsh bishop and saint of the seventh century, and the supposed author of a History of Britain, which Geoffrey of Monmouth is said to have translated from Welsh into Latin.  
See Owen, *Myvyrian Archaeology.* 8vo., *London*, 1801; and Roberts' *Collectanea Cambria.* 4to., *London* 1811.
- ULTONIENSES ANNALES.** The Annals of Ulster, extending from A.D. 431 to 1131. *Camden; O'Conor.*
- VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS tempore Henrici VIII., auctoritate Regia instituta.** 6 vols. folio, *London*, 1810—34.  
This is the return of commissioners appointed under 26 Henry VIII. c. 3 to value the first-fruits and tenths bestowed by that act on the king. See A.D. 1534. The valuation then made is still in force, and the record containing it is that commonly known as the King's Book.
- VENICE.** Venetian MSS. relating to England. Vols. I. to V. A.D. 1202 to 1534. *Record.*  
A report on these MSS. by Mr. Duff Hardy (1866) shews that they contain matters of interest to England down almost to the extinction of the Venetian Republic.
- VILODUNENSE Chronicon,** sive *De vita et Miraculis S. Edithæ* (984) regis Eadgari filie, *Carmen Vetus Anglicum.*  
Written in the Wiltshire dialect, and printed by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. *London*, 1830.
- VINESAUF, GEOFFREY DE.** *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Ricardi et aliorum in terram Hierosolymorum,* auctore Gual-

frido Vinesauf, *Gale*; *Record*; from A.D. 1187 to 1192. A very valuable account of King Richard's crusade, apparently by an eye-witness.

The probable author or editor was Richard, a canon of the Holy Trinity, in London, the ascription to Vinesauf being a mistake. See RICHARD I., *Chronicles* of.

WACE, ROB. *Le Roman de Brut* Chronique rince. 2 vols., *Rouen*, 1836.

— *Roman de Rou et les Ducs de Normandie*, 2 vols. *Rouen*, 1827.

The poet Wace wrote circa 1170.

WALES. Ancient Laws and Institutes of. Comprising Laws supposed to be enacted by Howel the Good, modified by subsequent regulations under the native Princes prior to the conquest by Edward I. With a translation and glossary. *Record*.

WALLACE, Life of. See HARRY.

WALLINGFORD. *Chronicles*, from A.D. 449 to 1035. *Gale*. This is a compilation from good writers, as Bede and Malmesbury, but so badly done, that "the result is only error and absurdity, confounding persons and places, and setting chronology at defiance."

John Wallingford was a monk of St. Alban's, who died Aug. 14, 1258, as appears by a memorandum in a Cottonian MS. (Julius, D. vii.)

— WALSINGHAM, THOMAS. *Historia brevis Angliæ*, from 1272 to 1422. *Record*; *Parker*; *Camden's* Anglo-Normannia.

— *Hypodigma Neustrie*, a History of Normandy, from Rollo to Henry V. In both *Parker* and *Camden*.

— *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*. From A.D. 793 to 1349. *Record*.

The author was precentor of St. Alban's, and prior of the cell of Wymondham, circa 1440.

WAURIN, or WAVRIN, JOHN DE. Collection of *Chronicles* and Ancient Histories of Britain. *Record*. Two vols. of the French original (to A.D. 1422), and one of a translation (to A.D. 688), are all that are as yet published. The Chronicle extends from the legendary period of history to A.D. 1471.

WAVERLEY. *Annals*, from the Creation to A.D. 1291. *Record*; from William I. in *Gale*. The Chronicle of Waverley Abbey, near Farnham.

— WENDOVER, ROGER OF. *Chronica*, sive Flores Historiarum.

The portion from A.D. 446 to 1235, in *Eng. Hist. Soc.* The preceding part,

from the Creation, has no connexion with English history.

WESTMINSTER, MATTHEW OF. The reputed author of *Flores Historiarum*.

A different work from that bearing the same title by Roger of Wendover.

— A Monk of. Verses in Praise of Henry V. *Record*.

WHETHAMSTEDE, JOHN. *Chronicle*, from A.D. 1441 to 1460. *Record*; *Hearne*.

The writer's name was Bostock. He became abbot of St. Alban's, and died 1464.

WHITLOCKE, WILLIAM. Continuation of the History of the See of Lichfield, by Chesterfield, to A.D. 1559. *Wharton*.

WHYTLESEYE, WALTER DE, a monk of Peterborough. History, from A.D. 1246 to 1321, with an anonymous Continuation to A.D. 1338. *Sparke*.

WICKHAM, WILLIAM, prior of Lanthony. Life of Robert Betun, bishop of Hereford [A.D. 1131—1148], formerly prior of Lanthony. *Wharton*.

WIDO Ambranensis Carmen "de Expeditione Wilhelmi Conquestoris," or "de Conquestione Angliæ per Guilelmum Ducem Normannie," and "De pugna apud Hastings," or "De Hastingiæ prælio." In Appendix to Rymer's *Fœdera*. *Record*; *Michel*.

Wido was Bishop of Amiens, circa 1070.

WILFRID, abp. EBORACUM, 709. Life by Eadmer, Eddius, Fridegod, and William of Malmesbury.

WILHELMUS filii Regis Angliæ Obitus, A.D. 1120. *Pertz*.

WILHELMUS PARVUS, or RIVALENSIS. See NEWBURGH.

WILLIAM I. *Scriptores rerum gestarum Wilhelmi Conquestoris in unum collecti*. London, 1845. *Caxton Soc.*

This volume contains: 1. *Brevis relatio de Wilhelmo nob. Comite Normannorum*. 2. *Protestatio Wilhelmi de primatu Cantuariensis Eccl.* 3. *Widonis Carmen Hastingense*. 4. *Charta Wilhelmi Bastardi*. 5. *Epistola Wilhelmi ad Gregorium Papam*. 6. *Excerpta de vita Wilhelmi*. 7. *De Morte Wilhelmi*. 8. *Hymnus de Morte W.* 9. *De Morte Lanfranci*. 10. *Gesta Will. Ducis Normann.* 11. *Excerptum ex Cantuario S. Huberti*. 12. *Hist. Brevis S. Stephani Cadomensis*. 13. *Carmen de Morte Lanfranci*. 14. *Charta a Rege concessa Anglo Saxonice scripta*. 15. *Du roi Guillaume, par Chretien de Troyes*. 16. *Le Dit de Guillaume*. See also *Michel*, *Chroniques*, and *Maseres*.

WILLIAM III.

*The following works may be consulted.*

Carstares' *State Letters and Papers*, from A.D. 1689 to 1711. 4to., *Edinb.*, 1774.

Alexander Cunningham's *History of Great*

WILLIAM III. (*continued*).

Britain from A.D. 1688 to the Accession of George I. 2 vols. 4to., *Lond.*, 1787.

Shrewsbury Correspondence: Letters of Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, William III., and others, from A.D. 1689 to 1718, (by Archdeacon Cox). 4to., *Lond.*, 1821.

Walker's True Account of the Siege of Londonderry. 4to., *Lond.*, 1689.

Bp. King's State of the Protestants in Ireland. 4to., *London*, 1691.

Papers on the Political Condition of the Highlands of Scotland. *Roxburgh.*

Macariæ Excidium. A history, under feigned names, of the War of the Revolution in Ireland, 1689—92. *Irish Arch. Soc.*

See also BANNATYNE, CAMDEN, IRISH ARCH. SOC., MAITLAND.

WILTON, Chronicle of. See VILODUNENSE.

WINCHESTER. Annals of the Monastery of Winchester, from A.D. 519 to 1277. *Record*; partially in *Wharton*.

WORCESTER. Annales Wigornenses, from the foundation of the see (A.D. 680) to 1411. *Record*; partially in *Wharton*.

WORCESTER, FLORENCE OF. A Chronicle (in part) from the Incarnation to A.D. 1066. *Monumenta*; *Eng. Hist. Soc.* This is founded on the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus, with which Florence incorporated the whole matter of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Nothing is known of Florence, except that he was a monk of Worcester, and died 1118.

WORCESTER, JOHN OF, a continuator of Florence of Worcester. *Eng. Hist. Soc.*

WORCESTER, WILLIAM OF, a physician, who died circa 1480. *Annales rerum Anglicarum*, from A.D. 1324 to 1491. *Hearn.*

The book appears to have been brought down only to 1468 by Worcester: the remainder, which is very brief, is by another hand.

WYCLIF, Zizaniorum. See FASCICULI.

WYKES, THOMAS. Chronicle, from A.D. 1066 to 1289. *Record*; *Gale*. This is also called the Chronicle of Salisbury.

Nothing is known of the alleged author.

WYNTOUN, ANDREW OF. Original Chronicle of Scotland. In verse, extending from the Creation to A.D. 1420. 2 vols. *London*, 1792.

YEAR BOOKS. See EDWARD I.

## SECTION II.

### COLLECTIONS AND SERIES OF HISTORICAL WORKS PRINTED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

THE care of the Public Records of England, which confessedly form a more complete series than those of any other country<sup>a</sup>, has often engaged the attention of Parliament, but it was not until the reign of George III. that the expediency of printing any of them was recognised, and the Domesday Book was published. In the year 1800 a Record Commission was appointed, which endured until 1837, and, as a part of its duties, printed many calen-

dars and other helps to the consultation of the Records. It also commenced the publication of many of the Records themselves, but, from causes that need not be entered upon here, very few of its works were completed when the commission was allowed to expire. The following list of its publications of this class will shew that what was accomplished has given great additional facilities for the study of English history.

#### *Publications of the Record Commission.*

##### *Domesday.*

Domesday Book. 2 vols., fol., 1783 and 1816.

— Vol. III. Indices, fol., 1816.

— Vol. IV. Additamenta, fol., 1816.

Vols. I. and II. were photo-zincographed 1861—63, in 35 pts., imperial and demy 4to., or 1 vol.

##### *Placita, Knights' Fees, &c.*

Placita de quo Warranto (Edw. I. to III.) in Curia Scaccarii, Westm. Fol., 1818.

Placita Parliamentorum, with the Rotuli Parliamentorum. 6 vols., fol., 1765.

Placitorum in Dom. Cap. Westm. Abbreviatio (Ric. I.—Edw. II.) Fol., 1811.

Calendar of Proceedings in Chancery (temp. Elizabeth). 3 vols., fol., 1827—32.

Testa de Nevill (Hen. III.—Ed. I.) Fol.

Taxatio Papæ Nicholai (1291). Fol., 1802.

Nonarum Inquisitionum Calendarium (1340). Fol., 1807.

Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Hen. VIII. 6 vols., fol., 1810—34.

##### *Rotuli, &c.*

Rotuli Curie Regis (6 Ric. I.—1 John). 2 vols., royal 8vo., 1835.

Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi (1199—1216). Fol. 1837.

Rotulorum Chartarum Calendarium, 1199—1483. Fol., 1803.

Rotuli Literarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi (1204—27). 2 vols., fol., 1833, 44.

Rotuli Literarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi (1201—16). Fol., 1835.

Rotulorum Patentium Calendarium in Turri Lond., 1201—1483, fol., 1802.

Rotuli Hundredorum (Hen. III.—Edw. I.) 2 vols., fol., 1812—18.

Rotuli de Liberate et de Misis et Præstitis (temp. Johan.) Royal 8vo., 1844.

Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio (Hen. III.—Edw. III.) 2 vols., fol., 1805—10.

Rotulus Cancellarii, 1201—2, vel Antigraph. Mag. Rot. Pipæ. Royal 8vo., 1833.

Rotulus Magnus Scaccarii vel Pipæ (3 Hen. I.) Royal 8vo., 1833.

Rotuli Selecti in Dom. Cap. Westm. Royal 8vo., 1834.

Great Rolls of the Pipe (1155—1158). Royal 8vo., 1844.

— (1189—90). Royal 8vo., 1844.

##### *Inquisitiones, Fines, &c.*

Calendarium Inquisitionum post mortem (Hen. III.—Ric. III.) Vols. I.—IV., fol., 1806—28.

Ducatus Lancastriæ Inquisit. post mortem (Hen. VII.—Eliz.). 4 pts. in 3 vols., fol., 1823—34.

<sup>a</sup> Those of France, for instance, are very incomplete in the early ages, a great destruction of them

having occurred at the battle of Fretteval, A.D. 1194.



Calendarium Inquisitionum Ad quod damnum? 1307—1460 (at end of Cal. Rot. Chart.). Fol., 1803.

Fines seu Pedes Finium in Curia Regis (1195—1214). 2 vols., royal Svo., 1825—44.

Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus (temp. Regis Joannis). Royal Svo., 1835.

Finium Excerpta e Rotulis in Turri Londinensi (1216—72). 2 vols., royal Svo., 1835, 36.

#### *Pell Records.*

Issues of the Exchequer, Hen. III.—VI. Royal Svo., 1837.

Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham (1370). Royal Svo., 1835.

Issues of the Exchequer of James I. (1603—25). Royal Svo., 1836.

Treasury of the Exchequer—Ancient Kalendars and Inventories (Edw. II., III., Hen. VI., VIII., and James I.) 3 vols., royal Svo., 1836.

#### *Parliamentary Records.*

Parliamentorum Rotuli et Placita in Parlamento (Edw. I.—Hen. VII.) 6 vols., fol., 1765.

— Index to above. Lond., fol., 1832.

Parliamentary Writs and Summons (Edw. I., II.) 4 vols., fol., 1827—34.

Journals of the House of Lords, 1509—1859. Fol., 91 vols., continued to the present time.

— Commons, 1547—1860. Fol., 115 vols., continued to the present time.

Statutes of the Realm, from the earliest times to the reign of Queen Anne. 11 vols., fol., 1810—28.

Modus tenendi Parliamentum. Royal Svo., 1846.

#### *Miscellaneous.*

Rymer's *Fœdera*. 20 vols., fol., 1704—1735.

— New edit., Vols. I.—III. (1066—1377), fol., 1816—30.

— Vol. IV. (1377—1383), 1869.

State Papers, temp. Hen. VIII. 11 vols., 4to., 1830—52.

Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council, 10 Ric. II.—33 Hen. VIII. 7 vols., royal Svo., 1834—37.

Ancient Laws and Institutes of England. Fol., or 2 vols. royal Svo., 1840.

Historical Notes, Henry VIII.—Anne (1509—1714). 3 vols., Svo., 1856.

Documents Illustrative of English History. Fcap. fol., 1844.

#### *Wales.*

Wales, Ancient Laws and Institutes of. Fol., or 2 vols. royal Svo., 1841.

Registrum vulgariter nuncupatum Record of Caernarvon. Fol., 1838.

#### *Scotland.*

Rotuli Scotiæ in Turri Lond. et in Domo Cap. Westm. (19 Edw. I.—Hen. VIII.) 2 vols., fol., 1814—19.

Inquisitionum ad Capellam Abbreviatio. 3 vols., fol.; and Suppl., 1811—16.

Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum Registrum (1306—1424). Fol., 1814.

Acts of the Parliaments. 11 vols., fol., 1814—44.

Acts of the Lords Auditors (1466—94). Fol., 1839.

Acts of the Lords of Council (1478—95). Fol., 1839.

Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland. Royal Svo., 1837.

#### *Ireland.*

Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ (1152—1829). 2 vols., fol., 1852.

Rotulorum Patentium et Clausarum Cancellaria Hiberniæ Calend. (Hen. II.—VII.) Vol. i., part 1, fol., 1828.

Calendar of Patent Rolls of Ireland (5—35 Hen. VIII.) Fol., unfinished.

— 1—16 James I. Fol., unfinished.

Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Ireland (Hen. VIII.—Elizabeth). Vol. I., royal Svo., 1861.

Repertory of Patent Rolls of Ireland (James I. et seq.) 2 vols., royal Svo., 1860.

Chartæ Privilegia et Immunitates (Ric. II.) Fol., unfinished.

Inquisitionum in Off. Cancellariæ Hiberniæ, Leinster and Ulster. 2 vols., fol., 1826—29.

The Statutes at Large, from 3 Edw. II. to 40 Geo. III. 20 vols., fol., 1804.

#### *Normandy.*

Normanniæ Rotuli in Turri Londinensi (1200—5) and (1417—18). Royal Svo., 1835.

#### *Monumenta Historica Britannica.*

UNTIL a comparatively recent period, the works known under the general name of the Early Chroniclers, had been laboriously rather than judiciously collected. Their editors, unfortunately, had taken no heed of the contradictions, and corruptions, and interpolations, with which the

texts abound, and they had in many cases printed a notorious plagiarism and neglected the valuable original. To remedy this unsatisfactory state of things, the Government was, in 1822, induced to give its sanction to the collection of the Materials of English History from the period of the earliest notices of our island to the close of the reign of Henry VII. Much new material was collected, from a variety of sources; and the compilers made it their object to present our early writers free from unauthorized interpolations, and in a systematic and critically correct form. Owing to a change of views on the part of the Government of the day, however, the work was suspended, and so remained until about 1847, when permission was given to publish a single volume of History, (two supplementary volumes of Ancient Laws had been already brought out, "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," Folio, 1840; "Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales," Folio, 1841,) the whole coming down to the period of the Norman invasion. Mr. Petrie, to whom the work had been entrusted, having died in the meantime, the task of completing the volume of "Monumenta" devolved on Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Duffus Hardy. That closed with the year 1066, so that several of the writers are incomplete, but in itself the volume was quite enough to shew the advantage of such a well-considered collection of the materials of English history; and the project has since been resumed, though with considerable difference of plan.

The contents of "Monumenta Historica Britannica," folio, 1848, are :

- a. Extracts from about 130 Greek and Roman writers, who have spoken of Britain; Herodotus (B.C. 445) being the earliest, and Nicephorus Callistus (a Byzantine of the fourteenth century) the most recent.
- b. Roman inscriptions; British coins; Roman coins and medals; with many plates.
- c. The whole of twelve works, and such part of four others as relates to the period in hand, namely,—

Gildas,	Simeon of Durham,
Nennius,	Henry of Hunting-
Beda,	don,
Anglo-Saxon Chron-	Gaimar,
icle,	Annales Cambrie,
Asser,	Brut y Tywysogion,
Æthelweard,	Carmen de Bello
Florence of Wor-	Hastingense.
cester,	

#### d. Indices of Names, Places, and Events.

One part of the plan was to avoid as far as possible repetitions, and the early part of our history was considered to be practically contained in the works of the historians named. "For instance," says the Editor of the Monumenta, "a very considerable portion of Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle is repeated exactly in that of Roger Hoveden; the Res Gestæ Alfredi of Asser are inserted in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester; Hoveden, beside his compilation from Henry of Huntingdon, also incorporates much of Simeon of Durham, and the Chronicle of Benedict Abbas; Walsingham's Hypodigma Neustriæ is in many places only an abridgment of his own larger work printed in the same volume [by Camden]; and Walsingham himself is such a plagiarist as to be undeserving the name of historian, for if his work were reduced to what was original only, very little of it would remain."

#### Calendars of State Papers, &c.

THOUGH the "Monumenta" proved most acceptable to historical students, and the materials for several more had been accumulated, but a single volume was published. An entire change of plan was ultimately resolved on, and at length, in 1855, the then Master of the Rolls (Sir John Romilly) obtained permission from the Treasury to commence a series of Calendars of the documents in his charge. In the following list, the Calendars, &c., are arranged as far as possible chronologically.

Syllabus, in English, of Rymer's *Fœdera* (1066—1654). 2 vols., royal 8vo., 1869—73.

Papers and MSS. in Archives at Venice (1202—1554). Vols. I.—V., royal 8vo., 1864—73.

Calendarium Genealogicum (Hen. III.—Edw. I.) 2 vols., 1865.

Letters and Despatches relating to Negotiations between England and Spain (1485—1526). 3 vols., royal 8vo., with Supp., 1862—73.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Dom., temp. Hen. VIII. (1509—28). 4 vols., royal 8vo., 1862—72.

Ireland, Henry VIII. to Elizabeth (1509—85). Vols. I. and II., royal 8vo., 1860, 67.

—James I. (1603-8). Vols. I., II., royal 8vo., 1872, 74.

Scotland (1509—1603). 2 vols., 1858.

Carew Papers (1515—1624), and the Book of Howth. 6 vols., royal 8vo., 1867—72.

Domestic Series, Edward VI.—James I. (1547—1625). 12 vols., royal 8vo., 1856—72.

Foreign Series, Edward VI. (1547—53).  
Royal 8vo., 1861.

Foreign Series, Mary (1553—58).  
Royal 8vo., 1861.

Treasury Papers (1557—1707). 3 vols.,  
royal 8vo., 1868—74.

Foreign Series, Elizabeth (1558—71).  
9 vols., royal 8vo., 1863—74.

Colonial Series (1574—1621). 3 vols.,  
royal 8vo., 1860—70.

Domestic Series, Charles I. (1625—1639).  
Vols. I. to XIV., royal 8vo., 1858—73.

Domestic Series, Charles II. (1660—1667).  
Vols. I. to VII., royal 8vo., 1860—66.

*In preparation.*

Syllabus to Rymer, Appendix and Index.  
Vol. III.

Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.  
Vol. IV., pt. 3.

Ireland, Henry VII.

Papers on Spanish Negotiations, temp.  
Henry VIII. Vol. III., pt. 2.

Papers at Venice. Vol. VI.

Ireland, temp. Elizabeth. Vol. III.

Foreign Series, Elizabeth. Vol. X.

Ireland, temp. James I. Vol. III.

Domestic Series, Charles I. Vol. XV.

Domestic Series, Commonwealth.

Treasury Papers. Vol. IV.

Domestic Series, George III.

Colonial Series. Vols. IV. and V.

*Chronicles and Memorials.*

Two years after the Calendars were commenced (i.e. in 1857) the Master of the Rolls obtained the sanction of the Treasury to resume the publication of the older series of ancient historians. The original plan was then considerably modified: and instead of pursuing the chronological arrangement of Mr. Petrie and his colleagues, it was resolved to issue a number of works, calculated to form within reasonable limits a *corpus historicum*, but each, as far as possible, complete in itself, and to be purchased separately. "In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the MSS. were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory

and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form." The title adopted for the collection is, "*The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*," and the era that they are intended to embrace is from the earliest period of British history to the end of the reign of Henry VII. The whole are edited on one uniform plan, which is most conscientiously carried out, and there can be no doubt that these editions will eventually supersede all others of the same authors.

The works already (1875) published are 64 in number according to general titles, but more if each separate author and work be counted. The series to this point makes 132 vols. or parts. The titles of the several authors and works are here given briefly, but will be found in more detail in the general Alphabetical List of Chronicles and Chroniclers. The alphabetical order is adopted, as most convenient for reference, and the serial number is also given<sup>b</sup>, shewing the volume, or set of volumes, in which the work will be found.

NOTE. Those marked thus † are second titles; or titles of works contained in the volume or set, or added in the Appendices.

- 2 Abingdon, Chronicon Monast., 2 vols.
- 50† Academia Monumenta Oxon.
- 55 Admiralty, Black Book of the, 3 vols.
- 2† Ælfrieus, Vita S. Ethelwoldi.
- 28 Albani, S., Monast. Chron., 11 vols.
- 45† Alfred, Will of, (Hyde).
- 28† Amundesham, John, Annales.
- 23 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 2 vols.
- 59 Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets, 2 vols.
- 36 Annales Monastici, 5 vols.
- 20† Annales Cambrie.
- 15 Bacon, Roger, Opus tertium, &c.
- 56† Bekynton, Bp., Correspondence of.
- 49† Benedict, Abb. Pet., Gest. Hen. II.
- 36† Bermundeseia Annales, &c.
- 10† Bernardi, Andr., Vita Hen. VII.
- 32† Berry, Recouvrement de Normandie.
- 55† Black Book of the Admiralty, 3 vols.
- 28† Blakeney, Rob., Registrum.
- 28† Blanford, Henrici de, Chronicon.
- 32† Blondelli, Robertus, de Reductione Normannie.
- 6† Boece, Hector, History, translated.
- 39† Bretagne, Waurin, Chroniques de.
- 47† Bridlington, Pierre de Langtoft, or.
- 42† Brittanie, Livre de Reis de.
- 17 Brut y Tywysogion.
- 36† Burton, Annales de.
- 43† Burton, Tho. de, Melsa Chron.
- 26† Catalogue of MSS., by Hardy.

<sup>b</sup> The serial number indicates the date of issue: thus, Nos. 1—11 appeared in 1858; 12—16, in 1859; 17—20, in 1860; 21—25, in 1861; 26, 27, in 1862; 28—34, in 1863; 35—40, in 1864; 41, 42, in 1865; 43—47, in 1866; 48, 49, in 1867; 50, 51, in 1868;

52, 53, in 1870; 54, 55, in 1871; 56—59, in 1872; 60—62, in 1873; in 1874, 63, 64. In most cases, however, where the work consists of several volumes, the latter volumes were issued in years subsequent to the first volume.

- 20 Cambriæ Annales.  
 8 Cantuariensis Mon. Hist.  
 38† Cantuariensis Epist. (Ric. I.)  
 7 Capgrave, de Illustribus Henricis.  
 1 Capgrave's Chronicle of England.  
 17† Caradoc of Llancarvan.  
 12† Carpenter, Th., Liber Albus.  
 30 Cirencestria, Ricardus de, 2 vols.  
 64 Chronicon Angliæ, 1328—1388.  
 16 Cotton, Barth., Hist. Anglicana.  
 16† Cotton, Barth., Liber de Episcopis.  
 58 Coventria, Walter de, Mem.  
 53† Dublin Municipal Documents.  
 62 Dunelmense, Regist. Palatinum.  
 63 Memorials of St. Dunstan, Vol. I.  
 36† Dunstaplia Prior., Annales de.  
 4† Eccleston, de Adventu Fratr. Min.  
 3 Edward the Confessor, 3 Lives.  
 31 Edward I., Year Books of, 2 vols.  
 11† Elmham, T., Liber Metricus, II. V.  
 8† Elmham's Hist. Mon. Cant.  
 42† Engleterre, Livre de Reis de.  
 2† Ethelwoldi Vita, by Ælfricus.  
 9 Eulogium Historiarum, 3 vols.  
 29 Eveshamensis Abb., Chronicon.  
 4† Fratrum Minorum Registrum.  
 33† Froucester (?), W., Hist. Gloucestr.  
 48 Gædhill and Gail, Wars of.  
 21† Giraldus Cambrensis, Vols. I.—VI.  
 33 Gloucestria, Hist. et Cart., 3 vols.  
 25† Grosseteste, Bp., Letters of.  
 26 Hardy's Descript. Catalogue, I.—III.  
 49† Henry II., Gesta, by Abbot Benedict.  
 27 Henry III., Letters, 2 vols.  
 18 Henry IV., Historical Letters.  
 11 Henry V., Memorials of.  
 22 Henry VI., Letters and Papers.  
 56 Henry VI., Memorials of.  
 60 Henry VII., Materials for Hist.  
 24† Henry VII., Letters, &c.  
 10 Henry VII., Memorials of.  
 41 Higden, Polychronicon, Vols. I.—IV.  
 51 Hoveden, Roger de, Chronica, 4 vols.  
 37 Hugonis Ep. Lincoln. Vita.  
 45 Hyda, Monast. Liber.  
 42† Ickham, Peter de, Reis de Brittanie.  
 53 Ireland, Hist. and Municipal Doc.  
 48† Ireland, Invasions of, by Danes.  
 62† Kellawe, Register of Bp., Vols. I., II.  
 47 Langtoft, Pierre, Chronicle.  
 35 Leechdoms, Wortcunning, &c.

An illustration of the state of science before the Norman Conquest. The MSS. from which it is taken afford valuable orthographic illustrations to the Anglo-Saxon scholar.

- 12† Liber Albus, Londinensis.  
 12† Liber Custumarum, Londinensis.  
 12† Liber Horn, Londinensis.  
 17† Llancarvan, Caradoc of.  
 54 Loch Cé, Annals of, 2 vols.  
 12 Londinensis Gildh. Munim., 3 vols.  
 10† Machado, Roger, Journals, II. Hen. VII.  
 52 Malmesburiensis, W., Gest. Pontif.  
 9† Malmesb. Monachi, Eulogium.

- 36† Margan, Annales de.  
 4† Marisco, Ada de, Epistolæ.  
 29† Marleberge, Thoma de.  
 43 Melsa Monast. Chron., 3 vols.  
 4 Monumenta Franciscana.  
 55 Monumenta Juridica, 3 vols.  
 12 Munimenta Gildhallæ Londinensis.  
 34 Neckam, Alex., De naturis rerum, &c.

Alexander Neckam lived in the twelfth century, and devoted himself to science as then understood. His works are "De Naturis Rerum" in two books, which contains some original thinking, and a poem "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ," a kind of paraphrase of the other, and, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

- 5† Netter's Fasc. Zizaniorum, Wyclif.  
 32 Normandy, Expulsion of the English from.  
 61 Northern Registers, Papers from.  
 16† Norwicensis Mon., B. de Cotton.  
 36† Oseneia Mon., Annales de.  
 13 Oxenodes, Joannis, Chronica.  
 50 Oxoniensis, Munimenta Academica.  
 57 Parisiensis, Matt., Chron. Major, 2 vols.  
 44 Parisiensis, Matt., Hist. Minor, 3 vols.  
 19 Pecock's Repressor, &c., 2 vols.

Reginald Pecock, who was bishop, first of St. Asaph (1444), then of Chichester (1450), gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and the arguments by which they were supported. His tolerant spirit gave offence to the other prelates of his time; he was deprived of his see in 1457, and imprisoned in Thorney Abbey until his death.

- 49 Peterborough, Benedict of, Gesta Hen. II.  
 14 Political Poems, Edw. III.—Hen. VIII., 2 vols.

These extend from the accession of Edward III. to the reign of Henry VIII. They are of very various character, ranging from religion to satire and court scandal, and many of them are of value to the philologist.

- 11† Redman, Rob., Vita Hen. V.  
 42 Reis de Brittanie, le Livre de.  
 42† Reis de Engleterre, le Livre de.  
 38 Ricardi I., Chron. and Memorials.  
 49† Ric. I., Gesta, by Benedict Abbas.  
 24 Richard III. and Henry VII., Letters.  
 28† Rishanger, W., Chronica.  
 39 Satirical Poets of 12th century.  
 6 Scotland, Book of the Chronicles of.  
 46 Scotorum Chronicon.  
 30† Speculum Historiale, 2 vols.  
 6† Stewart's Translat. of Hector Boece.  
 36† Theokesberia, Annales de.  
 41† Trevisa, Translation of Higden.  
 28† Trokelowe, Johannis de, Chron.  
 28† Walsingham, Gesta Abbatum.  
 28† Walsingham, Hist. Angl., 2 vols.  
 39 Waurin's Croniques.  
 40 Wavrin's Chronicles of Britain.  
 36† Waverleia, Annales de.  
 11† Westmonast. Monachus, Hen. V.

- 28† Whethamstede, Johannis, Registrum.  
 36† Wigornia Priorat., Annales de.  
 36† Wintonia Mon., Annales de.  
 36† Wykes, Thomæ, Chronicon.  
 5† Zizaniorum, Jo. Wyclif, Fasciculi.

*New Works in preparation, 1875.*

Becket, Life of, from an Icelandic Saga.  
 Branne, Chronicle of Robert of.  
 Coggeshalensis Abbas Chron. Majus, with  
 Terræ Sanctæ Chronicon.  
 Edw. III. and Ric. II., Hist. of Reigns of.  
 Gloucester, Robert of, Metrical Chronicle.  
 Ireland, Roll of Privy Council, 16 Ric. II.  
 Northmen, Sagas relating to the.  
 Stubbs, Thom., Chronica Eboraci.  
 Materials for the History of Becket.  
 Historical Works of Ralph de Diceto.

*And Continuations of the following:—*

- 21 Works of Giraldus Cambrensis.  
 26 Hardy's Catalogue of MSS.  
 28 St. Alban's Chronicles.  
 31 Year Books of Edward I.  
 41 Higden's Polychronicon.  
 55 Monumenta Juridica.  
 60 Materials for History of Hen. VII.  
 62 Bishop Kellawe's Register.

A SERIES OF CHRONICLES and MEMORIALS relating to SCOTLAND has been

commenced by authority of the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Clerk Register. The following works only have appeared—

1. Chronicles of the Picts and of the Scots, and other early Memorials of Scottish History.

2. The Ledger of Andrew Halyburton.

He was conservator of the privileges of the Scottish nation in the Netherlands, 1492—1503. The volume also contains the Book of Customs and Valuation of Merchandise in Scotland, 1612.

3. Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286—1306.

Very valuable, as either supplementing or correcting the information derived from the English Records.

4. Facsimiles of National MSS. of Scotland, from the eleventh century to the Union with England. 3 vols.

*In progress.*

Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vols. V. and VI. (see p. 566), reprinted and enlarged, 3 vols., folio. Also, a General Index to the whole 11 vols. of the Acts, 2 vols., folio.

Accounts of the Lords Treasurers of Scotland. Vol. I. (A.D. 1473, 4, and 1488—98). 8vo.

## SECTION III.

### COLLECTIONS AND SERIES OF HISTORICAL WORKS ISSUED BY SOCIETIES.

IN the following lists some few of the more important historical treatises have been selected, as it would occupy too great a space to give the whole. As far as possible, the dates to which the treatises belong have been added, and the numbers prefixed shew the order of issue. In many cases, the titles are more fully given in the Alphabetical List, Section I.

#### ABBOTSFORD CLUB, inst. 1835.

The publications of the Club appear to have been discontinued since 1859.

23. *Extracta e Variis Chronicis Scocie.*
14. *Inventaire Chronologique des Documents relatifs à l'Histoire d'Ecosse, à Paris.*
25. *Liber Officialis Sanctæ Andree.*
22. *Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores.*
21. *Liber Conventus S. Katherini Senensis prope Edinburgum.*
5. *Account of Monastic Treasures confiscated at the Dissolution.*
6. *Historical Memoirs of the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and a portion of the reign of King James VI.*
13. *Letters and State Papers during the reign of James VI.*
9. *State Papers and Correspondence of Thomas, Earl of Melros.*
- 8, 16. *Ecclesiastical Records:—Minutes from the Synod of Fyfe, 1611—87; of Lanark, 1623—1709.*

#### ANGLIA CHRISTIANA SOCIETY, inst. 1847.

1. *Giraldus Cambrensis de Instructione Principum. Libri III. Svo. 1846.*
2. *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello. Svo., 1846.*
3. *Liber Eliensis. Svo., 1848.*  
No others since.

#### ANTIQUARIES, SOCIETY OF.

*Magni Rotuli Seaccarii Normanniæ. 2 vols., Svo., 1842—47.*

*A list of papers in the "Archæologia," throwing light on English history, was given in the "Monumenta." It has been thought well to add those that have appeared since the publication of that work (in 1848).*

*On the Places of Cæsar's Departure and Landing; and on Battle of Hastings; by Airy. XXXIV. 231.*

#### ANTIQUARIES, SOCIETY OF, (*continued*).

*On the Place of Cæsar's Landing; by various Writers. XXXIX. 277.*

*On the Condition of Britain from Cæsar to Claudius; by Akerman. XXXIII. 177.*

*Notices of the last Days of Isabella, queen of Edward II.; by Bond. XXXV. 453.*

*On Feudal and Obligatory Knighthood; by Nichols. XXXIX. 189.*

*Satirical Rhymes on the Defeat of the Flemings before Calais in 1436. XXXIII. 129.*

*Papers relating to a proposed Marriage of Queen Elizabeth to the Archduke Ferdinand. XXXV. 202.*

*On State Proceedings in matters of Religion, 1581, 1582; by Cooper. XXXVI. 105.*

*Two Letters relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. XXXIII. 279.*

*Narrative of the principal Expeditions of English Fleets, 1588 to 1603; by Sir Henry Ellis. XXXIV. 296.*

*Notes upon the capture of the "Great Carrack," in 1592; by W. R. Drake. XXXIII. 209.*

*Expenses of the Journey of the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth to the Palatinate. XXXV. 1.*

*Letters from a Subaltern Officer of the Earl of Essex's Army, in the summer and autumn of 1642. XXXV. 310.*

*The Great Seals used after Deposition of Charles I. and before the Restoration in 1660; by Cooper. XXXVIII. 77.*

*Petitions to Charles II. from Elizabeth and Henry Cromwell. XXXVIII. 322.*

*Notices of the last Great Plague, 1665-6; by Cooper. XXXVII. 1.*

*Observations on Penn's Imprisonment in the Tower in 1668; by Bruce. XXXV. 70.*

ANTIQUARIES, SOCIETY OF, (*continued*).

On the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion ; by Roberts. XXXIV. 351.

Lord Coningsby on Political Parties during Reign of Queen Anne. XXXVIII. 1.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,  
inst. 1843.

Collectanea Archæologica, the Journal of the Society, contains several valuable contributions in historical research.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

A few papers of historical importance that have appeared in the "Archæological Journal," are here referred to.

Cæsar's Invasion of Britain ; by Guest. XXI. 220.

On "Belgic Ditches," and probable date of Stonehenge ; by Guest. VIII. 143.

Campaign of Anlus Plantius ; by Guest. XXIII. 159.

The Four Roman Ways ; by Guest. XIV. 99.

On Reading of Coins of Cunobelin ; by Birch. IV. 28.

Roman Coins struck in Britain ; by de Salis. XXIV. 149.

England in the Fifth Century ; by Robson. XIV. 320.

English Conquest of the Severn Valley ; by Guest. XIX. 193.

Cornish Crosses ; by Haslam. IV. 302.

Ancient Oratories of Cornwall ; by Haslam. II. 225.

Coins and Treasure found in Cuerdale ; by Hawkins. IV. 111, 189. Remarks thereon ; by Worsaae, 200.

Life of Earl Godwine ; by Freeman. XI. 236, 339 ; XII. 47.

On the pretended Marriage of William de Warren with a daughter of Matildis, by William the Conqueror ; by Stapleton. III. 1.

The Hall of Oakham ; by Hartshorne. V. 124.

Events in the Life of the Empress Matilda ; by Turner. X. 302.

Roger de Leybourne, and the Barons' Wars ; by Burt. XXI. 29.

The Parliament of Kenilworth ; by Hartshorne. XXI. 143.

The Ban of Kenilworth ; by Green. XXI. 277.

On the Parliament and Castle of Acton Burnel ; by Hartshorne. II. 325.

Castle and Parliaments of Northampton ; by Hartshorne. III. 309.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL, (*continued*).

The Parliaments of Carlisle ; by Hartshorne. XVI. 326.

The Parliaments of Gloucester ; by Hartshorne. XVII. 201.

Queen Eleanor of Castile, new facts regarding ; by Burt. X. 99.

Edward's Spoliations in Scotland in 1296 ; by Hunter. XIII. 245.

The Will of Humphrey de Bohun ; by Turner. II. 339.

On the Great Seals of England ; by Willis. II. 14.

Connexion of Scotland with the Pilgrimage of Grace ; by Longstaffe. XIV. 331.

## BANNATYNE CLUB, inst. 1823.

The books have been issued in order of the number appended, between the years 1823 and 1863. For the convenience of reference, however, a classified arrangement has been followed. Some of the volumes have also been printed for the Maitland Club. To these an *ff* is added.

III. Vita S. Columbæ. Auctore Adamnano, Monasterii Iliensis Abbate.

*Registers, Chartularies, &c.*

90, 107. Liber S. Thomæ de Aberbrothoc. Registrum Abbatæ. Vol. I., A.D. 1178—1329 ; Vol. II., A.D. 1329—1536.

73. Liber Cartarum Prioratus S. Andreae.

88. Carta Monialium de North Berwic.

109. Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis cum Cartis Originalibus, 2 vols.

86. Liber S. Marie de Calchou. Registrum Cartarum Abbatie Tironensis de Kelso, A.D. 1113—1567.

87. Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh.

78. Registrum de Dunfermelyn.

113. Registrum Eccles. S. Egidii de Edinburgh.

1. Vitæ Dunkeldensis Ecclesiæ Episcoporum. A prima sedis fundatione ad A.D. 1515.

21. Chronicon Cænobii Sanctæ Crucis Edinburgensis.

74. Liber Cartarum S. Crucis.

79. Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis. Munimenta Eccl. Metr. Glasguensis, a Sede restaurata sec. incunte xii. ad Reformatum Religionem. *ff*.

89. Liber Insula Missarum. Abbatie de Inchaffery Registrum Vetus.

66. J. Ferrerii, Hist. Abbatum de Kynlos.

68. Chronicon de Lanercost, A.D. 1201—1346. *ff*.

BANNATYNE CLUB, (*continued*).

50. 58. Chronica de, and Liber Sancta Marie de Mailros.
60. Registrum Episc. Moraviensis, c. 1400 (continued to 1623).
11. Boethii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ, A.D. 1522.
93. Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle. Abbaciæ Chartarium Vetus. A.D. 1140—1528.
82. Liber Ecclesie de Scon. *fM.*
116. Registrum domus de Soltre. Charters of the Hospital of Soltre, of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and other Collegiate Churches.

*Mediæval.*

- Diary of Expedition of Edward I. into Scotland. 1296.
48. Ragman Rolls, A.D. 1291—1296.
71. 84. The Accounts of the Chamberlains of Scotland, A.D. 1326—1406, 3 vols.
106. Black Book of Taymouth.
101. Registrum Honoris de Morton. A Series of Ancient Charters of the Earldom of Morton. 2 vols.

*Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.*

39. History of Scotland, from 1436—1561. By Bp. Lesley.
42. Criminal Trials in Scotland, 1488—1624. *fM.*
56. Excerpta e Libris Domicilii Regis Jacobi V., 1525—33.
10. Recit de l'Expedition en Escosse l'An 1546.
5. Discours Particulier d'Escosse, 1559.
69. 83. The Booke of the Kirk of Scotland. Vol. I., Acts from the year 1560—1577; Vol. II., 1578—1592; Vol. III., 1593—1618. *fM.*
13. History of King James the Sext, being an Account of Affairs in Scotland, 1566—96.
28. Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel, l'An 1568.
- \*Correspondances Diplomatiques de Bertram de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon, 1568—1575. 7 vols., 8vo.
53. Memorials of Transactions in Scotland, 1569—73.
45. Diurnal of Occurrents since Death of James IV. to the year 1575. *fM.*
38. Memoirs of Affairs of Scotland, by Moysie, 1577—1603. *fM.*
24. Papers relating to the Marriage of King James VI. with the Princess of Denmark, 1589.

BANNATYNE CLUB, (*continued*).

98. French State Papers relating to Scotland in the 16th century, 2 vols.
29. History of the House of Seytoun, to 1559. *fM.*
33. Memorials of George Bannatyne, 1545—1608.
17. Memoirs of his Life, by Sir James Melville, 1549—93. *fM.*
32. Diary of Mr. James Melville, 1556—1601.
112. Original Letters of John Colville, 1582—1603.

*Seventeenth Century.*

97. Original Letters on Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, 1603—1625.
35. Spalding's History of the Troubles in Scotland and England, 1624—1645. *fM.*
26. Memoirs of his own Life and Times, by Sir James Turner, 1632—70.
- Turner was associated with Graham in the coercion of the Covenanters.
80. Diary of Public Correspondence of Sir T. Hope, 1633—45.
37. Relation of Affairs of the Kirk of Scotland, 1637—38.
- 72, 77. Letters of Robert Baillie, 1637—1662, 3 vols.
54. Nicoll's Diary of Public Transactions, 1650—67.
108. Letters from Roundhead Officers in Scotland, 1650—1660.
91. Historical Notices of Scotch Affairs, from MSS. of Sir John Lander. Vol. I., 1661—83; Vol. II., 1683—88.
23. Letters from Lady Margaret Kennedy (Burnet) to John, Duke of Lauderdale.
31. Letters from Archibald, Earl of Argyle, to John, Duke of Lauderdale.
15. Letters of John Graham of Claverhouse, 1678—89.
61. Historical Observes of Occurrents, 1680—1686.
75. Memoirs touching the Revolution, by Earl of Balcarras, 1688—90.
22. Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1689.
81. Leven and Melville Papers, 1689—1691.
46. Mackay's Memoirs of the War in Scotland and Ireland, 1689—91. *fM.*

Major General Hugh Mackay was defeated by Dundee at Killiecrankie, served afterwards in Ireland, and was killed at Landen.

\* In the 8vo. series issued by the Club.



BANNATYNE CLUB, (*continued*).

94. Darien Papers—Establishment of the Colony by a Scotch Company, 1695—1700.
25. Diary of Proceedings in Parliament of Scotland, 1700—07.
76. Correspondence of George Baillie of Jerviswood, 1702—08.

*Miscellanæ.*

57. De Scriptoribus Scotis. Libri Duo Davidis Buchanan.
- 96, 103, 110. Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, 3 vols.
34. Thomæ Dempsteri Hist. Eccl. Gentis Scotorum, sive de Scriptoribus Scotis, 2 vols.

BERKSHIRE ASHMOLEAN SOCIETY,  
inst. at Reading, 1840.

- Abingdon Monastery Chronicle, 1218—1304. 1841.
- Unton Inventories, 1596—1620. 1841.
- Land's Benefactions to the County of Berks. Sm. 4to., 1841.

## CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, inst. 1846.

Archæologia Cambrensis. 8vo. Three series, amounting to 20 vols., (still continued,) contain, beside papers of purely antiquarian interest, many reprints of documents bearing on the history of Wales.

- Gesta Regum Britanniæ, 1862.
- Baronia de Kemeys, 1863.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,  
inst. 1840.

- Abbreviata Cronica, 4to., 1377—1469. 1840.
- Consecration of Abp. Parker, 4to., 1841.
- Anglo-Saxon Legends of SS. Andrew and Veronica, 1851.

## CAMDEN SOCIETY, established 1838.

8. Bishopric of Somerset, from foundation to 1174.
47. Chronicon Petroburgense, 1122—1294.
13. Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda de Monast. S. Edmundi, 1173—1202.
34. De Antiquis Legibus Liber. A Chronicle of London, from A.D. 1178 to 1274.
50. Gualteri Mapes de Nugis Curialium Distinctiones quinque.
6. Political Songs of England, from John to Edward II.

CAMDEN SOCIETY, (*continued*).

69. Domesday of St. Paul's, 1222.
28. Croniques de London, 1259—1344.
53. Chronicle of Grey Friars of London; ends 1556.
15. William de Rishanger's Chronicle of the Barons' Wars.
65. Report on Knights Hospitallers in England, 1338.
3. Deposition of Richard II., English and Latin Poems on.
64. English Chronicle of Reigns of Ric. II., Henry IV., V., and VI., written before 1471.
86. Letters of Margaret of Anjou, Bishop Becketton, and others. Henry V.—VI.
- 29, 36. Polydore Vergil's English History.
- 67, 84, 105. Trevelyan Papers: I. Prior to 1558; II. 1446—1643; III. Various.
10. Chronicle of the first Thirteen years of Edward IV., by John Warkworth, D.D.
1. History of the Arrival of Edward IV. in England, and the final Recovery of his Kingdoms from Henry VI., A.D. 1471.
4. Plumpton Correspondence: A Series of Letters, temp. Edw. IV., Rich. III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII.
21. Rutland Papers: Original Documents illustrative of the Courts and Times of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.
37. Italian Relation of the Isle of England, c. 1500.
35. Chronicle of Calais, in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.
23. Original Letters of 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.
77. Narratives of the Reformation, 1532—1556.
26. Three Chapters of Letters on Suppression of Monasteries.
42. Diary of Henry Machyn, 1550—1563.
48. Chronicle of Queen Jane, and two years of Queen Mary.
93. Accounts and Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots.
46. Letters of Queen Eliz. and James VI.
7. Hayward's Annals, 1558—1562.
27. Leicester's Correspondence, 1585-6.
12. Egerton Papers: a collection of public and private Documents, chiefly illustrative of the times of Elizabeth and James I.
81. Parliamentary Debates, 1610.
- 90, 98. Relations between England and Germany, 1618, 19. 2 vols.

CAMDEN SOCIETY, (*continued*).

101. Spanish Account of the Proposed Marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta, 1623.
70. Liber Famelicus of Judge Whitelocke, James I. and Charles I.
41. Diary of Walter Young, J.P., 1604—28.
66. Diary of Rev. John Rous (Suffolk), 1625—42.
80. Proceedings in Kent, 1640.
31. Verney Papers: Notes of Proceedings in the Long Parliament, *temp.* Charles I.
14. Narratives illustrative of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690.
74. Symonds' Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army, 1644—46.
63. Letters of Charles I. (1646) to Queen Henrietta Maria.
52. Moneys received and paid for Secret Services of Charles II. and James II., from March 30, 1679, to Dec. 25, 1688.
71. Savile Correspondence, Charles II., James II.
22. Diary of Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, from August, 1686, to October, 1687.
68. Journal of Dr. Rowland Davies, 1689—90.
33. Letters of James, Earl of Perth, 1688—1696.

## CANTON SOCIETY, inst. 1845.

The volumes are in 8vo., and the dates shew the order of issue. This list is given entire, but most of the volumes were edited by Dr. Giles, and published separately.

- |  |      |
|--|------|
| Galfredi Monumetensis Hist. . . . .                        | 1844 |
| Chronicon Angliæ Petroburgense . . . .                     | 1845 |
| Scriptores Rerum Willelm. Conq. . . . .                    | 1845 |
| Chronicon Henr. de Selgrave. . . . .                       | 1846 |
| Epistolæ Herberti de Losinga . . . . .                     | 1846 |
| Alani, Abb. Tewkesbur., Scripta . . . .                    | 1846 |
| Galfredi le Baker, Chronicon . . . . .                     | 1847 |
| La Revolte du Comte de Warwick . . . .                     | 1849 |
| Geoffrey Gaimar, Metrical Chronicle . .                    | 1850 |
| Walteri, Abb. Dervensis, Epistolæ . . .                    | 1850 |
| Benedicti, Abb. Petriburgensis, de Vita S. Thomæ . . . . . | 1850 |
| Anecdota Bedæ, Lanfranci, &c. . . . .                      | 1851 |
| Radulphi Nigri, Chronica duo . . . . .                     | 1851 |
| IHeylin's Memorial of Waynflete . . . .                    | 1851 |
| Vita Quorundam Anglo-Saxonum . . . .                       | 1854 |

## CELTIC SOCIETY, estab. 1845.

1. Book of Rights of Ancient Kings of Ireland.
4. Battle of Magh Lena.

## CHETHAM SOCIETY, inst. 1843.

2. Military Proceedings in Lancashire during the Civil War.
3. Chester's Triumph, 1610.
4. Life of Adam Martindale, 1633—80.
7. Iter Lancastrense, 1636.
- 8, 19, 21, 22. Notitia Cestriensis.
- 10, 11, 16, 20. Chartulary of Whalley Abbey, 4 vols.
14. Journal of Nicholas Assheton, 1617—18.
17. Warrington in 1465.
- 18, 26, 27. Diary (1661—3) and Autobiography of Rev. Henry Newcome.
- 24, 37, 57. Chetham Miscellanies.
25. Allen's Defence of Stanley (1587).
28. Jacobite Trials at Manchester, 1694.
- 29, 31, 66, 67. The Stanley Papers.
- 33, 51, 54. Lancashire and Cheshire Wills.
- 48, 64. Catalogue of Tracts for and against Popery (*v.* Jas. II.)
- 49, 50. The Lancashire Lieutenancy under the Tudors and Stuarts.
62. Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire (1642—51).

## DUBLIN [ROYAL] SOCIETY.

- Proceedings of the Society, 1764—1863, (99 vols.)
- Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis, 1770—1804.

## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY, 1846.

- Strype's Memorials of Abp. Cranmer, 4 vols., 1848—54.
- IHeylin's History of the Reformation, 2 vols., 1849.

## ENGLISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The English Historical Society, established in 1838, but now dissolved, published, in a convenient form, the following works, accompanied by notes, and, where needed, by Glossaries.

1. Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiastica, 8vo. . . . . 1838
2. — Opera Historia Minora, 8vo. . . . . 1841
3. Gildas de Excidio Britannicæ . . . . . 1838
4. Nennius Historia Britonum . . . . . 1838

ENGLISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
(continued).

5. Chronicon Ricardi Divisiensis . . . 1838
6. W. Malmesburiensis Gesta Regum Anglorum, atque Historia Novella, 2 vols. . . . 1840
7. Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonicæ, by Kemble, 6 vols. . . 1845—48
8. Rogeri de Wendover Chronica, 5 vols. . . . 1841—44
9. Fr. N. Triveti, Annales Sex Regum . . . . 1845
10. Adami Murimuthensis Chronica . . . 1846
11. Gesta Stephani Regis . . . 1846
12. Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Ric. II. . . . 1846
13. Florentii Wigornensis Chron., 2 vols. . . . 1848—49
14. Walter de Hemingburgh, 2 vols., . . . 1848—49
15. Henrici V. Gesta, cum Chronica Neustrie . . . . 1850
16. Historia Wilelmi Parvi, 2 vols. . . 1856

HAKLUYT SOCIETY, established 1846.

1. Hawkins on the South Sea, 1593.
6. Strachey's Travaille into Virginia Britannia.
7. Hakluyt, Voyages touching the discovery of America, 1582.
4. Sir Francis Drake, his Voyage, 1595.
38. Frobisher's Three Voyages.
3. Raleigh's Discovery of Guiana, 1595, 6.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SCIENCE,  
inst. 1841.

Collection of Letters illustrating progress of Science from Elizabeth to Charles II., 8vo., 1841.

IBERNO-CELTIC SOCIETY, inst. 1818.

Transactions, Vol. I. pt. 1, 4to., 1820.

Contains a chronological account of nearly 400 Irish writers, from the earliest period to 1720, with a descriptive Catalogue of such of their works as are extant.

IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
established 1840.

Afterwards the title was changed to Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society. The books are issued in 8vo. and small 4to.

11. Irish Version of Nennius.

IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
(continued).

18. Adamnan, Life of S. Columba (eighth cent.)
5. Customs of Hy-Many, or O'Kelly's Country.
8. Customs of Hy-Fiachrach.
3. Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh, and Battle of Moira.
20. Ancient Irish Annals. Three Fragments.
22. Martyrology of Donegal. A Calendar of the Native Saints of Ireland.
2. Jacobi Grace, Kilkenniensis, Annales Hiberniæ, from A.D. 1074 to 1370.
12. Annals of Ireland, by Clyn and Dowling.
7. Registrum Priorat. Omn. SS. juxta Dublin.
7. A Chorographical Description of West, or H-Iar Connaught, by Roderic O'Flaherty. The notes, by Mr. Hardiman of Galway, contain much curious information concerning Ireland, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular.
15. History of the Down Survey, 1655, 6.
13. Macarise Excidium, 1689—1692.
- 1, 4, 10. Tracts relating to Ireland, and Miscellanies.

LIBRARY OF ANGLO-CATHOLIC  
THEOLOGY.

Johnson's Collection of the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Church of England. Vol. I. before the Conquest. Vol. II. after. Translated.

Overall's Convocation-book of 1606.

Abp. Laud's Troubles and Trial.

LITERATURE, ROYAL SOCIETY OF,  
inst. 1823.

Transactions. First Series, 4to., 1827—29. Second Series, 8vo., 1843—63.

Biographia Britannia Literaria.

A series of biographies of literary characters, arranged in chronological order.

MAITLAND CLUB, established 1828.

Some few historical volumes were issued in conjunction with the Bannatyne Club. These are not inserted here, but will be found under the above-named club, with the letter *lt* appended. *S* signifies printed also for the Spalding Club, and *A* for the Abbotsford Club.

8. Chronicles of the Kings of Scotland, from Fergus to A.D. 1611.

MAITLAND CLUB, (*continued*).

46. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, 1201—1346.
10. *Chronicle of Perth*, 1210—1668.
24. *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax*, to 1398.
17. *Registrum Monasterii de Passelet* (Paisley), 1163—1529.
11. *Registrum Metallanum*. I.
65. *Liber Collegii Nostræ Dominæ*. *Registrum B.V.M. et S. Ann. infra Muros Glasguensis*.
63. *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, *Eccl. Cathedr. Aberdon. Registra*. S.
40. *Gray's Scalacronica*, from A.D. 1056 to 1362.
27. *Records of the Burgh of Prestwick*, 1472—1782.
16. *Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow*, 1573—1581.
28. *Illustrations of Scottish History from the 12th to the 16th century*, from MSS. in the British Museum and Tower.
56. *Unprinted Documents in the Office of Queen's Remembrancer and Chapterhouse, Westminster*, relating to Scotland.
41. *Selections from MSS. in College of Arms and British Museum*, illustrating the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, 1543—68.
2. *Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse pendant les Campagnes 1548, 49*.
75. *Oppressions of the 16th century in Orkney and Zetland*. A.
21. *Memoirs by Sir James Melville*, 1549—93.
55. *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 1558—1637.
50. *Letters of the Argyll Family*, from Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, James VI., Charles I. and II., &c.
31. *History of Mary Queen of Scots*. Translated from the French.
26. *Miscellaneous Papers illustrating the reigns of Queen Mary and James VI.*
35. *Letters to James VI., from the Queen, Prince Henry, &c.*
42. *Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland*.
64. *Papers illustrating Political Condition of the Highlands*, 1689—1696.

MANX SOCIETY, inst. 1858.

Legislation by Three of the Thirteen Stanleys, Kings of Man; Acts of Sir John Stanley, 1417—30; Legislation of

MANX SOCIETY, (*continued*).

- the 7th Earl of Derby, 1624—47. 8vo., 1860.
- Monumenta de Insula Manniæ*. 8vo., Vols. I. to III., 1860—62.
- Bibliotheca Monensis*, 1861.
- Abstract of Laws, Customs, and Ordinances*, 1862.
- Chaloner's Short Treatise of the Isle of Man* (1652), 1863.
- Antiquitatis Manniæ*, 1864.
- Old Historians of the Isle of Man*, 1866.
- Manx Miscellanies*, 1870.
- Mona Miscellany*, 1870.
- Chronicle of Man and the Sudreys*, 1870.
- Journals of the House of Keys*, (in progress).
- The Manx Domesday Book*, (in progress).

## NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, inst. 1813.

- Archæologia Æliana*. 4 vols., 4to., 1822—55; 6 vols., 8vo., 1857—64. Containing, among other documents, "*Chronicon Monasterii de Alnewyke*," Crown Revenues in Cumberland, &c.
- Pipe Rolls, or Sheriffs' Accounts of the Revenues of the Crown in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, temp. Henry II., Richard I., and John*. Royal 8vo., 1847.
- Catalogues of MSS., Books, &c.*
- Chorographia, Survey of Newcastle*, 1649. Reprint, folio, 1813.
- Lapidarium Septentrionale; or, a Description of the Monuments of Roman Rule in the North of England*. Parts I.—IV. Folio, 1870—74.

## NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, inst. 1818.

- View of Life of Henry III.*, presented to King James. Printed 1627; repr. 1818.
- Episcopal Coins of Durham and Monastic Coins of Reading*, Edw. I.—III. 8vo., 1817.
- Encountre of Batayle lately don (Flodden Field)*. Repr. 1822.
- Honours due to Robert, Earl of Salisbury*, 1612. Repr. 1818.
- Scots' March to Newcastle*, 1644. Repr. 1827.
- Taking of Newcastle*, 1644. Repr. 1825.
- His Majestie's passing through the Scots Army*, 1645. Repr. 1820.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, (*continued*).

Relation of Siege of Newcastle, 1645.  
Repr. 1820.

Life of Bishop Andrewes. Printed 1650;  
repr. 1817.

## NEWCASTLE REPRINTS OF RARE TRACTS, 1843—50.

Four volumes of the Historical Series have been printed, chiefly relating to Scottish affairs, 1640—48.

## PARKER SOCIETY, established 1840.

7, 18. Zurich Letters. First Series, 1558—79; Second Series, 1558—1602.

23, 28. Original Letters, relative to the English Reformation, chiefly from the Archives of Zurich. First Series, 1537—58; Second Series, 1537—58.

## PERCY SOCIETY, inst. 1840.

In the large collection of Old Ballads, and similar literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a few of earlier date, issued by the Society, frequent reference to political matters will be found, of which a few specimens may be mentioned.

59. Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Becket.

82. Poem on Times of Edward II.

54, 67. Popular Songs illustrative of the French Invasions of England.

## PHILOBIBLON SOCIETY, inst. 1853.

Among the rare and valuable Tracts reprinted by this Society, and issued in their "Miscellanies," are several which bear indirectly upon historical subjects, but none which call for specific notice here.

## ROXBURGHE CLUB, inst. 1812.

46. Ancient English Romance of Havelok the Dane.

47. Gaufridi Arthurii Monemuthensis Archidiaconi Carmen Heroicum.

48. Ancient Romance of William and the Werwolf.

58. The Black Prince: a French Historical Poem.

74. Literary Remains of King Edward VI.

77. Songs and Ballads, chiefly of the reign of Philip and Mary.

62. Historical Papers. *Castra Regia*: a Treatise on the Succession to the English Crown (1568); together with *Novissima Straffordi*: an Account of the Proceedings against the Earl.

85. Sir Amias Poulet's Letters from France, 1577.

ROXBURGHE CLUB, (*continued*).

63. Correspondence of Sir Henry Unton, 1591—92.

64. *La vraie Cronique d'Escoce*. Pretensions des Anglois à la Couronne de France, Diplome de Jaques VI., &c.

68. Despatches from Sir Henry Wotton to James I., 1617—20.

89. Letters of Ruthven, Earl of Forth and Brentford, 1615—1662.

## SPOTTISWODE SOCIETY, inst. 1843.

Bp. Keith's History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the Reformation to 1568.

## SURTEES SOCIETY, established 1834.

The following books are in 8vo., and the numbers indicate the order of publication.

51. Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera.

9. *Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores tres*, I. Gaufridus de Coldingham (Dunelmensis). II. Robertus de Graystanes. III. Willelmus de Chambre.

1. Reginaldi Libellus de Cuthberti Virtutibus.

8. Lives of King Oswin and Bps. Cuthbert and Eata.

20. The Life of St. Godric, of Finchale.

11. Jordan Fantosme's Anglo-Norman Chronicle of War between England and Scotland in 1173, 4.

5. *Sanctuarium Dunelm. et Beverlac.*; Registers of the Sanctuaries of Durham and Beverley.

Registers of persons who claimed sanctuary at Durham, or at Beverley, from A.D. 1464 to 1539.

44, 46. The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Annals, &c., 2 vols.

42. Memorials of Fountains Abbey.

56. Abp. Gray's Register.

2, 38. Durham Wills and Inventories, 2 vols.

4, 39, 45, 53. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 4 vols.

34. Acts of the High Commission Court of Durham.

26. Wills and Inventories from the Archdeacons of Richmond.

21. Depositions respecting the Rebellion of 1569, Witchcraft, &c.

Extending from 1311 to the reign of Elizabeth.

14. The Correspondence of R. Bowes, Elizabeth's Ambassador to Scotland.

SURTEES SOCIETY, (*continued*).

17. Correspondence of Abp. Hutton (1595—1606).

52, 53. Correspondence of Bp. Cosin (1660—1672), 2 vols.

40. Depositions from the Castle of York, in the Seventeenth Century.

## WELSH MSS. SOCIETY.

Liber Landavensis. 8vo., 1840.

Iolo MSS. RL. 8vo., 1848.

Heraldic Visitations for Wales. Imp. 4to., 2 vols., 1846.

Lives of Cambro-British Saints. 8vo., 1853.

Dosparth Edeyrn Davod Aur. 8vo., 1856.

A thirteenth-century Welsh Grammar.

Meddygon Myddfa. 8vo., 1856.

On ancient medical practice; also a legend, &amp;c.

Barddas. Vol. I., 8vo., 1862.

A collection of original documents illustrative of the theology, &amp;c., of the Bardo-Druidic system.

*Additional.*

For *Local* history, the Transactions of the various local Archæological, Architectural, and Historical Societies may be consulted, of which a list is therefore here given. The Transactions of the Societies marked A.R. are published together in an annual volume of "Associated Reports."

	INSTI- TUTED
Bedfordshire Archæological Society, A.R. . . . .	1847
Buckinghamshire Archæological Society . . . . .	1847
Cambridge Camden Society (afterwards, 1841, Eccl. Soc.) . . . . .	1839

*Additional, (continued).*

	INSTI- TUTED
Chester Archæological Society . . . . .	1850
Cornwall Royal Institute . . . . .	1818
Durham and Northumberland Society . . . . .	1860
Ecclesiological Society . . . . .	1841
Exeter Architectural Society . . . . .	1841
Glasgow Archæological Society . . . . .	1864
Irish Royal Academy . . . . .	1786
Kent Archæological Society . . . . .	1857
Kilkenny Archæological Society . . . . .	1849
Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society . . . . .	1849
Leicester Archæological Society, A.R. . . . .	1844
Lincolnshire Archæological Society, A.R. . . . .	1844
Lincolnshire Topographical Society . . . . .	1841
Liverpool Archæological Society . . . . .	1848
London and Middlesex Archæological Soc. . . . .	1855
Norfolk Archæological Society . . . . .	1793
Northampton Architectural Society, A.R. . . . .	1844
Oxford Architectural Society (afterwards, 1860, Oxford Arch. and Hist. Soc.) . . . . .	1839
Oxford Ashmolean Society . . . . .	1828
Perth Antiquarian Society . . . . .	1784
Scotland, Society of Antiquaries of . . . . .	1780
Somersetshire Archæological Society . . . . .	1849
Surrey Archæological Society . . . . .	1853
St. Alban's Archæological Society . . . . .	1845
Suffolk Institute of Archæology . . . . .	1845
Sussex Archæological Society . . . . .	1846
Ulster Journal of Archæology . . . . .	1851
Wiltshire Archæological Society . . . . .	1853
Wiltshire Topographical Society . . . . .	1810
Worcestershire Architectural Society, A.R. . . . .	1844
Yorkshire Architectural Society, A.R. . . . .	1844

The following Societies issue Transactions in which historical material relating to Britain is occasionally introduced:—

Cambrian Institute . . . . .	1853
Cymmrodorion, or Metropolitan Cambrian . . . . .	1822
Chronological Institute of London . . . . .	1852
Dublin Gaelic Society . . . . .	1807
Numismatic Society . . . . .	1836
Philological Society . . . . .	1842

## SECTION IV.

### COLLECTIONS AND SERIES OF HISTORICAL WORKS PRINTED BY EDITORS, &c.

**BERTRAM.** *Britannicarum Gentium Historiæ Antiquæ Scriptores Tres.* 8vo., *Copenhagen, 1757.*

Contains Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Bancho-  
rensis, Ricardus Corinensis.

Julius Charles Bertram was a professor in the  
University of Copenhagen.

**BOHN.** *Historical Library.* *London, cr.*  
*8vo., 1840, et seq.*

Contains many reprints of standard authorities.  
Among them, Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence* of Charles I., &c., 4 vols.; *Pepys' Diary*,  
4 vols.

— *Antiquarian Library*, contains Eng-  
lish translations of several of the more  
important works of the English histo-  
rians, as

Bede, *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, Gildas, Nennius,  
Asser, Æthelweard, William of Ma'mesbury, Flo-  
rence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger  
of Wendover, Matthew Paris, Roger Hoveden,  
Ordericus Vitalis, &c.

**BOUQUET.** *Recueil des Historiens des*  
*Gaules et de la France* (21 vols., folio,  
*Paris, 1738—1865*; a new edition, vols.  
i.—viii. and vol. xiii., *Paris, 1868—73*).

Contains Brito, Dudo, Walter of Coventry,  
Hoveden, Laudunense Chronicon, Robertus de  
Monte, &c.

Dom Martin Bouquet, a Benedictine of St. Maur,  
was born at Amiens in 1685, and died in 1754. He  
lived to issue only the first eight volumes of the  
*Recueil*; but the work was carried on until the  
year 1855 by various Governments, and under  
a great variety of political circumstances. The  
first eleven volumes were published in the time of  
Louis XV.; two more appeared under Louis XVI.;  
three under the Empire; two under Louis XVIII.;  
two under Louis Philippe; and one under Na-  
poleon III.

**BOLLANDUS.** *Acta Sanctorum quotquot*  
*toto Orbe coluntur, collegit Joh. Bol-*  
*landus.* 56 vols., folio, *Antwerp, Brus-*  
*sels, Tongerlo, &c., 1643—1858* (*Venice*  
*Edition, 42 vols., 1734—61*); new issue  
at Paris, vols. i.—ix. and vols. xli.—lx.,  
1863—70.

The originator of the "*Acta Sanctorum*" was  
Jean Bolland, a Jesuit, born at Antwerp in 1596,  
died in 1665, having only published one-fourth,  
(the saints of January, February and March). It  
has been brought down to the month of October,  
by Daniel Papenbroeck, (a Jesuit, born 1628, died  
1714,) and others, usually known by the general  
name of the Bollandists.

**CAMDEN.** *Anglica, Normannica, Hiber-*  
*nica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta.*  
*Frankfort, 1602.*

Contains Asser, Walsingham, De la More, Wil-  
helmus Gemeticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis, a frag-

ment of Ordericus Vitalis, Anonymus de Vita  
Guilhelmi Conquestoris.

**CAMDEN, Britannia.** *London, 1590, 1607,*  
*1610.*

Appended are a Chronicle of Ireland, another  
of Man and the Isles, and a Chronicle ascribed to  
Henry of Marlborough.

William Camden, born in London in 1551, be-  
came master of Westminster School, was after-  
wards appointed Clarendieux king at arms, and  
died in 1623. His own writings, as his *Britannia*,  
and his *Annals of Elizabeth*, and of James I., are  
highly esteemed, and he is justly regarded as the  
father of British antiquaries.

**DARLINGTON PRESS** (Private), G. Allan,  
*Esq., c. 1770—90.*

Several historical extracts chiefly relating to the  
county of Durham. See Lowndes' *Bibliographer's*  
*Manual.*

**D'ACHERY.** *Spicilegium, seu Collectio*  
*veterum aliquot Scriptorum qui in Gal-*  
*liæ Bibliothecis latuerunt.* 13 vols., 4to.,  
*Paris, 1655—77*; 4 vols., folio, *Paris,*  
*1723.*

Contains Robertus de Monte, Triveti An-  
nales, &c.

— *Opera Lanfranci.* Folio, *Paris, 1648.*

Contains the *Chronicle of Bec* (A.D. 1068—1324),  
which has many notices of English affairs; *Lives*  
of St. Augustine and of Theobald, archbishops of  
Canterbury.

Dom J. Luc d'Achery, a Benedictine of St. Maur,  
born at St. Quentin in 1609, died in 1685.

**DUCHESNE.** *Historiæ Normannorum Scrip-*  
*tores antiqui res ab illis per Galliam,*  
*Angliam, &c., explicantes.* Folio, *Paris,*  
*1619.* Has several works which in-  
cidentally illustrate English history;  
among them are—

Brito,	Guillelmus Gemeticensis,
Robertus de Monte,	Ordericus Vitalis,
Gervase of Tilbury,	Gesta Stephani,
Dudo,	Chronicon Normanniæ,
Encomium Emmæ,	1139 to 1259,
Gesta Normannorum in	Chronicon S. Steph.
Francia,	Cadom., 633 to 1293.
Guillelmus Pictavensis,	

André Duchesne, born in 1584, was patronized  
by Cardinal Richelieu, and became historiographer  
to the king. He was killed by accident in the street  
in 1640.

**DUGDALE.** *Monasticon Anglicanum.*  
3 vols., folio, *London, 1655—73*; a new  
edition, considerably enlarged, 8 vols.,  
folio, 1817—30, and reprinted 1846.

Contains a large number of Charters relating to  
the monastic foundations, and often valuable as  
illustrating the history of the period to which they  
belong.

FULMAN. *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Veteres. Folio, Oxon., 1684.*

Inglunica Croylandensis. Chronica de Mailros.  
Annales Burtonenses.  
Petrus Blessensis (*continuat.*). Historia Croylandensis (*continuationes*).

William Fulman, rector of Moyssey-Hampton, Gloucestershire, was born in Kent, in 1632, was expelled from Oxford by the Parliamentary visitors, but returned at the Restoration, and became eminent for his diligent attention to English history. He died in 1688. "Had his indulgent patron [Dr. Hammond] lived some years longer, or he himself taken those advantages as others did for their promotion in the Church upon account of their sufferings in the royal cause, he might without doubt have been a dean; but such was the high value that he set upon himself and his sufferings, that he expected preferment should court him, and not he it. . . . He wrote much, and was a great collector, but published little."—*Ant. à Wood.*

GALE. *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Quinque. Fol. Oxon., 1687.*

Annales de Margan. Gaufridus Vinesauf (*Historiarum*).  
Thomas Wykes. Walterus Hemingford.  
Annales Waverleiensis.

— *Historiæ Britannicæ Saxonicæ Anglo Danicæ, Scriptores Quindecim, Fol., Oxon., 1691.*

Gildas, *Historia* et *Historia Ramesiensis.*  
Epistola. *Historia Eliensis.*  
Vita S. Wilfridi (Ed- Joannes Wallingford.  
dus). Radulfus de Diceto, *De*  
Nennius, *Historia. Regibus Britonum.*  
Asser, Chronicon S. *De Partitione Provin-*  
Neoti. *ciæ, &c.*  
Higden, Polychronicon. Fordun Scotichronicon.  
W. Malmesburiensis de Alcuin de Pontificibus  
Glastonia. Poema.  
W. Malmesb. de Pontifi- Appendix Antiq. Brit.  
cibus.

Thomas Gale was born in 1636 at Scruton, near Bedale, in Yorkshire, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He became dean of York, and died in 1702. His antiquarian works are numerous and valuable. He was master of St. Paul's School at the time of the fire of London, and he furnished the inscriptions for the Monument which commemorates that event.

GILES. *Bibliotheca Patrum Scriptorum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Oxford, 1843—48.*

Aldhelmi Opera. Lanfranci Opera, 2 v.  
Arnulphi Lexov. Epist. Anselmi Opera, 6 v.  
Bede Opera Omnia, Sti. Thomæ Vita et  
12 v. Epistola, 4 v.  
Bonifacii Opera, 2 v. Johan. Sarisburiensis  
Lanfranci Opera, 2 v. Opera, 5 v.  
Alcuini Opera, 6 v. Petrus Blessensis, 4 v.  
S. Dunstani Reliquiæ. Rogeri Baconi Opera,  
Ælfrici Opera, 3 v. 3 v.

— Works edited by Dr. Giles:—

Incerti Scriptoris Narratio de Bello Sancto, 1217—18.

Also in the *Caxton Series* of volumes, Sect. III.—Benedictus Abbas Petriburg; Galfridus le Baker; Anecdota Beda, &c.; Le Revolte du Comte du Warwick; Galfridus Monumetensis; Alanus Prior Cantuar.; Chronicon Petroburgense; Vitæ quorundam Anglo-Saxonum.

HADDAN and STUBBS. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Edited after Spel-*

man and Wilkins. Vols. i., ii. pt. i., iii. Oxford, 1869—72.

HEARNE, THOMAS (1716—1735). A Collection of Historical Works, printed at Oxford. 8vo. They are here mentioned in the order in which Hearne published them.

Joannis Rossi Historia. Peter Langtoft's Chron.  
Titi Livii Foro-Julienis. Johannes Glastoniensis.  
Vita Henrici V. Ricardus Beere.  
Aluredus Beverlaciensis. Adam de Domerham.  
Gul. Roperi Vita Thomæ Tho. de Elmham.  
Mori and Chronicon Liber Niger Scaccarii &  
Godstovianum. Wil. Worcesterii Annales.  
Gul. Camdeni Annales Historia Vitæ Ricardi II.  
Elizabethæ, 3 vols. Joannes de Trokelowe.  
Gul. Neubrigensis Hist. De Blauforda Chron.  
Tho. Spotti Chronica. Edwardi II. Vita.  
Nic. Cantalupus. Walterus Hemingford.  
Textus Roffensis. Thomas Otterborne.  
Robertus de Avesbury. John Blakman.  
Johannes de Fordun. Joh. Whethamstede.  
Hemingi Cartularium. Chronicon de Dunstaple.  
Robert of Gloucester's Benedictus Abbas Petro-  
Chronicle. burg.

Thomas Hearne, a most laborious antiquary, was born in 1680 at White Waltham, in Berkshire, where his father was the parish clerk. By the kindness of Mr. Cherry, a neighbouring gentleman, he was sent to Oxford, where he soon became known, alike for his industry and for his strong Jacobite opinions. These made him decline offers of preferment, and he died at Oxford in 1735, leaving behind him a large number of works which he had edited with less discretion than labour, as most of them contain caustic observations quite foreign to their subject, and apparently introduced for no useful purpose.

HEIDELBERG. *Rerum Britannicarum Scriptores post MSS. Bibl. Heidelbergensis. Fol., Heidelb., 1587.*

Contains Geoffrey of Monmouth, Ponticus Virunius (his epitomizer), Gildas, Beda, William of Newburgh, and an abridgment of Froissart, in Latin.

JAFFÉ. *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanarum. Vols. I.—VI., Berlin, 1864—73.*

Vol. VI. contains Monumenta Alcuina.

LEIBNITZ. *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium. 3 vols., fol., Hannov., 1707—11.*

Contains Gervase of Tilbury.  
Godfrey William Leibnitz was the son of a professor at Leipsig, and was born in 1646. He was renowned for various learning, and having the fortune to meet with royal patrons he was created a baron and acquired a large fortune. He collected the Brunswick writers under the auspices of George I. of England.

LELAND. *His Itinerary, &c. 1545, printed by Hearne, 8vo., 9 vols., Oxon., 1713, is rather of an antiquarian than an historical character.*

— *De rebus Britannis Collectanea, printed by Hearne. 6 vols., 8vo., London, 1770—74.*

Contains several extracts from Charters, &c. not elsewhere printed.



MABILLON. *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*. 9 vols., fol., *Paris*, 1668—1701.

Contains Folcard, Ethelwoldi Carmen, Vita Dunstani by Osbern, &c.

— *Annales Ordini S. Benedicti*. 6 vols., fol., *Paris*, 1703—39.

This elaborate work contains many incidental notices of early English History.

— *Vetera Analecta*, (forming vol. iv. of D'Achery, q.v.) Fol. *Paris*, 1723.

Jean Mabillon, a Benedictine of St. Maur, born near Rheims in 1632, travelled through Germany and Italy, at the expense of Louis XIV., to collect historical monuments. His labours laid the foundation for several important works beside his own, and he reared many eminent scholars. He died in 1707.

MAIDMENT, James, Esq., Collections. 1817—37.

Comprise many rare historical tracts and extracts from Records, chiefly relating to *Scotland*. See, for a complete list, Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*.

MARTENE et DURAND. *Veterum Scriptorum Collectio nova*. Fol., *Rouen*, 1700.

— *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. 5 vols., fol., *Paris*, 1717.

— *Amplissima Collectio*. 9 vols., fol., *Paris*, 1724—33.

Contains the *Chronicon Anglicanum* and the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ*, attributed to Ralph of Coggeshall, *Epistola Hugonis Rothomagensis*, &c.

Dom Edmund Martene, a Benedictine of St. Maur, born in 1654, died in 1739. He and his fellow-labourer, Dom Ursin Durand, were pupils of Mabillon.

MASERES. *Historiæ Anglicanæ circa tempus Conquestus Selecta Monumenta*. 4to., *London*, 1807.

1. *Emmæ Anglorum Reginæ Richardi I. filiæ Encomium*—incerto auctore sed Cœtano.

2. *Gesta Gulielmi II. Ducis Normannorum Regis Anglorum I. à Gulielmo Pictavensi Scripta*.

3. *Excerpta ex Orderici Vitalis Ecl. Hist. libris tertio et quarto*.

4. *Annalis Historia Brevis in Monasterio S. Stephani Cadomensis Conscripta*.

5. *Nomina Normannorum qui floruerunt in Angliā ante Conquestum*,—qui cum Gulielmo ingressi sunt, &c. &c.

MIDDLE HILL Press.

Sir Thomas Phillipps struck off at his private press numerous separate sheets or fly-leaves, &c., consisting of extracts from MSS., many in the Middle Hill Collection, e.g. the *Cartulary of Malmesbury Abbey*. Also *Indices*, *Catalogues*, *Pedigrees*, &c. Generally only some ten copies printed of each. See, for a complete list, Lowndes.

MIGNE. *Patrologiæ Cursus completus*. 221 vols., of the Latin series. Royal 8vo., *Paris*, 1844—57.

Contains Alcuin, Eadmer, Fitzstephen, Hemming, W. Malmesbury, Orderic, John of Salisbury,

Letters of Becket, Henry of Huntingdon, Aldhelm's Vita, W. Pictavensis, Petrus Blesensis, &c., besides the complete works of writers such as Bede, Anselm, and many others. It is the largest collection of patristic and mediæval writers which exists; and though the series lays no claim to value from special editing, as a rule the works are printed from the most complete editions, and fairly provided with indices, &c.

MICHEL (Francisque). *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*. 3 vols., 8vo., *Rouen*, 1836.

Contains considerable extracts from Geoffroi Gaimar, Anonymous continuation of the Brut of Wace, *Estoire de Seint Edward le Rei*, *Chronique de Pierre de Langtoft*, *Benoit de Sainte More*, *De Gestis Herwardi Saxonis*, *Vita et Passio Walderi Comititis*, *Vita Haroldi*, *De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis Walthamensis*, *Widonis Carmen de Hastingsæ Proelio*, *Du Roi Guillaume d'Angleterre*, *Le Dit de Guillaume d'Angleterre*.

— *Chroniques de Normandie*. 4to., *Paris*, 1839.

O'CONOR. *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*. 4 vols., 4to., *Buckingham*, 1814—26.

Contains the *Annals of Buellian*, *Inisfallen*, *Tigernach*, *Ulster*, and (part of) the *Four Masters* (or *Chronicle of Donegal*). These extend from B.C. 305 to A.D. 1572, and though comparatively little known, are worthy of attention, particularly from the 9th to the 13th century, as they give many important notices of the early wars between the Irish and the Ostmen, their subsequent union, and their alliances with the kings of Norway and Scotland for the purpose of shaking off the English yoke.

Charles O'Connor was a Roman Catholic priest, who lived many years in the family of the first duke of Buckingham. He died soon after the completion of this work.

PARKER (Matthew), archbishop of Canterbury. Works published by him, between 1567 and 1574.

Matthew of Westminster. Asser's Life of Alfred. Walsingham.

PERTZ. *Monumenta Germanicæ Scriptores*. Folio, vol. i.—xx., *Berlin*, 1826—72.

Contains Dudo, *Encomium Emmæ*, *Robertus de Monte*, *Obitus Willermi*, *Annales Cantuarienses*, &c.

— *Scriptores in usum Scholarum*. 8vo.

Several small treatises, reprinted from the larger work. Among them are *Encomium Emmæ*, *Einhardi Annales*, &c.

PISTORIUS. *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*. 3 vols., folio, *Ratisbon*, 1720.

Contains the *Chronicle of Robertus de Monte*.

SAVILLE'S COLLECTION. *Rerum Anglicanarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui*. Folio, *London*, 1596; *Frankfort*, 1601.

Contains *Malmesbury*, *Henry of Huntingdon*, *Hoveden*, *Æthelweard* and *Ingulf*.

Sir Henry Savile was born at Over Bradley, near Halifax, in 1549, travelled much abroad, and eventually became provost of Eton College, where

he died in 1622. He was a great benefactor to the University of Oxford, bequeathing his valuable library, and founding two professorships. He was much esteemed by James I., at whose desire he took a part in the new translation of the Bible.

SCRIPTORES DECEM; see TWYSDEN.

— QUINDECIM; see GALE.

— QUINQUE; see GALE, FULMAN.

— POST BEDAM; see SAVILE.

SOMERS, LORD. A Collection of Tracts, chiefly from his library. 2nd Edition, revised by Sir Walter Scott. 13 vols. 4to., London, 1809—15.

Elucidating detached parts of the history of Great Britain.

SPARKE. *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores varii*. Folio, London, 1723.

Contains John of Peterborough, Hugo Candidus, Swapham, Whytlessey, and Fitzstephen.

TWYSDEN. *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem*. Folio, London, 1652.

Simeon Dunelmensis.	Johannes Brompton.
Johannes Hagustaldensis.	Gervasius Derobernensis.
Ricardus Hagustaldensis.	Thomas Stubbs.
Ailredus Rievallensis.	Gulielmus Thorn.
Radulphus de Diceto.	Henricus Knighton.

Sir Roger Twysden was a Kentish baronet, who suffered greatly for his loyalty. He was born at East Peckham in 1597, and died in 1672. Beside Decem Scriptores, to which he supplied a valuable preface, he published a work once much esteemed, "The Historical Defence of the Church of England."

TURNBULL, W. B. D. Reprints of Old Authors. Selections of Letters of Mary Queen of Scots. *Edin.*, 1845.

WHARTON. *Anglia Sacra*. 2 vols., folio, 1691. Vol. I. contains, among other

WHARTON, (*continued*).

documents relating to the respective dioceses,—

*Cantuariensis Episc.*—Steph. Birchingtoni Hist. ad 1369, Anonymi Hist. de Controversia circa Primatum, Henr. de Estria Catalogus, Annal. Roffensis, Chronicon Canobii S. Crucis, Edinb., *Historia vetusta Abingdonensis*, *Wintoniensis*—Thomæ Rudborne *Historia Major*, Monachi Wintoniensis *Annales*, *Roffensis*—Ernulphi *Collectanea*, Edmundi de Hadenham *Annales*, A.D. 1307; Willelmi de Dene *Historia*, *Norwicensis*—Bartholomæi de Cotton *Annales*, 1042—1295; Idem de Episc. Norwicensibus. *Coventrensis*, &c.—Thomæ de Chesterfield *Historia*, Will. Whitlocke *Historia*, *Wigornensis*—*Annales Eccles.*—*Bathoniensis*—*Canonici Wellensis Historia*, Adami de Domerham *Historia*, *Ellensis*—Thomæ Monachi *Historia*, Ricardi Prioris *Continuatio*, Monachorum *Eliensium Continuationes*, *Dunelmensis*—Monachi Anonymi *Historia*, Gaufridus de Coldingham, Robertus de Graystones, Willelmus de Chambre *Continuationes*.

Vol. II. contains, beside other historical treatises,—

W. de Malmesbur. *Liber quintus de Gestis Pontificum*, (i.e. de Vita S. Aldhelmi), Goscelini *Historia Minor*, Vitæ Tatwini, Nothelmi, &c., Johannes Timmuthensis de Vita S. Bregwini, Eadmer de Vita S. Odonis, Osborni de Vita S. Dunstani et S. Elphegi, &c., Adelardi *Epistola ad Elphegum*, Joannis Sarisbur. de Vita S. Anselmi, Eadmer de Vitis SS. Anselmi, Bregwyni, &c., Willelmus Warham de corpore S. Dunstani, Monachus Roffensis de Vita Gundulphi, Willelmus de Wycumba de Episc. Hereford., Ricardi Bardoniensis de Vita Rob. Grosthead, Alii Scriptores de Rob. Grosthead, Giraldi Cambrensis *Libri diversi*, *Annales breves Menêvenses*, Radulphus de Diceto de Archiep. Cantuar., Henrici Huntingdonensis *Epist.* ad Walterum de Epis. illustribus.

Henry Wharton was born in 1664 at Worstead, in Norfolk, where his father was vicar. He became chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, and under his auspices he commenced his great work "*Anglia Sacra*." His patron's deprivation suspended the publication, and his own death occurred in 1695, he having worn himself out by intense application, and dying before he had completed his thirty-first year, leaving behind him many valuable MSS., the intended bases of other works.

## SECTION V.

### THE PUBLIC RECORDS, THE RECORD COMMISSION, AND REPORTS AND CATALOGUES OF MSS., &c.

#### *(a.) Relating to the Record Commission.*

Reports from the Select Committee of the Public Records. Fol., 1800.

Reports from the Commissioners appointed to execute the measures recommended. 2 vols., fol., 1800—19.

The Appendix contains facsimiles of charters from Stephen to Mary, with the seals. A facsimile of Magna Charta is included among them.

From 1810—31 the proceedings were printed for the use of the Commissioners only.

Commissions and Abstracts, or Annual Report of Commissioners. Fol., 1806.

Reports (1—19) from Commissioners on the Public Records of Ireland. 4 vols., fol., 1810—30.

Report of Proceedings of Record Commissioners. Fol., 1831—37.

Report on Sub-Commissioners. 8vo., 1832.

Report of Committee on Publication of Calendars of Proceedings in Chancery. 8vo., 1833.

Proceedings of Commissioners of Public Records. Fol., 1832—33.

Report of the Select Committee to Inquire into the Affairs of the Record Commission. 1834.

Handbook to the Public Records. Royal 8vo., 1853.

#### *(b.) Catalogues and Reports on MSS.*

Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, by Sir T. Duffus Hardy. Vol. I., in 2 pts., anterior to Norman invasion; Vol. II., 1066—1200; Vol. III., 1200—1327, are already published (1862—71); Vol. IV., 1327, &c., is in preparation.

Notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, are given in one continued sequence, with brief analyses of the more important, in which the original matter is distinguished from mere compilation. Biographical sketches of the authors are also supplied.

Report to the Master of the Rolls, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. Royal 8vo., 1864.

Report to the Master of the Rolls, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. Royal 8vo., 1866.

#### *(c.) Deputy Keeper's Reports.*

The Annual Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, now thirty-five in number, may be most advantageously consulted by the historical student. Many of them contain valuable Appendices: of which may be mentioned:—

1. Baga de Secretis. Calendar of trials for high treason, &c., from A.D. 1474 to 1813. Among the trials will be found those of Queen Anne Boleyn (long supposed to have been destroyed), the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, Dr. Lopez, the earls of Essex and Southampton, Guy Fawkes and others, the earl and countess of Somerset, the Regicides, the rebels of 1715 and 1745 and other adherents of the House of Stuart, the rioters of 1766 and 1780, Governor Wall, and the machine-breaking rioters of 1812. [Third, Fourth, and Fifth Reports.]
2. Calendar of Royal Letters in the Wakefield Tower. These documents are upwards of 2,300 in number, and range in date from A.D. 1189 to about the end of the 13th century. [Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Reports.]

Since this calendar was prepared many of the letters, belonging to the reign of Henry III., have been printed. See *ante*, Sect. I.

3. Calendar of Letters of Privy Seal of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. [Fifth Report.]
4. Inventory of Acknowledgments of the Royal Supremacy made by Religious Houses, &c., *i.* Hen. VIII. [Seventh and Eighth Reports.]
5. Catalogues of Inventories of Church Goods, *i.* Edw. VI. [Seventh and Ninth Reports.]
6. Calendar of Ancient Correspondence, *i.* Edw. I., Edw. II. [Eighth Report.]
7. Catalogue of Deeds of Surrender of Abbeys, Chantries, Hospitals, &c., *i.* Hen. VIII. and Edw. VI. [*Ibid.*]

8. Calendar of Monastic and other Chartularies. [Ibid.]
9. Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Edward V. and Richard III. [Ninth Report.]
10. Inventory of Particulars for Grants of Monastic Property, *t.* Hen. VIII. [Ninth and Tenth Reports.]
11. Calendar of ancient Comptouses of the Exchequer. [Tenth Report.] This calendar gives the names of the escheators of counties from A.D. 1484 to 1611 in one instance, but in few cases does it reach beyond the year 1600. The escheators were persons of good position in their districts, and this is the first list of them that has been prepared.
23. Duchy of Lancaster Records, A.D. 1355 to 1361; and from A.D. 1377 to 1389. [Ibid.]
24. Durham Records, A.D. 1388 to 1437. [Thirty-third Report.]
25. Duchy of Lancaster Records, A.D. 1400 to 1440. [Ibid.]
26. The Shaftesbury Papers. Among these will be found the Constitution for Carolina, drawn up by John Locke, a very curious document. [Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Reports.]
27. Durham Records, A.D. 1438 to 1483. [Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Reports.]
28. Duchy of Lancaster Records, *t.* Ric. II. to 1867. [Thirty-fifth Report.]

With this Report the printing of these valuable Appendixes ceased, an objection being taken by the Government to their expense, and in consequence the Reports for the years 1849 to 1864 both inclusive, are merely formal documents of a few leaves each. In 1862 the original plan was again sanctioned by the Treasury.

12. Chronological List of Lords High Treasurers and Chief Commissioners of the Treasury, from A.D. 1486 to 1862. [Twenty-fifth Report.]
13. Lists of National Documents phot zincographed. [Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Reports.]
14. Table of Law Terms from the Norman Conquest to 1830. [Twenty-eighth Report.]
15. List of some Printed Books containing State Papers. [Ibid.]
16. Calendar of Royal Charters, A.D. 605 to *t.* Hen. I. [Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Reports.]
17. Calendar of Tower Documents, relating to State Prisoners, &c. [Thirtieth Report.]
18. Report on the Carte Papers. This furnishes much information on the state of Ireland, from A.D. 1640 to 1699. [Ibid.]
19. Calendar of Duchy of Lancaster Charters, William II. to Richard II. [Thirty-first and Thirty-fifth Reports.]
20. List of English Sheriffs, from A.D. 1131 to 1330. [Thirty-first Report.]
21. Final Report on the Carte Papers. [Thirty-second Report.]
22. Durham Records, A.D. 1345 to 1388. [Ibid.]

(d.) *The Historical Manuscripts Commission.*

In April, 1869, the Historical Manuscripts Commission was appointed, and it has issued four Reports, which contain detailed accounts of about 250 public or private collections, many of which contain documents of much historical value, most of them hitherto unknown. Among these may be mentioned, many important letters of Charles I., forming part of his cabinet taken at Naseby, which it did not suit the policy of the Parliamentary party to give to the world; some remarkable papers about the Gunpowder plot; notes of cases in the Star Chamber; letters to and from Sir Walter Raleigh; notes of Parliamentary proceedings, *t.* Charles I. to William III.; letters and poems on the Restoration; papers about Oates' plot; the death of James II.; letters to and from William III., Queen Anne, and regarding the Hanoverian succession. Some of these documents have already, by the permission of the owners, been transcribed and placed in the Public Record Office, and the drawing up of Calendars of the more important papers is strongly recommended by the Commissioners.

(e.) *Facsimiles Issued.*

Domesday. Vide *ante*, Sect. I.

National MSS. Pts. 1—4. 1865-8.

These are produced by the photo-zincographic process. Domesday is without note or comment, but the rest, which extend from William I. to Queen Anne, have translations and notes. Analyses are given in the Deputy Keeper's Reports.

A similar series, relating to Scotland. Pts. 1, 2, 3. 1867—1872.

(f.) *Miscellaneous Catalogues of MSS., Rolls, &c., not printed by the Government.*

A Calendar of the Antient Charters, and of the Scotch and Welsh Rolls, now in the Tower (Ayloffe). 4to., *London*, 1774.

Sir Thomas Phillipps' Catalogues of MSS. at Middle Hill.

Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normans, et François, conservés dans les Archives de la Tour de Londres. 2 vols. folio, *Londres*, 1743.

Index to the Originalia and Memoranda of the Lord-Treasurer's Remembrancer's side of the Exchequer, by E. Jones. 2 vols. folio, *London*, 1693.

Index Locorum et Rerum to the Memoranda of the Exchequer, Henry III. to 1831. Printed by the Benchers of the Inner Temple.

Account of all Parliaments from 49 Hen. III. to end of Edw. IV., in Prynne's *Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*. 4 vols. 4to., *London*, 1660.

Dugdale's *Summonsto Parliament*, 49 Hen. III. to 1685. Folio, *London*, 1794.

Simms' *Manual for the Genealogist*. 8vo., *London*, 1856.

(g.) *Catalogues of Historical MSS. in the British Museum.*

Cottonian Library MSS. (Smith). Fol., 1696.

Report from Committee after the Fire at Ashburnham House in 1731, on MSS. injured (Casley). Fol., *London*, 1732.

Cottonian Library Charters (Astle). Fol., 1777.

„ „ MSS. (Planta). Fol., 1802.

King's Library, with account of books damaged by 1731 fire (Casley). 4to., 1734.

Harleian MSS. (Wanley and Nares), with indexes of persons, places, and matters. 4 vols., fol., 1808—12.

Lansdowne MSS. (Douce and Ellis). Fol., 1819.

Law MSS. (Ellis). 4to., 1818.

Arundel MSS. Fol., 1834.

Burney MSS. Fol., 1840.

Index to Arundel and Burney MSS. Fol., 1840.

Index to Additional MSS., 1783—1835. Fol., 1849.

„ „ 1836—42. 8vo., 1841—45.

MS. Maps, Charts, and Plans. 2 vols., 8vo., 1844.

## No. II. A TABLE OF THE KINGS AND QUEENS OF ENGLAND;

WITH THE EXACT DATE OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF EACH REIGN  
SINCE THE NORMAN INVASION.

THE legal maxim, that "the king never dies," in virtue of which the accession of each monarch is ascribed to the same day as the demise of his predecessor, was unknown in the early periods of our history. From William I. to Henry III. inclusive, the reign of each king was considered only to commence at his coronation, the doctrine of hereditary right not being fully accepted, and the interregnum thus occa-

sioned extended from three days in the case of Henry I., to nearly two months in those of Henry II. and Richard I. From Edward II. to Henry VIII. the accession is ascribed to the day following the death or deposition of the preceding king, (Edward I., Edward III., Edward V., and Richard III., are exceptional cases); but from Edward VI. to the present day the above-cited maxim has prevailed.

### SAXON KINGS.

		A.D.	Dura- tion of reign. Years.
EGBERT	Son of Ealhmund, sub-king of Kent, began to reign over Wessex	802	37
	Became king of the English . . .	827	
	Died . . .	839	
ETHELWULF	Son of Egbert, began to reign . . .	839	19
	Died Jan. 13 . . .	858	
ETHELBALD	Son of Ethelwulf, began to reign . . .	858	2
	Died . . .	860	
ETHELBERT	Son of Ethelwulf, began to reign . . .	858	8
	Died . . .	866	
ETHELRED I.	Son of Ethelwulf, began to reign . . .	866	5
	Died . . .	871	
ALFRED	Son of Ethelwulf, began to reign . . .	871	20
	Died Oct. 26 . . .	901	
EDWARD THE ELDER	Son of Alfred, began to reign . . .	901	24
	Died . . .	925	
ATHELSTAN	Son of Edward, began to reign . . .	925	15
	Died Oct. 27 . . .	940	
EDMUND I.	Half-brother of Athelstan, began to reign	940	6
	Died May 26 . . .	946	
EDRED	Brother of Edmund, began to reign . . .	946	9
	Died Nov. 23 . . .	955	
EDWY	Son of Edmund, began to reign . . .	955	3
	Died Oct. 1 . . .	958	
EDGAR	Brother of Edwy, began to reign . . .	958	17
	Died July 8 . . .	975	
EDWARD II. THE MARTYR	Son of Edgar, began to reign . . .	975	4
	Died March 18 . . .	979	
ETHELRED II.	Half-brother of Edward II., began to reign . . .	979	37
	Died April 23 . . .	1016	
EDMUND IRONSIDE	Son of Ethelred, began to reign . . .	1016	0
	Died Nov. 30 . . .	1016	

### DANISH KINGS.

			Dura- tion of reign. Years.
CANUTE	Son of Sweyn of Denmark, began to reign	1017	18
	Died Nov. 12 . . .	1035	
HAROLD I.	Son of Canute, began to reign . . .	1035	5
	Died March 17 . . .	1040	
HARTHACNUT	Half-brother of Harold, begins to reign	1040	2
	Died June 8 . . .	1042	

### SAXON KINGS.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR	Son of Ethelred, began to reign . . .	1042	24
	Died Jan. 5 . . .	1066	
HAROLD II.	Son of Earl Godwin, began to reign, Jan. 6 . . .	1066	0
	Died Oct. 14 . . .	1066	

### THE HOUSE OF NORMANDY.

WILLIAM I.	Son of Robert, duke of Normandy, obtained the Crown by Conquest. His reign dates from his coronation, Dec. 25 . . .	1066	21
	Died Sept. 9 . . .	1087	
WILLIAM II.	Third son of William I., crowned Sept. 26	1087	13
	Died Aug. 2 . . .	1100	
HENRY I.	Youngest son of William I., crowned Aug. 5 . . .	1100	35
	Died Dec. 1 . . .	1135	

### THE HOUSE OF BLOIS.

STEPHEN	Third son of Stephen, Count of Blois, by Adela, fifth daughter of William I. Crowned (St. Stephen's Day) Dec. 26 . . .	1135	19
	Died Oct. 25 . . .	1154	

THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.		Duration of reign. Years.	THE HOUSE OF YORK (continued).		Duration of reign. Years.
HENRY II.	Son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, by Matilda, only daughter of Henry I. Crowned Sunday, Dec. 19 . . . 1154 Died July 6 . . . 1189	35	EDWARD V.	Eldest son of Edw. IV., began to reign April 9 . . . 1483 Date of death unknown.	0
	Eldest surviving son of Henry II. Crowned Sunday, Sept. 3 . . . 1189 Died April 6 . . . 1199		RICHARD III.	Younger brother of Edw. IV., began to reign June 26 . . . 1483 Died August 22 . . . 1485	2
	RICHARD I.		Fifth and youngest son of Henry II. Crowned (Ascension-day) May 27 . . . 1199 Died Oct. 19 . . . 1216	THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.	
JOHN	Eldest son of John, crowned Oct. 28 . . . 1216 Died Nov. 16 . . . 1272	56	HENRY VII.	His mother was Margaret Beaufort, great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt: his father was Edmund, eldest son of Owen Tudor and Queen Catharine, widow of Henry V. Succeeded Aug. 22 . . . 1485 Died April 21 . . . 1509	24
	EDWARD I.			Eldest son of Henry III. Proclaimed Nov. 20, 1272, crowned Aug. 19 . . . 1274 Died July 7 . . . 1307	
EDWARD II.	Eldest surviving son of Edward I. Succeeded July 8 . . . 1307 Deposed Jan. 20, and murdered Sept. 21 . . . 1327	20	EDWARD VI.	Son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour. Began to reign Jan. 28 . . . 1547 Died July 6 . . . 1553	7
	EDWARD III.			Eldest son of Edward II. Succeeded Jan. 25 . . . 1327 Died June 21 . . . 1377	
RICHARD II.	Son of the Black Prince, eldest son of Edward III., began to reign June 22 . . . 1377 Deposed Sept. 30 . . . 1399 Date of death unknown.	23	MARY	Daughter of Henry VIII. by Katharine of Aragon Reign reckoned from July 6 (death of Edw. VI.) . . . 1553 Died Nov. 17 . . . 1558	6
				Daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn. Began to reign Nov. 17 . . . 1558 Died March 24 . . . 1603	
THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.			THE HOUSE OF STUART.		
HENRY IV.	Son of John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edw. III., began to reign Sept. 30 . . . 1399 Died March 20 . . . 1413	14	ELIZABETH	Son of Mary Queen of Scots, granddaughter of James IV. and Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. Began to reign March 24 . . . 1603 Died March 27 . . . 1625	22
	Eldest son of Henry IV., began to reign March 21 . . . 1413 Died Aug. 31 . . . 1422			Only surviving son of James I. Began to reign March 27 . . . 1625 Died Jan. 30 . . . 1649	
HENRY V.	Only son of Henry V. began to reign Sept. 1 . . . 1422 Deposed March 4, 1461; restored Oct. 9, 1470; again deposed April 14 . . . 1471 Date of death unknown.	39	JAMES I.	Jan. 30, 1649 to May 8, 1660. Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, Dec. 16, 1653 to Sept. 3, 1658. Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, Sept. 3, 1658 to May 25 . . . 1659]	24
THE HOUSE OF YORK.			[INTERREGNUM.		
EDWARD IV.	His grandfather, Richard, was son of Edmund, fifth son of Edw. III.; and his grandmother, Anne, was great-granddaughter of Lionel, third son of Edw. III. Began to reign March 4 . . . 1461 Died April 9 . . . 1483	22			

THE HOUSE OF STUART (continued).		Dura- tion of reign. Years.	THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.		Dura- tion of reign. Years.
CHARLES II.	{ Eldest surviving son of Charles I., king <i>de jure</i> , Jan. 30, 1649, <i>de facto</i> , May 8 . . . . . 1660 Died Feb. 6 . . . . 1685	37	GEORGE I.	{ Eldest son of the Elec- tor of Hanover, by Sophia, daughter of Fred. V., King of Bohemia, and Eliza- beth, daughter of James I. Began to reign Aug. 1 1714 Died June 11 . . . . 1727	13
JAMES II.	{ Second surviving son of Charles I. Began to reign Feb. 6 1685 Abdicated Dec. 11 . . 1688	4	GEORGE II.	{ Only son of George I., Began to reign June 11 . . . . . 1727 Died Oct. 25 . . . . 1760	34
WILLIAM III.	{ Son of William of Nassau, by Mary, dan. of Charles I. Began to reign Feb. 13 1689	14	GEORGE III.	{ Grandson of George II., began to reign Oct. 25 . . . . . 1760 Died Jan. 29 . . . . 1820	60
MARY	{ Eldest daughter of James II. Began to reign Feb. 13 1689 Mary died Dec. 27, 1694; William died March 8, 1702.	6	GEORGE IV.	{ Eldest son of George III., began to reign Jan. 29 . . . . . 1820 Died June 26 . . . . 1830	11
ANNE	{ Daughter of James II., began to reign Mar. 8 1702 Died Aug. 1 . . . . 1714	13	WILLIAM IV.	{ Third son of George III., began to reign June 26 . . . . . 1830 Died June 20 . . . . 1837	7
			VICTORIA.	{ Daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III. Began to reign June 20 1837	

WHOM GOD PRESERVE.



## No. III. INDEX OF STATUTES.

THE following summary of the leading features of the Statute-book may perhaps assist those who desire to study history in its original and authentic form. No class of enactments

of historical importance it is believed has been left unnoticed<sup>a</sup>; but of course only a selection from each has been here attempted.

*Abbeys* allowed to have a common seal—35 Edw. I. c. 4.

Suppressed, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 20; 33 Hen. VIII. st. 2, c. 5 (Ireland.)

*Abbey lands* confirmed to the holders—1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8.

*Abjuration and oath of Thieves*—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>b</sup>

*Acts of Parliament*, all made in amendment of the law to be duly kept—5 Edw. II. c. 31.

Power to the king's successors to repeal, in certain cases—28 Hen. VIII. c. 17; this statute repealed, 1 Edw. VI. c. 11.

*Acton Burnel, Statutes of*—11 Edw. I.; 13 Edw. I.

Only to apply between merchant and merchant—5 Edw. II. c. 33.

*Administration, fraudulent, of Intestates' goods*, punished—43 Eliz. c. 8.

*Admirals, and deputies*, their jurisdiction limited—13 Ric. II. cc. 2, 5; 15 Ric. II. c. 3; 2 Hen. IV. c. 11.

*Admiralty, Commissioners of*, appointed—2 Gul. & Mar. sess. 2, c. 2.

*Advowsons*, usurpations of, redressed—15 Edw. I. c. 5.

Relieved from charges imposed by the late usurped powers—14 Car. II. c. 25.

Rights of patrons preserved—7 Ann. c. 18; 10 Ann. c. 21.

*Africa*, trade to, regulated—9 Gul. III. c. 26.

*African and Indian Companies, Scottish*, claims of, adjusted—6 Ann. c. 51.

*Aids* granted to the lord to make a son a knight or to marry a daughter—Magna Charta; 3 Edw. I. c. 36; 25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 11.

No extraordinary aids without assent of parliament—Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. cc. 5, 6.

How to be taxed—1 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 6.

*Alchemy* forbidden—5 Hen. IV. c. 4; repealed—1 Gul. & Mar. c. 30.

*Alchouses*, regulation of—13 Edw. I. c. 5; 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 25; 1 Jac. I. c. 9; 7 Jac. I. c. 10; 21 Jac. I. c. 7; 1 Car. I. c. 4; 3 Car. I. c. 4.

*Aliens*, trade and conduct of, regulated—9 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 1; 25 Edw. III. st. 3, c. 2; st. 4, c. 2; 27 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 1; 2 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 1; 18 Hen. VI. c. 4, 8; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 16. See also *Merchants*.

Forbidden to hold benefices—3 Ric. II. c. 3; 7 Ric. II. c. 12.

Protection to, and remedy for injuries—27 Edw. III. st. 2, cc. 2, 17, 20, 26; 28 Edw. III. c. 13; 2 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 1; 14 Ric. II. c. 9; 5 Hen. IV. cc. 7, 9; 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

Taxation of—11 Hen. IV. c. 7; 1 Hen. VII. c. 2; 11 Hen. VII. cc. 14, 23; 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

*Allegiance*, attempting to withdraw subjects from, declared high treason—23 Eliz. c. 1.

*Ambassadors*, preservation of their privileges—7 Ann. c. 12.

*Amerciaments*, shall be reasonable—Magna Charta; 3 Edw. I. c. 6.

Of various classes, regulated—25 Edw. I. c. 14.

*American Plantations*, trade of—6 Ann. c. 64; 9 Ann. c. 29.

Preservation of ship-timber in—9 Ann. c. 22.

*Annates*, payment of, restrained—23 Hen. VIII. c. 20; forbidden—25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

Offences against the statute to be proved by two witnesses confronted with the accused—1 Eliz. c. 1.

*Annuities* granted for raising moneys to carry on the war against France—4 & 5 Gul. & Mar. c. 8; 5 & 6 Gul. & Mar. cc. 5, 20; 6 & 7 Gul. & Mar. c. 5; 8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 21; 9 Gul. III. c. 44; 11 Gul. III. c. 3; 3 & 4 Ann. c. 2; 6 Ann. cc. 2, 39; 8 Ann. c. 12; 9 Ann. c. 15.

<sup>a</sup> Some notice of the Acts and Ordinances of the Parliament, temp. Car. I. and Car. II., which are not incorporated in the Statute-book, will be found

at pp. 387, 388.

<sup>b</sup> Statutes (Record Commission edition), vol. I. p. 250.

- Provisions for payment of the same—  
8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 21; 9 Gul. III.  
c. 5; 2 & 3 Ann. c. 9; 4 & 5 Ann.  
c. 18; 6 Ann. c. 2, 39; 7 Ann. c. 3;  
9 Ann. c. 15; 10 Ann. c. 19.
- Apparel* regulated—37 Edw. III. cc. 8—  
14; 3 Edw. IV. c. 5; 22 Edw. IV. c. 1;  
1 Hen. VIII. c. 14; 6 Hen. VIII. c. 1;  
7 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 24 Hen. VIII. c. 13;  
1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 2; 5 Eliz. c. 6.  
All acts relating to apparel repealed—  
1 Jac. I. c. 25.
- Appeal of death* allowed to a woman only  
for the death of her husband—Magna  
Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 34.
- Appeals*, statutes of—3 Edw. I. c. 14; 13  
Edw. I. c. 12; 5 Edw. II. cc. 34, 36;  
4 Hen. IV. c. 2; 18 Hen. VI. c. 12.
- Appeals to Rome* prohibited—24 Hen. VIII.  
c. 12.
- Apprentices*, who may take—7 Hen. IV.  
c. 17; 5 Eliz. cc. 4, 5.  
Infant beggars to be apprenticed—  
1 Edw. VI. c. 3.  
Parish apprentices—7 Jac. I. c. 3.  
Compelled to serve in harvest—12  
Ric. II. cc. 3, 9.  
Exactions and impositions on, forbid-  
den—22 Hen. VIII. c. 4; 28 Hen.  
VIII. c. 5.  
Custom of London as to, confirmed—  
8 Hen. VI. c. 11.
- Approvers*, pardon of, regulated—5 Hen.  
IV. c. 2.
- Archbishops and bishops*, the election of, to  
be free, saving the king's prerogative—  
9 Hen. IV. c. 1.  
May be made by letters patent—31  
Hen. VIII. c. 9; 1 Ed. VI. c. 2;  
repealed, 1 Mar. st. 2, c. 1.  
The manner of making and consecrat-  
ing of, declared to be good, lawful,  
and perfect—8 Eliz. c. 1.
- Archery* ordered to be practised—33 Hen.  
VIII. c. 9.
- Armed, going*, except on the king's service,  
forbidden—2 Edw. III. c. 3; 7 Ric. II.  
c. 13; 20 Ric. II. c. 1.
- Armour*, what each person is to have—13  
Edw. I. c. 6.
- Artificers and artisans*, wages of, fixed—  
25 Edw. III. st. 2, cc. 3, 4, 5; 34 Edw.  
III. c. 9; 11 Hen. VII. c. 22; 5 Eliz.  
c. 4.  
Punishment of, for neglect—23 Edw.  
III. c. 5; 11 Hen. VII. c. 6; 5 Eliz.  
c. 4.
- Assize of ale and bread*:—Stat. temp. incert.  
Offences against, to be corporally pun-  
ished—13 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 8.
- Assize (or wager) of battle* regulated—  
13 Edw. I. c. 4; abolished, 59 Geo. III.  
c. 46.
- Assize of wood and coal*, punishment of  
offences—34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
- Assizes*, holding of, regulated—13 Edw. I.  
c. 30; 42 Edw. III. c. 11; 6 Ric. II.  
c. 5; 11 Ric. II. c. 11; 6 Hen. VI. c. 2;  
21 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
- Association* for protection of Elizabeth—  
27 Eliz. c. 1.  
For protection of William III.—7 & 8  
Gul. III. c. 27.
- Attainder*, power of reversing, given to  
Henry VII.—19 Hen. VII. c. 28; to  
Henry VIII.—14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 21.  
*Of Regicides (Cromwell and others)*—  
12 Car. II. c. 30; 13 Car. II. c. 15.
- Attaint*, process in—5 Edw. III. cc. 6, 7;  
19 Hen. VII. c. 3.
- Attaint of jurors*, for corrupt verdicts—11  
Hen. VII. c. 24; 13 Eliz. c. 25.
- Attorneys* allowed to those who dwell in  
far countries from the chancery—27  
Edw. I. c. 5.  
The multitude and misdemeanours of,  
reformed—33 Hen. VI. c. 7; 3 Jac.  
I. c. 7.
- Augmentations, Court of*, established—27  
Hen. VIII. c. 27.
- Bachelors and widowers*, tax imposed on—  
6 & 7 Gul. & Mar. c. 6.
- Bail*, who entitled to—3 Edw. I. 15.  
Powers of justices—1 Ric. III. c. 3;  
3 Hen. VII. c. 3; 1 Phil. & Mar.  
c. 13.
- Bank of England* established—5 & 6 Gul.  
& Mar. c. 20.  
Its capital enlarged—8 & 9 Gul. III.  
c. 20; 7 Ann. cc. 30, 31.  
Regulated—6 Ann. c. 50; 9 Ann. c. 7.
- Bankrupts*, punishment of—34 & 35 Hen.  
VIII. c. 4; 13 Eliz. c. 7; 1 Jac. I. c. 15;  
21 Jac. I. c. 19; 14 Car. II. c. 24;  
4 & 5 Ann. c. 4; 6 Ann. c. 22.  
Explanatory acts—14 Car. II. c. 24;  
6 Ann. c. 22; 7 Ann. c. 25.
- Barretors* not to be suffered in the county  
courts—3 Edw. I. c. 33.
- Bastards* defined—20 Hen. III. c. 9.
- Beacons*, destruction of, forbidden—8 Eliz.  
c. 13.
- Beggars*. See *Poor*.
- Benefices* not to be held by aliens—3 Ric. II.  
c. 3; 7 Ric. II. c. 12.
- Benefit of clergy* taken from certain per-  
sons—4 Hen. VII. c. 13; 23 Hen. VIII.  
c. 1; 1 Edw. VI. c. 12; 5 & 6 Edw. VI.  
c. 10; 8 Eliz. c. 4; 18 Eliz. c. 7; 39 Eliz.  
c. 9; 22 Car. II. c. 5; 3 Gul. & Mar.  
c. 9.
- Benevolences*, the subject freed from—1 Ric.  
III. c. 2.  
Again enforced, and made recoverable  
by imprisonment—11 Hen. VII.  
c. 10.

- Voluntary presents to the king permitted, but not to be drawn into example—13 Car. II. st. 1, c. 4.
- Berwick*, statutes respecting—15 Ric. II. c. 7; 22 Edw. IV. c. 8; 11 Hen. VII. c. 18; 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 27; 1 Jac. I. c. 28.
- Bible*, *the*, to be translated into Welsh—5 Eliz. c. 28.
- Bigamy*, clerks guilty of, deprived of clergy—4 Edw. I. c. 3.
- To be tried by the ordinary—1 Edw. VI. c. 2.
- Punishment of—1 Jac. I. c. 11.
- Births*, duty on, granted—6 & 7 Gul. III. c. 6.
- Bishops* rendered incapable of sitting in Parliament or being members of the Privy Council—16 Car. I. c. 27; repealed, 13 Car. II. c. 2.
- Black mail*, payment of, forbidden—43 Eliz. c. 13.
- Blasphemy*, punishment of—9 Gul. III. c. 35.
- Books*, *licensing of*—14 Car. II. c. 33; 17 Car. II. c. 4; 1 Jac. II. c. 17; 4 & 5 Gul. & Mar. c. 24.
- Bows*, price of, regulated—22 Edw. IV. c. 4; 3 Hen. VII. c. 13; 8 Eliz. c. 10.
- Cross-bows, in great measure, prohibited—19 Hen. VII. c. 4; 3 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 6 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 17; 33 Hen. VIII. c. 6.
- Bread*, price of, regulated—8 Ann. c. 19.
- Bretons*, [not denized], to quit the realm—4 Hen. V. c. 3.
- Bullion* not to be taken out of the realm—1 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 3 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
- The export allowed—15 Car. II. c. 7.
- Bulls*. See *Rome*.
- Burials*, duty on, granted—6 & 7 Gul. III. c. 6.
- To be in woollen only—18 & 19 Car. II. c. 4; 30 Car. II. c. 3; 32 Car. II. c. 1.
- Burning of houses and barns*, penalty of—8 Hen. VI. c. 6; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
- Butchers*, regulation of—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>d</sup>; 4 Hen. VII. c. 3; 22 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 9; 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11; 5 Eliz. c. 8; 15 Car. II. c. 8.
- Calais*, statutes respecting—43 Edw. III. c. 1; 21 Ric. II. c. 18; 1 Hen. V. c. 9; 9 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 6; 10 Hen. VI. c. 5; 11 Hen. VII. c. 16; 19 Hen. VII. c. 27; 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 63; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 27; 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 38.
- Cambridge, University of*, incorporated—13 Eliz. c. 29.
- Canon law*, examination of the, by a com-
- mission—27 Hen. VIII. c. 15; 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16.
- Castle ward* regulated—Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 20.
- Cathedrals, collegiate churches, and schools*, the sovereign may make ordinances for governing—1 Mar. st. 3, c. 9; 1 Eliz. c. 22; 6 Ann. c. 75.
- Champerly*, statutes against—28 Edw. I. c. 11; 7 Ric. II. c. 15; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 9.
- Chantry* dissolved and granted to the crown—37 Hen. VIII. c. 4; 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.
- Chester, county of*, made a principality—21 Ric. II. c. 9; repealed, 1 Hen. IV. c. 3.
- Chester*, *see of*, transferred from the province of Canterbury to that of York—33 Hen. VIII. c. 31.
- Church, the*, its peace and freedom of election promised—Magna Charta.
- Breakers of its liberties to be excommunicated—37 Hen. III.
- Its liberties confirmed—5 Edw. II. c. 1; 50 Edw. III. c. 1.
- Statutes against provisions—25 Edw. III. st. 4; 13 Ric. II. st. 2, c. 2.
- The king supreme head—26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
- Uniformity of service in the—2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1; 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1; 1 Eliz. c. 2; 14 Car. II. c. 4.
- Security of the, in contemplation of the Union with Scotland—6 Ann. c. 8.
- Prevention of schism—13 Ann. c. 7.
- Better maintenance of curates, and prevention of traffic in benefices—13 Ann. c. 11.
- Cinque Ports*, liberties of, confirmed—Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 9; 28 Edw. I. c. 7.
- Circuits of judges* appointed—21 Edw. I.
- Cities*, regulations for the health of—12 Ric. II. c. 13; 4 Hen. VII. c. 3; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 9. See also *Towns*.
- Clergy*, privileges and franchises of, confirmed—25 Edw. III. st. 6, c. 1; 4 Hen. IV. c. 2.
- Their apparel regulated—37 Edw. III. c. 13; 24 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
- Not to be arrested during divine service—50 Edw. III. c. 5; 1 Ric. II. c. 15.
- Submission of the—22 Hen. VIII. c. 15; 23 Hen. VIII. c. 19; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19; repealed by 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8; re-enacted, 1 Eliz. c. 1.
- Clerks breaking prison of the Ordinary*, felons without benefit of clergy—23 Hen. VIII. c. 11.

- Cloths*, measure and assize of, regulated—  
2 Edw. III. c. 14; 37 Edw. III. c. 15;  
47 Edw. III. c. 1.
- Coals*, measure and price of, regulated—  
16 & 17 Car. II. c. 2.
- Coin and Coinage*, statutes respecting—  
4 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 6; 1 Hen. VIII.  
c. 13; 3 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 21 Jac. I.  
c. 28; 18 & 19 Car. II. c. 5; 25 Car.  
II. c. 8; 1 Jac. II. c. 7; 6 & 7 Gul. and  
Mar. c. 17; 7 & 8 Gul. III. cc. 1, 13,  
19; 8 & 9 Gul. III. cc. 1, 2, 7, 8, 26;  
9 Gul. III. cc. 2, 21, 36; 1 Ann. c. 3;  
7 Ann. cc. 24, 25.
- Coining* declared treason—4 Hen. V. st. 2,  
c. 6.
- Colleges, chantries, and hospitals*, dissolved  
and granted to the crown—37 Hen.  
VIII. c. 4; 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.
- Coming into the realm*, limited to certain  
ports—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>e</sup>
- Common Prayer*. See *Divine Service*.
- Constable, lord high*, his jurisdiction defined  
—8 Ric. II. c. 5; 13 Ric. II. cc. 2, 5.
- Conventicles*, laws against—35 Eliz. c. 1;  
16 Car. II. c. 4; 22 Car. II. c. 1.
- Convocation*, liberties and immunities of  
the—8 Hen. VI. c. 1.  
Its submission to the crown—25 Hen.  
VIII. c. 19; repealed, 1 & 2 Phil.  
& Mar. c. 8; re-enacted, 1 Eliz.  
c. 1.
- Corn*, exportation of, forbidden—Dictum  
de Kenilworth; 34 Edw. III. c. 20;  
regulated, 17 Ric. II. c. 7; 4 Hen. VI.  
c. 5; 15 Hen. VI. c. 2; 20 Hen. VI.  
c. 6; 23 Hen. VI. c. 5; 3 Edw. IV.  
c. 2; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2; 1 & 2 Phil.  
& Mar. c. 5; 5 Eliz. cc. 5, 12; 13 Eliz.  
cc. 13, 25; 35 Eliz. c. 7; 1 Jac. I. c. 25;  
21 Jac. I. c. 28; 3 Car. I. c. 5; 15 Car.  
II. c. 7; 22 Car. II. c. 13; 1 Gul. &  
Mar. c. 12; 11 Gul. III. c. 1.
- Coronation Oath*, new form of—1 Gul. &  
Mar. c. 6.
- Coroners*, office of—4 Edw. I.; 5 Edw. II.  
c. 27.
- Corporation Act*—13 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1.  
See also 17 Car. II. c. 2.
- Corporations*, private and unlawful statutes  
made by, forbidden—15 Hen. VI. c. 6;  
19 Hen. VII. c. 7.
- Cottages*, law against the multiplication of  
—31 Eliz. c. 7.
- Cottonian Library*, settled for the benefit  
of the public—12 & 13 Gul. III. c. 7.
- County courts*, holding of, regulated—  
25 Edw. I. c. 36; 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 25.
- Crosses*, lands where such set up forfeited  
to the chief lord or king—13 Edw. I.  
c. 33.
- Crown, succession to the*, regulated—7 Hen.  
IV. c. 2; 26 Hen. VIII. c. 2; 28 Hen.  
VIII. c. 7; 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1. See  
also *Protestant Succession*.
- Crows and rooks*, provision for the destruc-  
tion of—24 Hen. VIII. c. 10; 8 Eliz.  
c. 15.
- Cursing and swearing*, penalties for—  
21 Jac. I. c. 20; 6 & 7 Gul. & Mar.  
c. 11.
- Customs, and Customers*, regulated—16  
Edw. II.; 28 Edw. III. c. 13; 4 Hen.  
IV. c. 20; 31 Hen. VI. c. 5; 1 Hen.  
VIII. c. 5; 1 Eliz. c. 11; 12 Car. II.  
c. 19; 14 Car. II. c. 11.
- Customs of Kent*—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>f</sup>
- Custos Rotulorum*, office regulated—37  
Hen. VIII. c. 1; 3 & 4 Edw. VI.  
c. 1.
- Debts due to the king*, to be levied leniently  
—28 Edw. I. c. 12; 1 Edw. III. st. 2,  
c. 4.
- Deer*. See *Game*.
- Defamation* to be tried in the spiritual  
courts, notwithstanding the king's pro-  
hibition—13 Edw. I.; 9 Edw. II. c. 4.
- Denmark*, trade with, regulated—8 Hen.  
VI. c. 2.
- Dictum de Kenilworth*—51 & 52 Hen. III.
- Diet and Apparel* regulated—37 Edw. III.  
cc. 8—14.
- Dissenters*, exempted from the penalties of  
certain laws—1 Gul. & Mar. c. 18; 10  
Ann. c. 6.
- Divine Service*, statutes establishing the  
reformed mode of—1 Edw. VI. cc. 1, 2;  
2 Edw. VI. c. 1; 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 21;  
3 & 4 Edw. VI. cc. 10, 12; 5 & 6 Edw.  
VI. cc. 1, 3, 12; these all repealed by  
1 Mar. st. 2, c. 2.  
The more ancient re-established—  
1 Mar. st. 2, c. 3.  
The reformed service again set up—  
—1 Eliz. c. 2.  
Punishment for refusal or neglect to  
attend—1 Eliz. c. 2; 35 Eliz. c. 1.  
See also *Conventicles*.
- Dover castle and harbour*, statutes respect-  
ing—28 Edw. I. c. 7; 32 Hen. VIII.  
c. 48; 23 Eliz. c. 6; 35 Eliz. c. 7;  
1 Jac. I. c. 32; 14 Car. II. c. 27;  
11 Gul. III. c. 5; 2 & 3 Ann. c. 7.
- Drunkenness*, punishment for—4 Jac. I.  
c. 5; 21 Jac. I. c. 7.
- Durham, bishopric of*, dissolved—7 Edw.  
VI. c. 17; re-established, 1 Mar. st. 3,  
c. 3.  
—city and county palatine, statutes  
regarding—5 Eliz. c. 27; 18 Eliz. c. 13;  
31 Eliz. c. 9; 25 Car. II. c. 9.
- Dwelling-houses*, duties levied on—7 & 8  
Gul. III. c. 18; 6 Ann. c. 21.
- East India Company*, privileges granted to  
the—9 Gul. III. c. 44; 1 Ann. st. 1,  
c. 6; 6 Ann. c. 71; 10 Ann. c. 35.

<sup>e</sup> Statutes, vol. i. p. 219.<sup>f</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

- Ecclesiastical jurisdiction* confirmed—15  
Edw. III. st. 1, c. 6.  
Regulated—37 Hen. VIII. c. 17;  
16 Car. I. c. 11.
- Ecclesiastical laws*, commission for making  
—27 Hen. VIII. c. 15; 3 & 4 Edw. VI.  
c. 11.
- Egyptians, or Gipsies*, punishment of—  
22 Hen. VIII. c. 10; 1 & 2 Phil. &  
Mar. c. 4; 5 Eliz. c. 20.
- Elections*, to be free—3 Edw. I. c. 5.
- Elizabeth*, "calling herself queen of Eng-  
land" [Elizabeth, relict of Edward IV.],  
all letters patent to, annulled—1 Ric.  
III. c. 15.
- Englishry, and presentment thereof*, abo-  
lished—14 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 4.
- English tongue*, pleadings to be in the—  
36 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 15.
- Equivalent money to Scotland*, statutes re-  
gulating the—6 Ann. c. 51; 13 Ann.  
c. 12.
- Escheators*, the office of, regulated—3 Edw.  
I. c. 24; 29 Edw. I.; 5 Edw. III. c. 39;  
14 Edw. III. st. 1, cc. 8, 13; 34 Edw.  
III. cc. 13, 14; 9 Ric. II. c. 1; 8 Hen.  
VI. c. 16; 12 Edw. IV. c. 9; 1 Hen.  
VIII. c. 8; 3 Hen. VIII. c. 2; 2 & 3  
Edw. VI. c. 8.
- Estreats*, statute of—16 Edw. II.
- Exchange of gold or silver*, only to be made  
by the king's officers—25 Edw. III. st.  
5, c. 12; or by his licence—3 Hen. VII.  
c. 6.
- Exchanges, foreign*, regulated—27 Edw. I.  
st. 3.
- Exchequer*, regulations for the—3 Edw. I.  
c. 19; 12 Edw. I.; 27 Edw. I. c. 2;  
28 Edw. I. c. 4; 20 Edw. III. c. 2;  
5 Ric. II. st. 1, cc. 10—16; 33 Hen.  
VI. c. 3; 1 Jac. I. c. 26; 8 & 9 Gul.  
III. c. 28; 9 Gul. III. c. 3.  
Statutes of the—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>g</sup>
- Excise* (imposed by the Parliament, temp.  
Car. I.) continued—12 Car. II. c. 5;  
fresh grant—12 Car. II. c. 23.  
Additional duties—29 Car. II. c. 2;  
1 Gul. & Mar. c. 24; 2 Gul. &  
Mar. sess. 2, cc. 3, 9; 5 Gul. &  
Mar. c. 7; 6 & 7 Gul. & Mar. c. 18;  
8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 7; 4 & 5 Ann.  
c. 23; 13 Ann. c. 18.
- Executors* to yield their accounts to the  
ordinaries—4 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 8.
- Exile*, not to be, but by law—Magna  
Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 29.
- Fairs* regulated—13 Edw. I.; 2 Edw. III.  
c. 15; 5 Edw. III. c. 5.
- False or slanderous news*, the spreading of,  
forbidden—3 Edw. I. c. 34.
- Fast days and holy days*, keeping of—5 & 6  
Edw. VI. c. 3.
- Felons*, all men shall be ready to pursue—  
3 Edw. I. c. 9.  
Fresh suit shall be made after, from  
town to town—13 Edw. I. cc. 1, 2.  
Refusing to plead—3 Edw. I. c. 12.  
Statutes for rewarding the apprehen-  
sion of—10 Gul. III. c. 12; 6 Ann.  
c. 31.
- Feudal tenures* abolished—12 Car. II. c. 24.
- Fines*, manner of levying—Stat. temp.  
incert.<sup>h</sup>
- First-fruits and Tenths*, granted to the  
crown—26 Hen. VIII. c. 3; 28 Hen.  
VIII. c. 11.  
Erection of a court for their manage-  
ment—32 Hen. VIII. c. 5.  
Restored to the Church—2 & 3 Phil.  
& Mar. c. 4.  
Again appropriated to the crown—  
1 Eliz. c. 4.  
Again restored to the Church—2 & 3  
Ann. c. 20.
- Foreign money*, circulation of, prohibited—  
11 Hen. IV. c. 5.  
—*Protestants* naturalized—7 Ann.  
c. 5; repealed, 10 Ann. c. 9.  
—*spiritual jurisdiction* (i.e. of the  
Papacy) abolished—1 Eliz. c. 1.
- Forest, Ordinance of the*—33 Edw. I.  
Customs and assize of the—Stat. temp.  
incert.<sup>i</sup>  
Ordained to be kept in every article—  
1 Edw. III. c. 1.  
Proceedings against offenders—34  
Edw. I. c. 1; 1 Edw. III. st. 1,  
c. 8; 1 Hen. VII. c. 7.
- Forests*, boundaries of, to be ascertained—  
16 Car. I. c. 16.
- Forestallers*, punishment of—Stat. temp.  
incert.<sup>k</sup>; 25 Edw. III. st. 3, c. 3; 5 & 6  
Edw. VI. c. 14.
- Forma pauperis*, suing in, admitted—11  
Hen. VII. c. 12.
- France*, all trade and commerce with, pro-  
hibited—1 Gul. & Mar. c. 34; 2 Gul. &  
Mar. sess. 2, c. 14; 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 25;  
3 & 4 Ann. c. 12.
- Frankpledge, view of*, when to be held—  
Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 35.  
Matters to be inquired of, at—Stat.  
temp. incert.<sup>j</sup>
- Friars*, minors not to be received into  
orders of, without consent of parents,  
friends, or guardians—4 Hen. IV. c. 17.
- Fuel, assize of*—7 Edw. VI. c. 7; 43 Eliz.  
c. 14.
- Game*, destruction of, prohibited—34 Edw.  
III. c. 22; 13 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 13; 1

<sup>g</sup> Statutes, vol. i. p. 197.<sup>h</sup> Ibid., p. 203.<sup>h</sup> Ibid., p. 214.<sup>i</sup> Ibid., p. 243.<sup>j</sup> Ibid., p. 246.

- Jac. I. c. 27; 7 Jac. I. c. 11; 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 23.
- Games, unlawful*, prohibition of—12 Ric. II. c. 6; 11 Hen. IV. c. 4; 17 Edw. IV. c. 3.
- Gaols*, regulations for—14 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 10; 23 Hen. VIII. c. 2.
- Gloucester, Statute of*, for the better administration of justice—6 Edw. I. c. 1.
- Gold and silver*, assay of—28 Edw. I. c. 20.
- Grants by the king*, regulated—17 Edw. II. c. 15; 1 Hen. IV. c. 6; 2 Hen. IV. c. 2; 4 Hen. IV. c. 4; 18 Hen. VI. c. 1.
- Great men*, penalty for slander of—2 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 5.
- Greenwich Hospital*, provision for the support of—10 Ann. c. 27.
- Guilds and fraternities*, regulated—15 Hen. VI. c. 6.
- Gunpowder treason*, attainder of the parties to the—3 Jac. I. c. 2.
- Habeas Corpus Act*—31 Car. II. c. 2.
- Hampton Court*, honour of, established—31 Hen. VIII. c. 5.
- Handicraftsmen* restrained to the practice of one trade only—37 Edw. III. c. 6.
- Hawks*, stray, to be carried to the sheriff—34 Edw. III. c. 22.
- Keeping of, regulated—11 Hen. VII. c. 17.
- Stealing of, declared felony—37 Edw. III. c. 19; 31 Hen. VIII. c. 12; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 11; 5 Eliz. c. 21.
- Hearth-money tax* imposed—14 Car. II. c. 10; 16 Car. II. c. 3; repealed, 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 10.
- Heiresses*, punishment for abduction of—4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. c. 8; 39 Eliz. c. 9.
- Heralds*, arms of, regulated—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>m</sup>
- Heresy and Heretics*—apprehension of heretical preachers—5 Ric. II. st. 2, c. 5.
- Punishment of heresy—25 Hen. VIII. c. 14; 1 Eliz. c. 1.
- High Commission Court* established, by virtue of 1 Eliz. c. 1, s. 18; abolished, 16 Car. I. c. 11.
- Holydays and fast-days*, keeping of—5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 3.
- Homage and fealty*, mode of doing—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>n</sup>
- Homage from Scotland* asserted to be due—12 Hen. VII. c. 7.
- Horses* forbidden to be exported—11 Hen. VII. c. 13.
- Allowed in certain cases—22 Hen. VIII. c. 7; 1 Edw. VI. c. 5.
- Improvement of the breed of—33 Hen. VIII. c. 5.
- Hospitals*, reformation of, provisions for—2 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 1.
- Dissolved, and granted to the crown—37 Hen. VIII. c. 4; 1 Edw. VI. c. 14.
- Hue and cry*, penalty for not following the—13 Edw. I. c. 4; 27 Eliz. c. 13.
- Impediment*, pardon by the crown not pleadable in case of—12 & 13 Gul. III. c. 2.
- Imprisonment*, not to be contrary to law—Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 29.
- Beyond sea prohibited—31 Car. II. c. 2.
- Informers*, statutes against—18 Eliz. c. 5; 31 Eliz. c. 5.
- Insolvent debtors* to be discharged, if willing and able to serve in the army or navy—2 & 3 Ann. c. 10; 10 Ann. c. 29.
- Ireland*, statutes respecting—20 Hen. III.; 17 Edw. II. st. 1, c. 1; 31 Edw. III. st. 4, cc. 1—19; 34 Edw. III. cc. 17, 18; 1 Hen. V. c. 8; 4 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 6; 8 Hen. VI. c. 2; 16 Car. I. cc. 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37; 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 13; sess. 2, c. 9; 3 & 4 Gul. & Mar. c. 2; 11 Gul. III. c. 2; 1 Ann. cc. 25, 26; stat. 2, c. 18; 6 Ann. c. 61.
- Irishmen resident in England*, statutes respecting—1 Hen. V. c. 8; 1 Hen. VI. c. 3; 2 Hen. VI. c. 8.
- Iron*, forbidden to be exported—28 Edw. III. c. 5.
- Italian merchants* regulated as to the sale of their goods—1 Ric. III. c. 9.
- January 30th*, solemn service on, appointed—12 Car. II. c. 30; repealed, 22 Vict. c. 2.
- Jesuits*, act against—27 Eliz. c. 2.
- Jewry, Statutes of*—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>o</sup>
- Jews* not allowed the benefit of the Statute of Merchants—13 Edw. I. c. 3.
- Obliged to maintain and provide for their Protestant children—1 Ann. c. 24.
- Judges*, duties of, declared—8 Ric. II. c. 3.
- Judicial proceedings*, certain, under the usurped powers, not to be avoided—12 Car. II. c. 12.
- Jurors, in London*—11 Hen. VII. c. 21; 4 Hen. VIII. c. 3; 5 Hen. VIII. c. 5.
- Punishment of corrupt—34 Edw. III. c. 8; 38 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 12; 11 Hen. VI. c. 4; 11 Hen. VII. c. 24; 13 Eliz. c. 25.
- Qualification of—21 Edw. I.; 2 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 3; 27 Eliz. c. 6; 16 & 17 Car. II. c. 3.
- Justices*, oaths of—5 Edw. II. c. 39; 20 Edw. III. c. 6.
- Duty of—20 Edw. III. c. 1; 34 Edw. III. c. 1.
- Knightworth, Dictum de*—51 & 52 Hen. III.

<sup>m</sup> Statutes, vol. i. p. 231.<sup>n</sup> Ibid., p. 227.<sup>o</sup> Ibid., p. 221.

- King*, restrictions on the power of the—  
5 Edw. II. cc. 9, 13.
- Knighthood*, no person to be compelled to take on him the order of—16 Car. I. c. 20.
- Knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, the lands of the Templars bestowed on the—17 Edw. II.  
Their incorporation in England and Ireland dissolved—32 Hen. VIII. c. 24.
- The members relieved from their vow of celibacy, and allowed to marry—37 Hen. VIII. c. 22.
- Knights Templars*, their possessions bestowed on the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem—17 Edw. II.
- Labourers*, *Statute of*—23 Edw. III. c. 1; 31 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 6.  
Wages of, regulated—11 Hen. VII. c. 22; repealed, 12 Hen. VII. c. 3.
- Lancaster, duchy of*, lands annexed to—37 Hen. VIII. c. 16; 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. c. 20.
- Land-tax* first imposed—11 Gul. III. c. 2.
- Lands of felons* to be held by the king for a year and a day—Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 22.
- Latin*, saying *prayers in*, to whom allowed—2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1.
- Lanucegays*<sup>p</sup> forbidden to be carried—7 Ric. II. c. 13; 20 Ric. II. c. 1.
- Leap-year*, *Statute of*—40 Hen. III.
- Leather*, statutes respecting—27 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 3; 3 Hen. VIII. c. 10; 24 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 14; 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cc. 9, 11; 1 Mar. st. 3, c. 8; 1 Eliz. c. 9; 5 Eliz. c. 8.
- Liberties*, confirmation of—Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 1.
- Liberty of the subject*, the, secured—12 & 13 Gul. III. c. 2.
- Liveries*, giving of, restrained—13 Ric. II. st. 3; 16 Ric. II. c. 4; 20 Ric. II. c. 2; 1 Hen. IV. c. 7; 13 Hen. IV. c. 3; 8 Hen. VI. c. 4; 8 Edw. IV. c. 2; 3 Hen. VII. c. 1; 19 Hen. VII. c. 14.
- Loans of money to Henry VIII.*, remitted—21 Hen. VIII. c. 24; 35 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
- Lollards*, punishment of—5 Ric. II. st. 2, c. 5; 2 Hen. IV. c. 15; 2 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 7.
- Lombard merchants*, the company of, answerable for the debts of their fellows—25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 23.
- London*, state of, reformed—51 & 52 Hen. III. c. 11.  
Liberties of, confirmed—Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 9.  
Redress of errors and misprisions in—  
28 Edw. III. c. 10; 1 Hen. IV. c. 15.
- Custom of, as to apprentices, confirmed—8 Hen. VI. c. 11.
- Conservancy of the Thames confirmed to the mayor of—4 Hen. VII. c. 15.
- Jurors in—11 Hen. VII. c. 21; 4 Hen. VIII. c. 3; 5 Hen. VIII. c. 5.
- Tithes in, regulated—27 Hen. VIII. c. 21.
- Conduits of—35 Hen. VIII. c. 10; 37 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
- Rebuilding of, after the great fire—18 & 19 Car. II. c. 8; 22 Car. II. c. 11.
- Coal-duty in, its application—19 Car. II. c. 3; 22 Car. II. c. 11; 1 Jac. II. c. 11; 1 Ann. st. 2, c. 12; 9 Ann. c. 17.
- London and Westminster*, against new buildings in—35 Eliz. c. 6.
- Lords of Parliament*, places of, regulated—31 Hen. VIII. c. 10.
- Lotteries* established—8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 22.
- Magna Charta*, confirmations of—37 Hen. III.; 25 Edw. I. c. 1; 28 Edw. I. c. 1; 5 Edw. II. c. 6; 2 Edw. III. c. 1; 4 Edw. III. c. 1; 5 Edw. III. c. 1; 10 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 1; 14 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 1; 15 Edw. III. st. 1, cc. 1, 3; 28 Edw. III. c. 1; 36 Edw. III. c. 1.
- Mainpernors*, statute of—7 Ric. II. c. 17.
- Maintenance*, forbidden—3 Edw. I. c. 28; 1 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 14; 13 Ric. II. st. 3; 38 Hen. VIII. c. 9.
- Marches*, order for the government of the northern—43 Eliz. c. 13. See also *Wales*.
- Marlborough*, *Statutes of*—51 Hen. III.
- Marlborough, John*, duke of, grants to—3 & 4 Ann. c. 4; 6 Ann. cc. 6, 7.
- Marriage*, statute regarding pre-contracts—32 Hen. VIII. c. 38; repealed—2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 23.
- Marriages*, those irregularly contracted during the troubles confirmed—12 Car. II. c. 33.  
Duty on—6 & 7 Gul. & Mar. c. 6.
- Marshal*, jurisdiction of the—13 Ric. II. cc. 2, 5.
- Marshal's court* regulated—28 Edw. I. c. 3; 5 Edw. III. c. 2; 3 Hen. VII. c. 14.
- May 29th*, anniversary thanksgiving on, for the restoration of the Church and Monarchy, appointed—12 Car. II. c. 14; repealed, 22 Vict. c. 2.
- Merchant Adventurers*, statute of—12 Hen. VII. c. 6.
- Merchants*, protection of foreign—Magna Charta; 25 Edw. I. c. 30; 9 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 1.

<sup>p</sup> A short spear, often used as a dart or javelin.

- General regulations—11 Edw. I. ; 13 Edw. I. c. 3 ; 38 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 2 ; 14 Ric. II. c. 6 ; 9 Hen. VI. c. 2 ; 14 Car. II. c. 23.
- Merchants of the Hanse towns*, protection of—19 Hen. VII. c. 23 ; 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 29.
- Merton, Provisions of*—20 Hen. III.
- Military service regulated*—1 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 5.
- *tenures abolished*—12 Car. II. c. 24.
- Militia, sole right of the*, declared to be in the king—13 Car. II. c. 6.
- Militia Acts*, the earliest annual—2 Gul. & Mar. sess. 2, c. 12 ; 3 Gul. & Mar. c. 7.
- Mint and Coinage regulated*—1 Hen. VI. c. 4 ; 2 Hen. VI. c. 15. See also *Coin and Coinage*.
- Missals and images ordered to be destroyed*—3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 10.
- Monasteries, Lesser*, suppression of—27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.
- *Greater*, suppression of—31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
- Provisions for pensions to the religious—34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 19.
- Money*, ordinances for—9 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 1 ; 18 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 6 ; 9 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 11 ; 19 Hen. VII. c. 5 ; 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 12 ; 18 Eliz. c. 1 ; 14 Car. II. c. 31.
- *false*, importation of, forbidden—27 Edw. I. st. 3.
- *foreign*, forbidden—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>a</sup> ; 2 Hen. IV. c. 6 ; 11 Hen. IV. c. 5 ; 17 Edw. IV. c. 1.
- Monopolies*, against—21 Jac. I. c. 3.
- Mortmain*, statutes of—Magna Charta ; 7 Edw. I. c. 2 ; 13 Edw. I. c. 32 ; 25 Edw. I. c. 36 ; 15 Ric. II. c. 2.
- Mortuaries*, concerning the taking of—21 Hen. VIII. c. 6.
- Compensation for, in certain dioceses, 13 Ann. c. 6.
- Moss-troopers* sentenced to transportation—18 & 19 Car. II. c. 3.
- Multiplying gold and silver* [alchemy], forbidden—5 Hen. IV. c. 4 ; repealed, 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 30.
- Murage*, regulation of—3 Edw. I. c. 31.
- Murder*, restrictions on grants of pardon for—13 Ric. II. st. 2, c. 1.
- Musters*, statute for holding—4 & 5 Phil. & Mar. c. 3.
- Mutiny Act*, the first—1 Gul. & Mar. c. 5.
- National Land Bank*, statute for establishing—7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 31.
- Naturalization* granted to children of Englishmen born beyond the seas—33 Hen. VIII. c. 25 ; 29 Car. II. c. 6 ; 9 Gul. III. c. 20.
- Oaths to be taken by foreigners naturalized—7 Jac. I. c. 2 ; 7 Ann. c. 5.
- Navigation Acts*—32 Hen. VIII. c. 14 ; 12 Car. II. c. 18.
- Navy*, maintenance of the—32 Hen. VIII. c. 14 ; 5 Eliz. c. 5.
- Articles and orders for its government—13 Car. II. c. 9 ; 5 & 6 Gul. & Mar. c. 25.
- Newspapers and pamphlets*, duty imposed on—10 Ann. c. 19.
- Night-walkers and suspected persons*, statute against—5 Edw. III. c. 14.
- Noble ladies*, privilege of—20 Hen. VI. c. 9.
- Nonconformists*, certain classes of, not to inhabit corporation towns—17 Car. II. c. 2. See also 13 Car. II. st. 2, c. 1.
- Northern borders*, provisions for government of—43 Eliz. c. 13 ; 7 Jac. I. c. 1 ; 14 Car. II. c. 22 ; 18 & 19 Car. II. c. 3 ; 29 & 30 Car. II. c. 2 ; 1 Jac. II. c. 14 ; 7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 17 ; 12 & 13 Gul. III. c. 6.
- Fortification of—2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. c. 1 ; 23 Eliz. c. 4.
- November 5th*, anniversary thanksgiving on, appointed—3 Jac. I. c. 1 ; repealed, 22 Vict. c. 2.
- Nuisances*, punishment of those who corrupt the air near cities and great towns—12 Ric. II. c. 13.
- Nun*, punishment for carrying away a, even with her consent—13 Edw. I. c. 34.
- Oath*, breach of, to be tried in the spiritual courts—13 Edw. I.
- Oath of allegiance*, administration of—7 Jac. I. c. 6.
- Oath of supremacy*—1 Eliz. c. 1 ; 5 Eliz. c. 1.
- Oaths of allegiance and supremacy*, 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 11 ; repealed—1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8 ; this repealed—1 Eliz. c. 1.
- New oaths appointed—1 Gul. & Mar. c. 8.
- Oaths of succession to the crown*—26 Hen. VIII. c. 2 ; 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7 ; 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1 ; 13 & 14 Gul. III. c. 6.
- Oblivion, Act of*—12 Car. II. c. 11.
- Pains on persons excepted from—13 Car. II. c. 15.
- Offices, buying and selling of*, prohibited—5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 16.
- Outlaws and outlawry*, statutes regarding—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>a</sup> ; 5 Edw. III. c. 12 ; 37 Edw. III. c. 2 ; 7 Hen. IV. c. 11 ; 2 Hen. VI. c. 11 ; 23 Hen. VIII. c. 14 ; 31 Eliz. c. 3.
- Overseers of the Poor* appointed—43 Eliz. c. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Statutes, vol. i. p. 219.<sup>r</sup> Ibid., p. 234.



*Oxford University*, confirmation of liberties and statutes—9 Hen. IV. c. 1; 13 Hen. IV. c. 1.

Disorders of many clerks and scholars of—9 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 8.

Incorporation of—13 Eliz. c. 29.

*Oyer and terminer*, regulations for justices of—2 Edw. III. c. 2; 9 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 5; 20 Edw. III. c. 3.

*Papists*, acts in restraint of—13 Eliz. cc. 1, 2, 3; 23 Eliz. c. 1; 1 Jac. I. c. 4; 3 Jac. I. cc. 4, 5; 3 Car. I. c. 3; 30 Car. II. st. 2; 1 Gul. & Mar. cc. 9, 15, 17, 26; 11 Gul. III. c. 4; 13 Ann. c. 13.

*Pardon, Acts of*—36 Edw. III. c. 16; 50 Edw. III. c. 3; 6 Ric. II. c. 13.

*Pardon and Indemnity, Act of*—2 Gul. & Mar. c. 10.

*Pardon and Oblivion, Act of*—12 Car. II. c. 11.

*Parliament* to be held once a-year, or twice—5 Edw. II. c. 29; 36 Edw. III. c. 10.

None to come thereto armed, 7 Ed. II. No longer intermission of parliaments

than three years—16 Car. I. c. 1; 16 Car. II. c. 1; 6 & 7 Gul. & Mar. c. 2; repealed, 1 Geo. I. st. 2, c. 38.

Who shall choose and who shall be chosen members of parliament—8 Hen. VI. c. 7; 23 Hen. VI. c. 14; 2 Gul. & Mar. c. 7; 9 Ann. c. 5.

Protection of members and their servants—5 Hen. IV. c. 6; 11 Hen. VI. c. 11.

*Passage between Dover and Calais* regulated—4 Edw. IV. c. 10.

*Peers*, privileges of—15 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 2; 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

*Penal statutes*, informations upon, to be made within three years—1 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

*Perjury*, statutes against—11 Hen. VII. c. 25; 5 Eliz. c. 9; 43 Eliz. c. 5.

*Peterpence* abolished—25 Hen. VIII. c. 21.

*Pilgrims*, regulations for—9 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 8; 12 Ric. II. c. 7; 13 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 20.

*Pillory*—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>s</sup>

*Pirates*, statutes against—27 Hen. VIII. c. 4; 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15; 11 Gul. III. c. 7.

Relief for persons taken by—16 Car. I. c. 24.

*Plague*, relief and ordering of persons infected—1 Jac. I. c. 31.

*Plantation trade*, encouragement of—15 Car. II. c. 7; 25 Car. II. c. 7.

*Poisoning*, act against—22 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

*Poll-tax* imposed—1 Gul. & Mar. c. 13; sess. 2, c. 7.

*Poor*, relief of—22 Hen. VIII. c. 23; 37 Hen. VIII. c. 23; 1 Edw. VI. c. 3; 5

& 6 Edw. VI. c. 2; 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. c. 5; 5 Eliz. c. 3; 14 Eliz. c. 5; 18 Eliz. c. 3; 39 Eliz. c. 3; 43 Eliz. c. 2; 14 Car. II. c. 12; 1 Jac. II. c. 17; 3 Gul. & Mar. c. 11; 8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 30; 12 Ann. c. 18.

*Post-office* established—12 Car. II. c. 35.

One general, for all the British dominions—9 Ann. c. 11.

*Preachers, unlicensed*, statutes against—5 Ric. II. st. 2, c. 5; 2 Hen. IV. c. 15.

*Premunire*, statutes regarding—7 Ric. II. c. 14; 16 Ric. II. c. 5; 22 Hen. VIII. c. 16; 1 Mar. st. 1, c. 1; 1 Eliz. c. 1; 5 Eliz. c. 1. See *Provisions, Papal*.

*Prerogative*—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>t</sup>

*Prescription* limited—32 Hen. VIII. c. 2.

*Priests*, statutes respecting—9 Ric. II. c. 5; 2 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 2; 27 Hen. VI. c. 6; 1 Hen. VII. c. 2; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 10; 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 21; 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 12; 1 Mar. st. 2, c. 2; 1 Jac. I. c. 25.

*Printers* regulated—14 Car. II. c. 33; 1 Jac. II. c. 17.

*Prisoners, poor*, relief of—1 Ann. c. 19; 10 Ann. c. 29.

*Privatizers*, encouragement of—4 Gul. & Mar. c. 25.

*Privy councillors*, protection of—9 Ann. c. 21.

*Proclamations* (in certain cases) to be obeyed as acts of parliament—31 Hen. VIII. c. 8; 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 23; repealed, 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

*Prophecies* relating to arms, names, badges, &c., forbidden—33 Hen. VIII. c. 14; 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 15; 5 Eliz. c. 15.

*Protestant Irish clergy*, relief of—1 Gul. & Mar. c. 29.

*Protestant succession*, statutes relating to—12 & 13 Gul. III. c. 2; 13 & 14 Gul. III. c. 6; 4 & 5 Ann. c. 20; 6 Ann. cc. 41, 66; 8 Ann. c. 15.

*Provisions, Papal*, statutes against—25 Edw. III. cc. 6, 22; 27 Edw. III. c. 1;

13 Ric. II. st. 2, c. 2; 16 Ric. II. cc. 1, 5; 2 Hen. IV. c. 3; 9 Hen. IV. c. 8.

*Purveyance and Purveyors*, statutes regulating—Magna Charta; 3 Edw. I. c. 32;

25 Edw. I. cc. 2, 19, 21; 28 Edw. I. c. 2; 17 Edw. II. c. 2; 4 Edw. III. c. 4;

10 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 1; 14 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 19; 18 Edw. III. st. 3, c. 4;

36 Edw. III. cc. 2—5; 7 Ric. I. c. 8; 1 Hen. VI. c. 2; 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 3;

2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. cc. 6, 15; 13 Eliz. c. 21.

abolished—12 Car.

II. c. 24.

*Quakers*, penalties on—14 Car. II. c. 1.

Their affirmation allowed in place of an oath—7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 34.

<sup>s</sup> Statutes, vol. i. p. 202.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid., pp. 226, 227.

- Quarantine enforced*—9 Ann. c. 2.  
*Quarter sessions appointed*—25 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 7.  
*Quia emptores*, statute of—18 Edw. I. c. 1.  
*Rageman*, a statute concerning justices being assigned—4 Edw. I.  
*Ransom*—*Dictum de Kenilworth*, 51 & 52 Hen. III. c. 12.  
*Regicides (Cromwell and others)* attainted—12 Car. II. c. 30; 13 Car. II. c. 15.  
*Reliefs*—*Magna Charta*; 25 Edw. I. c. 2.  
*Resumption, Acts of*—7 Edw. IV. c. 4; 11 Hen. VII. cc. 29, 64; 6 Hen. VIII. c. 25.  
*Riots and unlawful assemblies*, statutes against—17 Ric. II. c. 8; 13 Hen. IV. c. 7; 2 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 8; 31 Hen. VI. c. 2; 11 Hen. VII. c. 7; 19 Hen. VII. c. 13; 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 5; 1 Mar. st. 2, c. 12.  
*Rogues and vagabonds*, statutes against—7 Ric. II. c. 5; 1 Hen. VII. c. 2; 19 Hen. VII. c. 12; 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 25; 1 Edw. VI. c. 3; 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 16; 14 Eliz. c. 5; 18 Eliz. c. 3; 39 Eliz. c. 4; 1 Jac. I. c. 7; 7 Jac. I. c. 4; 11 Gul. III. c. 18; 13 Ann. c. 26.  
*Romanists*. See *Papists*.  
*Rome, See of*, provisions not to be purchased from. See *Provisions, Papal*.  
*Appeals to*, prohibited—24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.  
*Payments to*, prohibited—25 Hen. VIII. c. 21.  
*Authority of*, in England, extinguished—28 Hen. VIII. cc. 10, 16.  
*Statutes against*, repealed—1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8.  
*Authority of*, again extinguished—1 Eliz. c. 1; 5 Eliz. c. 1.  
*Putting in execution bulls from*, or being reconciled to, forbidden—13 Eliz. c. 2; 23 Eliz. c. 1.  
*Sacrament*, penalty for speaking irreverently of the—1 Edw. VI. c. 1.  
*Sacrilege*, statutes against—4 Hen. VIII. c. 2; 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12; 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.  
*Sailors*. See *Seamen, Shipping*.  
*Salisbury and Worcester*, bishops of, deprived—25 Hen. VIII. c. 27.  
*Sanctuary*, statutes respecting—51 & 52 Hen. III. c. 20; 2 Ric. II. st. 2, c. 3; 21 Hen. VIII. cc. 2, 14; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 29; 28 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12; 1 Edw. VI. c. 12; 1 Jac. I. c. 25.  
*School*, every one allowed to put his child to—7 Hen. IV. c. 17.  
*Scots banished from England*—7 Hen. VII. c. 6.  
*Declared aliens*—2 & 3 Ann. c. 6; repealed, 4 & 5 Ann. c. 15.  
*Scotland, armour and victual prohibited to be sent into*—7 Ric. II. c. 16.  
*Homage claimed from*—12 Hen. VII. c. 7.  
*Acts hostile to*, repealed—4 Jac. I. c. 1.  
*Pacification with*—16 Car. I. cc. 17, 18.  
*Free trade and intercourse*—19 & 20 Car. II. c. 5.  
*Commissioners for union*—22 Car. II. c. 9.  
*Act of Union*—6 Ann. c. 11; additional provisions, 6 Ann. cc. 40, 51, 53, 78.  
*Episcopal communion in*, protected—10 Ann. c. 10.  
*Sea-marks and beacons*, penalties for destroying—8 Eliz. c. 13.  
*Seamen deserting the king's service*, penalty on—2 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 4.  
*Seditious words and rumours*, punishment of—1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 3; 1 Eliz. c. 6.  
*September 2nd* to be observed for a fast for ever, as the anniversary of the fire of London—18 & 19 Car. II. c. 8.  
*Servants*. See *Labourers*.  
*Severn, river*, its commerce interrupted by the foresters of Dean—8 Hen. VI. c. 27; 19 Hen. VII. c. 18.  
*Regulations for the ferrymen*—26 Hen. VIII. c. 5.  
*Sewers, commissions of*, first grant of—6 Hen. VI. c. 5.  
*Scymour, Lord Thomas*, attainder of—2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18.  
*Sheriffs*, statutes relating to—43 Hen. III. c. 21; 52 Hen. III. c. 21; 3 Edw. I. c. 1; 13 Edw. I. cc. 13, 39; 28 Edw. I. cc. 8, 13; 9 Edw. II.; 14 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 7; 1 Ric. II. c. 11; 6 Hen. IV. c. 3; 4 Hen. VI. c. 1; 23 Hen. VI. c. 9; 11 Hen. VII. c. 15; 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16; 1 Mar. st. 2, c. 8; 29 Eliz. c. 4; 14 Car. II. c. 21; 1 Jac. II. c. 17.  
*Sheriff's tourn*, persons exempt from the—43 Hen. III. c. 10; 52 Hen. III. c. 10.  
*Ship-money*, proceedings on the writs of, declared unlawful and void—16 Car. I. c. 14.  
*Shipping*, statutes relating to—17 Edw. II. c. 3; 5 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 3; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 14; 1 Eliz. c. 13; 12 Car. II. c. 18; 16 Car. II. c. 6; 22 & 23 Car. II. c. 11; 1 Jac. II. c. 18; 1 Ann. st. 2, c. 9; 6 Ann. c. 65; 13 Ann. c. 21.  
*Six Articles*, statute of the—35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

\* Cardinal Campeius and Jerome de Ghinucci. They had been appointed by the pope in 1524 and

1522, and on the breach with Rome they were deprived, on the plea of non-residence.

- Soldiers*, pay of—1 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 7; 18 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 7; 18 Hen. VI. c. 18; 7 Hen. VII. c. 1; 3 Hen. VIII. c. 5.  
*Desertion of*—18 Hen. VI. c. 19; 7 Hen. VII. c. 1.  
*Selling their horses, &c.*—2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 2.  
*Relief of*—35 Eliz. c. 4; 39 Eliz. c. 21; 43 Eliz. c. 3; 14 Car. II. c. 9.  
*South Sea Company* established—9 Ann. c. 15.  
*Spiritual courts* regulated—2 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 3; 23 Hen. VIII. c. 9.  
*Stage-players*, abuses of, restrained—3 Jac. I. c. 21.  
*Stamp duties* imposed—22 & 23 Car. II. c. 9; revived, and extended—5 & 6 Gul. & Mar. c. 21.  
*Stannary courts* regulated—16 Car. I. c. 15.  
*Staple*, statutes relating to the—2 Edw. III. c. 9; 27 Edw. III. st. 2; 28 Edw. III. cc. 14, 15; 43 Edw. III. c. 1; 15 Ric. II. c. 9; 2 Hen. VI. c. 4; 15 Hen. VI. c. 8.  
*Star-chamber*, the court of, established—3 Hen. VII. c. 1.  
 Abolished—16 Car. I. c. 10.  
*Stock-brokers* restrained—8 & 9 Gul. III. c. 32.  
*Strafford, Earl of*, attainted—16 Car. I. c. 38; repealed, 14 Car. II. c. 29.  
*Subsidies*, collectors of, restrained—18 Hen. VI. c. 5.  
*Succession to the crown* regulated—7 Hen. IV. c. 2; 26 Hen. VIII. c. 2; 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7; 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1. See also *Protestant succession*.  
*Suffragan bishops*, appointment of—26 Hen. VIII. c. 14.  
*Sumptuary laws*. See *Apparel*.  
*Sunday*, statutes for proper observance of—27 Hen. VI. c. 5; 1 Car. I. c. 1; 3 Car. I. c. 2; 29 Car. II. c. 7.  
*Superstitious uses*, statute against—23 Hen. VIII. c. 10.  
*Supremacy, the Royal*, affirmed—26 Hen. VIII. c. 1; repealed, 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8; again affirmed, 1 Eliz. c. 1.  
*Swans*, who allowed to keep—22 Edw. IV. c. 6.  
 Taking their eggs prohibited—11 Hen. VII. c. 17.  
*Templars*, lands of the, given to the Hospitaliers—17 Edw. II.  
*Tenths and first-fruits*, to be paid to the crown—26 Hen. VIII. c. 3; surrendered by 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. c. 4; reclaimed by 1 Eliz. c. 4.  
 Re-granted for the augmentation of poor livings, 2 & 3 Ann. c. 20.
- Terouenne*. See *Tournay*.  
*Thames*, conservancy of the—4 Hen. VII. c. 15.  
*Tillage*, statutes for maintenance and increase of—4 Hen. VII. c. 19; 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 27 Hen. VIII. cc. 22, 28; 5 Eliz. c. 2; 39 Eliz. c. 2; 1 Jac. II. c. 19.  
*Timber*, preservation of—1 Eliz. c. 15.  
*Tithes*, payment of—27 Hen. VIII. c. 20; 32 Hen. VIII. cc. 7, 22; 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 13; 7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 6; 3 & 4 Ann. c. 16.  
*Tournaments* regulated—Stat. temp. incert.\*  
*Tournay and Terouenne*, ministration of justice in, while in the hands of the English—5 Hen. VIII. c. 1.  
*Towns*, against pulling down of—6 Hen. VIII. c. 5; 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 39 Eliz. c. 1.  
 Re-edifying of decayed—27 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 32 Hen. VIII. cc. 18, 19; 33 Hen. VIII. c. 36.  
*Travellers*, at what ports to embark—13 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 20.  
*Treason*, offences adjudged—25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 2.  
 New treasons created—21 Ric. II. cc. 3, 4; 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 1 Edw. VI. c. 12; 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11; 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 10; 1 Eliz. c. 5; 13 Eliz. c. 1; 14 Eliz. c. 2.  
 New-made treasons abolished—1 Hen. IV. c. 10; 1 Edw. VI. c. 12; 1 Mar. st. 1, c. 1.  
 Trials for, and for misprision of treason, regulated—7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 3.  
*Treasonable practices*, statute against—13 Car. II. c. 1.  
*Triennial Parliaments*, provision for—16 Car. I. c. 1; 16 Car. II. c. 1; 6 & 7 Gul. & Mar. c. 2.  
*Truces and safe conducts*, observance of—Magna Charta; 14 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 5; 2 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 6; 4 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 7; 15 Hen. VI. c. 3; 20 Hen. VI. c. 1; 31 Hen. VI. c. 4; 14 Edw. IV. c. 4.  
*Tunnage and poundage*, first grant of—12 Edw. IV. c. 3.  
*Tynedale*, repression of disorders in—2 Hen. V. st. 1, c. 5; 11 Hen. VII. c. 9.  
*Uniformity, Acts of*—2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1; 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1; 1 Eliz. c. 2; 14 Car. II. c. 4.  
*Union with Scotland*, preliminary statutes—1 Jac. I. c. 2; 3 Jac. I. c. 3; 4 Jac. I. c. 1; 22 Car. II. c. 9; 1 Ann. c. 8.  
 Act of Union—6 Ann. c. 11; additional provisions, 6 Ann. cc. 40, 51, 53, 78.

- Universities*, poor scholars from, regulations for—12 Ric. II. c. 7; 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
- Unlawful assemblies*. See *Riots*.
- Urban VI., Pope*, recognition of—2 Ric. II. c. 7.
- Usury*, laws against—15 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 5; 3 Hen. VII. c. 7; 11 Hen. VII. c. 8; 37 Hen. VIII. c. 9; 21 Jac. I. c. 17; 12 Car. II. c. 13.
- Victuallers*, statutes respecting—6 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 9; 13 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 8; 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 15.
- View of frankpledge*. See *Frankpledge*.
- Visors*, the wearing of, prohibited—3 Hen. VIII. c. 9.
- Wages*, statutes to regulate rates of—11 Hen. VII. c. 22; repealed, 12 Hen. VII. c. 3; 1 Jac. I. c. 6.
- Wales*, annexed to the crown of England—12 Edw. I. cc. 1—14.  
     Trial of offences, in adjoining English counties—26 Hen. VIII. c. 6.  
     English laws introduced—27 Hen. VIII. c. 26.  
     Division into shires—27 Hen. VIII. c. 26; 28 Hen. VIII. c. 3.  
     Ordinances for—34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 26; power to alter the laws given by this statute relinquished by the king, 21 Jac. I. c. 10.  
     Divine service in the Welsh tongue permitted—5 Eliz. c. 28.  
     Justices for circuits in, appointed—18 Eliz. c. 8.  
     Court of the Marches abolished—1 Gul. & Mar. c. 27. See also *Welshmen*.
- Warbeck, Perkin*, and his adherents, attainted—19 Hen. VII. c. 34.
- Wards, Court of*, erected—32 Hen. VIII. c. 46; regulated, 33 Hen. VIII. c. 22; abolished, 12 Car. II. c. 24.
- Weights and measures*, statutes concerning—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>s</sup>; 14 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 12; 27 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 10; 8 Hen. VI. c. 5; 7 Hen. VII. c. 3; 11 Hen. VII. c. 4; 12 Hen. VII. c. 5; 16 Car. I. c. 19.
- Welsh*, service in, allowed—5 Eliz. c. 28.
- Welshmen*, statutes in restraint of—2 Hen. IV. cc. 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20; 4 Hen. IV. cc. 26—34; 9 Hen. IV. cc. 1—4; 1 Hen. V. c. 6; 2 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 5; 20 Hen. VI. c. 3; 25 Hen. VI. c. 1; 26 Hen. VIII. c. 11.
- Westminster, Statutes of*—13 Edw. I.
- Wills*, statutes of—21 Hen. VIII. cc. 4, 5; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5.
- Wines*, prices of, regulated—5 Ric. II. st. 1, c. 4; 23 Hen. VIII. c. 7; 28 Hen. VIII. c. 14; 7 Edw. VI. c. 5.  
     Importation of, in alien ships, forbidden—1 Hen. VII. c. 8; 4 Hen. VII. c. 10.
- Witchcraft*, penalties on—33 Hen. VIII. c. 8; 5 Eliz. c. 16; 1 Jac. I. c. 12.
- Wool*, exportation prohibited—11 Edw. III. c. 1; 6 Hen. VIII. c. 12; 12 Car. II. c. 32; 14 Car. II. c. 18; 7 & 8 Gul. III. c. 28; 9 Gul. III. c. 40.  
     Exportation permitted for a limited time—31 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 2; 36 Edw. III. c. 11; 5 Ric. II. st. 2, c. 2; 4 Edw. IV. c. 1.
- Woollen manufactures* regulated—11 Hen. VII. c. 27; 5 Hen. VIII. c. 4; 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 2; 1 Gul. & Mar. c. 32; 10 Gul. III. c. 16; 11 Gul. III. c. 13; 9 Ann. c. 32.
- Wreck*, what adjudged, and what not—3 Edw. I. c. 4.  
     Cognizance of, claim of, stealing from—Stat. temp. incert.<sup>2</sup>  
     Preservation of ships and goods wrecked—13 Ann. c. 21.
- Yeomen*, apparel of, regulated—37 Edw. III. c. 9.
- York, Edmund of Langley*, duke of, resumption of grants to—11 Hen. VII. c. 29.  
     — Henry, duke of (afterwards Henry VIII.), estates granted to—11 Hen. VII. c. 35; those grants declared void, 19 Hen. VII. c. 26.  
     — James, duke of (afterwards James II.), provision for—15 Car. II. c. 14; 18 & 19 Car. II. c. 11; 22 & 23 Car. II. cc. 6, 27.

<sup>s</sup> Statutes, vol. i. p. 201.<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 234, 235, 237, 240.

## NO. IV. HIERARCHY OF THE REFORMATION.

THE very numerous changes which occurred among the rulers of the Church in the brief period of about fourteen years, from the death of Henry VIII. to the formal re-establishment of Protestantism by the filling up of the vacant sees by Queen Eliza-

beth, are here brought into one view. The dates are those given, from public documents, by Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Duffus Hardy, in his edition of the "Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ" of Le Neve, and by the Rev. W. Stubbs in his "Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum."

### ARCHBISHOPS.

*Canterbury*.—Thomas Cranmer, consecrated March 30, 1533; deprived Dec. 1555; burnt March 21, 1556.

Reginald Pole, consecrated March 22, 1556; died Nov. 18, 1558.

Matthew Parker, consecrated Dec. 17, 1559; died May 17, 1575.

*York*.—Robert Holgate, translated from Llandaff, confirmed Jan. 16, 1545; deprived March 23, 1554; died in the Tower before Dec. 4, 1556.

Nicholas Heath, translated from Worcester, confirmed by the pope June 21, 1555; deprived before Feb. 3, 1560; died at Chobham in 1579.

William May, elected in July, 1560; died Aug. 8, 1560, before consecration.

Thomas Young, translated from St. David's, confirmed Feb. 25, 1561; died June 26, 1568.

### PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.—BISHOPS.

*St. Asaph*.—Robert Warton, consecrated July 2, 1536; translated to Hereford.

Thomas Goldwell, consecrated between May 12, 1555, and Jan. 22, 1556; he resigned before July 15, 1559, and died at Rome about 1581.

Richard Davyes, consecrated Jan. 21, 1560; translated to St. David's.

*Bangor*.—Arthur Bulkeley, consecrated Feb. 19, 1542; died March 14, 1553.

William Glyn, consecrated Sept. 8, 1555; died May 21, 1558.

Rowland Meryck, consecrated Dec. 21, 1559; died Jan. 24, 1566.

*Bath and Wells*.—William Knight, consecrated May 29, 1541; died Sept. 29, 1547.

William Barlow, translated from St. David's. Feb. 3, 1548; resigned in 1553. In 1559 he was appointed to Chichester.

Gilbert Bourne, consecrated April 1, 1554; deprived in 1559; died Sept. 10, 1569.

Gilbert Berkeley, consecrated March 24, 1560; died Nov. 2, 1581.

*Bristol*.—Paul Bushe, consecrated June 25, 1542; resigned in 1554; died Oct. 11, 1558.

John Holyman, consecrated Nov. 18, 1554; died Dec. 20, 1558.

Richard Cheyney, bishop of Gloucester, held Bristol *in commendam*, from April 29, 1562, till his death, April 25, 1579.

*Chichester*.—George Day, consecrated May 6, 1543; deprived Oct. 10, 1551.

John Scory, translated from Rochester, May 23, 1552; deprived in 1554. He became bishop of Hereford in 1559, and died June 25, 1585.

George Day, restored in 1554; died Aug. 11, 1556.

John Christopherson, consecrated Nov. 21, 1557; died Dec. 1558.

William Barlow, translated from Bath and Wells, Dec. 18, 1559; died Dec. 10, 1569.

*Coventry and Lichfield*.—Richard Sampson, translated from Chichester, confirmed March 9, 1543; died Sept. 25, 1554.

Ralph Bayne, consecrated Nov. 18, 1554; deprived June, 1559; died Nov. 18, 1559.

Thomas Benthiam, consecrated March 24, 1560; died Feb. 21, 1579.

*St. David's*.—William Barlow, consecrated June 11, 1536; translated to Bath and Wells.

Robert Ferrar, consecrated Sept. 9, 1548; deprived March 19, 1554; burnt March 30, 1555.

Henry Morgan, consecrated April 1, 1554; deprived about Midsummer, 1559; died Dec. 23, 1559.

Thomas Young, consecrated Jan. 21, 1560; translated to York.

*Ely*.—Thomas Goodrich, consecrated April 21, 1534; died May 10, 1554.

Thomas Thirlby, translated from Norwich, Aug. 17, 1554; deprived in 1559; died at Lambeth, Aug. 26, 1570.

Richard Cox, consecrated Dec. 21, 1559; died July 22, 1581.

*Exeter*.—John Voysey, consecrated Nov. 6, 1519; resigned Aug. 14, 1551.

Miles Coverdale, consecrated Aug. 30, 1551; deprived Sept. 28, 1553; died in 1568.

John Voysey, restored Sept. 28, 1553; died Oct. 23, 1554.

James Turberville, consecrated Sept. 8, 1555; deprived in 1559; died Nov. 1, 1559.

William Alley, consecrated July 14, 1560; died April 16, 1570.

*Gloucester*.—John Wakeman, consecrated Sept. 25, 1541; died Dec. 1549.

John Hooper, consecrated March 8, 1551. See *Worcester*.

James Broks, consecrated April 1, 1554; died Sept. 7, 1558.

John Bowsheer, named as bishop in 1558, but his appointment not perfected.

Richard Cheyney, consecrated April 19, 1562; died April 25, 1579.

*Hereford*.—John Skip, consecrated Nov. 23, 1539; died March 30, 1552.

John Harley, consecrated May 26, 1553; deprived March 19, 1554; died 1554.

Robert Warton, translated from St. Asaph in 1554; died Sept. 22, 1558.

Thomas Reynolds named as Bishop in 1558, but his appointment not perfected.

John Scory (formerly bishop of Chichester) confirmed Dec. 20, 1559; died June 25, 1585.

*Lincoln*.—John Longland, consecrated May 5, 1521; died May 7, 1547.

Henry Holbeach, translated from Rochester, confirmed Aug. 20, 1547; died Aug. 2, 1551.

John Taylor, consecrated June 26, 1552; deprived March 15, 1554; died Dec. 1554.

John White, consecrated April 1, 1554; translated to Winchester.

Thomas Watson, consecrated Aug. 15, 1557; deprived June 25, 1559; died in Wisbeach castle Sept. 1584.

Nicholas Bullingham, consecrated Jan. 21, 1560; translated to Worcester; died April 18, 1576.

*Llandaff*.—Anthony Kitchin, consecrated May 3, 1545; died Oct. 31, 1565.

*London*.—Edmund Bonner, consecrated April 4, 1540<sup>a</sup>; deprived Oct. 1, 1549.

Nicholas Ridley, translated from Rochester April 1, 1550; deprived Sept. 1553; burnt Oct. 16, 1555.

Edmund Bonner restored, Sept. 5, 1553; displaced May 30, 1559; died in the Marshalsea, Sept. 5, 1569.

Edmund Grindal, consecrated Dec. 21, 1559; translated to York in 1570, and to Canterbury in 1576; died July 6, 1583.

*Norwich*.—William Rugg, consecrated June 11, 1536; resigned Jan. 31, 1549; died Sept. 21, 1550.

Thomas Thirlby<sup>b</sup>, translated from Westminster, April 1, 1550; translated to Ely.

John Hopton, consecrated Oct. 28, 1554; died about Sept. 1558.

Richard Cox, elected June 22, 1559; removed before consecration to Ely.

*Oxford*.—Robert King, appointed (to Osney<sup>c</sup>) Sept. 1, 1542; died Dec. 4, 1557.

Thomas Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph, nominated, but the appointment not perfected<sup>d</sup>.

*Peterborough*.—John Chambers, consecrated Oct. 23, 1541; died Feb. 1556.

David Pole, consecrated Aug. 15, 1557; deprived about Midsummer, 1559; died June, 1568.

Edmund Scambler, consecrated Feb. 16, 1561; translated to Norwich in 1585; died May 7, 1594.

*Rochester*.—Henry Holbeach, consecrated (as suffragan bishop of Bristol) March 24, 1538; confirmed to Rochester June 9, 1544; translated to Lincoln.

Nicholas Ridley, consecrated Sept. 25, 1547; translated to London.

John Poyntet, consecrated June 29, 1550; translated to Winchester.

John Scory, consecrated Aug. 30, 1551; translated to Chichester.

Maurice Griffith, consecrated April 1, 1554; died Nov. 20, 1558.

Edmund Gheast, consecrated March 24, 1560; translated to Salisbury; died Feb. 28, 1577.

<sup>a</sup> The see of Westminster was taken out of that of London, by letters patent, Dec. 17, 1540, and was held by Thomas Thirlby until its suppression by a similar instrument, April 1, 1550.

<sup>b</sup> He was consecrated to Westminster, Dec. 19, 1540.

<sup>c</sup> He was already a suffragan bishop, consecrated in 1527.

<sup>d</sup> The see remained vacant upwards of nine years. Hugh Curwen (the opponent of Peto, and afterwards archbishop of Dublin) was appointed Oct. 8, 1567; he died in Oct. 1568.

*Salisbury*.—John Salcote, translated from Bangor, confirmed Aug. 14, 1539; died Oct. 6, 1557<sup>e</sup>.

Francis Mallet, bishop elect Oct. 14, 1558; not confirmed.

John Jewel, consecrated Jan. 21, 1560; died Sept. 23, 1571.

*Winchester*.—Stephen Gardiner, consecrated Dec. 3, 1531; deprived in 1551.

John Poynt, translated from Rochester, March 23, 1551; withdrew in 1553; died in Germany, August 11, 1556.

Stephen Gardiner restored, July, 1553; died Nov. 12, 1555.

John White, translated from Lincoln, 1556; deprived in 1559; died Jan. 12, 1560.

Robert Horne, consecrated Feb. 16, 1561; died June 1, 1580.

*Worcester*.—Hugh Latimer<sup>f</sup>, consecrated Sept. 1535; resigned July 1, 1539; burnt Oct. 16, 1555.

John Bell, consecrated August 17, 1539; resigned Nov. 17, 1543; died Aug. 11, 1556.

Nicholas Heath, translated from Rochester, confirmed Feb. 20, 1544; deprived Oct. 10, 1551.

John Hooper (as bishop of Worcester and Gloucester) appointed May 20, 1552; deprived in 1553; burnt Feb. 9, 1555.

Nicholas Heath restored; translated to York in 1555.

Richard Pate appointed about Feb. 1555<sup>g</sup>; deprived in 1559; died abroad.

Edwin Sandes, consecrated Dec. 21, 1559; translated to London in

1570, and to York in 1577; died July 10, 1588.

#### PROVINCE OF YORK.—BISHOPS.

*Carlisle*.—Robert Aldridge, consecrated Aug. 19, 1537; died March 5, 1556.

Owen Ogleshorpe, consecrated Aug. 15, 1557; deprived in 1559; died Dec. 31, 1559.

John Best, consecrated March 2, 1561; died May 22, 1570.

*Chester*.—John Birde, translated from Bangor, appointed by the foundation charter Aug. 4, 1541; deprived in 1554; died in 1556.

George Cotes, consecrated April 1, 1554; died about the beginning of Dec. 1555.

Cuthbert Scott, appointed about April, 1556<sup>h</sup>; deprived in 1560; died at Louvain.

William Downham, consecrated May 4, 1561; died Dec. 3, 1577.

*Durham*.—Cuthbert Tunstall, translated from London, by papal bull, Feb. 21, 1530; deprived in 1551, and the see suppressed; restored in 1554; again deprived in 1559; died at Lambeth, Nov. 18, 1559.

James Pilkington, consecrated March 2, 1561; died Jan. 23, 1576.

*Sodor and Man*.—Thomas Stanley, consecrated in 1530; deprived in 1545.

Robert Ferrar, appointed in 1545, but probably not consecrated; appointed to St. David's in 1548.

Henry Man, consecrated Feb. 14, 1546; died Oct. 19, 1556<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> William Peto, the friar who reproached Henry VIII. to his face for his conduct in the matter of the divorce of Katharine of Aragon, (see A.D. 1534,) was appointed by the Pope bishop of Salisbury in March, 1543, on the death of Cardinal Contarini, who had succeeded Campeius, deprived by act of Parliament. On the death of Salcote, Peto was named to succeed him, but died before consecration.

<sup>f</sup> Latimer is too closely connected with the affairs

of the time to be omitted, although he had resigned his see before the death of Henry VIII.

<sup>g</sup> He had been appointed by the Pope in 1541 on the death of Cardinal Ghinucci, and was probably consecrated abroad.

<sup>h</sup> The date of his consecration is not known.

<sup>i</sup> On his death Thomas Stanley became bishop, but whether he was the prelate deprived in 1545 is uncertain.

## NO. V. HIERARCHY OF THE CIVIL WAR.

THE fate of each member of the hierarchy from the breaking out of the Civil War to the Restoration is here briefly stated. Some particulars con-

cerning the treatment of several of them will be found in the Notes (pp. 391—394), under the head of "Puritan Ascendancy."

### ARCHBISHOPS.

*Canterbury*.—William Laud; long imprisoned; beheaded, Jan. 10, 1645.

*York*.—John Williams; imprisoned<sup>a</sup>; made his peace by espousing the parliamentary side<sup>b</sup>; died at Glothaeth, Caernarvonshire, March 25, 1650.

### PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.—BISHOPS.

*St. Asaph*.—John Owen; imprisoned; died Oct. 15, 1651.

*Bangor*.—William Roberts; restored to his see; died Aug. 12, 1665.

*Bath and Wells*.—William Pierce; imprisoned; restored to his see; died April, 1670.

*Bristol*.—Thomas Westfield; died June 25, 1644.

Thomas Howell; died 1646.

*Chichester*.—Henry King; restored to his see; died Sept. 30, 1669.

*St. David's*.—Roger Mainwaring; died at Caernarthen July 1, 1653.

*Ely*.—Matthew Wren; long imprisoned; restored to his see; died April 24, 1667.

*Exeter*.—Ralph Brownrigg; died Dec. 7, 1659.

*Gloucester*.—Godfrey Goodman; imprisoned; died a Romanist, Jan. 19, 1656.

*Hereford*.—George Coke; imprisoned; died at Quedgeley, Dec. 10, 1646.

*Lichfield*.—Robert Wright; imprisoned; died Aug. 1643.

Accepted Frewen; on the Restoration was translated to York; died March 28, 1664.

*Lincoln*.—Thomas Winniffe; died Sept. 19, 1654.

*Llandaff*.—Morgan Owen; imprisoned; died March 4, 1645.

*London*.—William Juxon; on the Restoration was translated to Canterbury; died June 4, 1663.

*Norwich*.—Joseph Hall; imprisoned; died Sept. 8, 1656.

*Oxford*.—Robert Skinner; imprisoned; restored to his see; translated to Worcester, 1663; died June 14, 1670.

*Peterborough*.—John Towers; imprisoned; died Jan. 10, 1649.

*Rochester*.—John Warner; restored to his see; died Oct. 14, 1666.

*Salisbury*.—Brian Duppa; on the Restoration was translated to Winchester; died March 26, 1662.

*Winchester*.—Walter Curle; died in 1647.

*Worcester*.—John Prideaux; died July 19, 1650.

### PROVINCE OF YORK.—BISHOPS.

*Carlisle*.—James Usher (archbishop of Armagh); died March 21, 1656.

*Chester*.—John Bridgman; died 1652.

*Durham*.—Thomas Morton; imprisoned; died Sept. 22, 1659.

*Sodor and Man*.—Richard Parr; died 1643.

<sup>a</sup> His imprisonment was in the Tower, along with the other protesting bishops (see A.D. 1641) where, as one of their number (Bishop Hall) says, they "by turns preached every Lord's Day to a large auditory of citizens."

<sup>b</sup> For this discreditable fact we have the unexceptionable testimony of Whitelock, who, under

the date of July 2, 1646, writes:—"Letters from Major-gen. Milton informed the readiness and assistance of Bishop Williams to promote the Parliament's affairs, and particularly for the reducing of the castle of Conway, giving his advice, and being very active in that and all other matters for the Parliament."



## NO. VI. THE SCOTTISH HIERARCHY EXPELLED IN 1689.

*St. Andrew's, (Archbishop)*—Arthur Ross, formerly bishop of Glasgow ; died June 13, 1704.

*Aberdeen*.—George Haliburton ; died Sept. 29, 1715.

*Brechin*.—James Drummond ; died 1695.

*Caithness*.—Andrew Wood ; died 1695.

*Dumblane*.—Robert Douglas ; died Sept. 22, 1716.

*Dunkeld*.—John Hamilton ; became a minister in Edinburgh, and subdean of the chapel royal.

*Edinburgh*.—Alexander Rose ; died March 20, 1720.

*Moray*.—William Hay ; died March 17, 1707.

*Orkney*.—Andrew Bruce ; died March, 1700.

*Ross*.—James Ramsay ; died Oct. 22, 1696.

—

*Glasgow (Archbishop)*—John Paterson ; died Dec. 9, 1708.

*Argyle*.—See vacant <sup>a</sup>.

*Galloway*.—John Gordon, retired to King James in France ; date of death uncertain.

*The Isles*.—Archibald Graham ; date of death uncertain.

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<sup>a</sup> Alexander Monro was nominated Oct. 24, 1683, but he did not obtain possession.



# INDEX.

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- ABBOT, George, archbishop of Canterbury, 379.  
 — Robert, bishop of Salisbury, 379.  
 Aberdeen, sack of, 429.  
 Aberfraw, kings of, 42.  
 Abhorers, the, 477.  
 Abraham, bishop of St. David's, 91.  
 Abyngton, Edward, 357.  
 Acadia, capture of, 538.  
 Acre, siege of, 128, 133.  
 Adam, a justiciary, 93.  
 Adda, 29.  
 Addressers, the, 477.  
 Adela, daughter of William I., 86.  
 Adelais of Louvain, wife of Henry I., 103, 106, 110.  
 — daughter of Louis VII., 127.  
 Adeliza, daughter of William I., 86.  
 Adelulf, first bishop of Carlisle, 107.  
 Adewald of Bernicia, 32, 33.  
 Adminius, a fugitive Briton, 11.  
 Admonition to Parliament, a Puritan publication, and its Answers, 350.  
 Adrian IV., pope, 118, 123.  
 Adwalton moor, battle of, 426.  
 Aegleic, bishop of Durham, 88.  
 Aeglewine, bishop of Durham, 90.  
 Ælfrige : see *Emma*.  
 Ælfmer, an abbot, 59.  
 Ælfwald of East Anglia, 36.  
 Æsc, son of Hengist, 22, 28.  
 Aghrim, battle of, 504.  
 Agincourt, battle of, 227.  
 Agricola, 13, 14.  
 — Calphurnius, licutenant in Britain, 15.  
 Aidan, 28, 31, 32.  
 Aids, feudal, 83; levy of, by James I., 380.  
 Aigueblanche, Peter, bishop of Hereford, 158.  
 Alaeddin, a Saracen, 100.  
 Alan, earl of Richmond, 94.  
 Alaric, 21.  
 A Lasco, John, 320.  
 Alban, St., 18.  
 Alban's, St., battles of, 239, 242.  
 Albany, John, duke of, 254, 255.  
 — Robert, duke of, 207.  
 Albemarle, William de Fortibus, earl of, 147.  
 — George Monk, duke of, 467, 471, 472.  
 — Arnold Joost van Keppel, earl of, 495.  
 Albinus Clodius, emperor in Gaul, 15.  
 Alchemy declared felony, 221.  
 Alchred of Northumbria, 36.  
 Alcock, John, bishop of Ely, 276.  
 Aldbriht, the atheling, 35.  
 Aldfrith of Northumbria, 34, 35.  
 Aldgitha, wife of Harold II., 70.  
 Aldred, bishop of Worcester, 66, 67, 68; becomes archbishop of York, 71, 87.  
 Alençon, Francis, duke of : see *Anjou*.  
 Alexander I. of Scotland, 104, 106.  
 — II. of Scotland, 142, 147, 150.  
 — III. of Scotland, 145, 154, 155, 170.  
 — prince of Scotland, 251.  
 — lord of the Isles, 233.  
 — III., pope, 64, 119, 124.  
 — IV., pope, 155, 157.  
 Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, 110.  
 Alfenus Senecio, 16.  
 Alfgar, brother of Harold II., 97.  
 Alford, battle of, 429.  
 Alfred the Great, reign of, 44—49.  
 — son of Ethelred II., 56, 60, 63.  
 Alfwold of Northumbria, 36, 37.  
 Algiers, attack on, 381, 475.  
 Alghitha, widow of Siferth, 60, 61.  
 Alicante, capture of, 533.  
 Alice, daughter of Humbert, count of Savoy, 136.  
 Allectus, the usurper, 19.  
 Allen, John, archbishop of Dublin, 299.  
 — William, 336; his Admonition, 359.  
 — a Jesuit, 352, 353.  
 Alleyn, Henry, 411.  
 All Souls' College, Oxford, foundation of, 236.  
 Almanza, battle of, 535.  
 Almenara, battle of, 538.  
 Almeric of Pavia, 193, 194.  
 Alphonso, son of Edward I., 166.  
 — brother of the king of France, 151.  
 — IV. of Castile, 154.  
 — a Spanish friar, 331.  
 Alric the cook, 94.  
 Alva, Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, 347.  
 Alvea, mother of Edwin and Morcar, 94.  
 Alypius, vicar in Britain, 20.  
 Amboise, pacification of, 344.  
 Amboyna, 373, 381, 450.  
 Ambrosius, 22.  
 Anabaptists, 305, 306, 320.  
 Anarawd, 42, 51.  
 Anastasius III., pope, 50.  
 Ancalites, a British tribe, 10.

- Ancillæ, of the Domesday Book, 95.
- Anderson, a seminary priest, 366.
- Anderton, William, 510.
- Andres-cestre, 28.
- Andrews, St., foundation of the University, 223.
- Sir Matthew, 503.
- Thomas, a sheriff, 358.
- Anglesey occupied by the Normans, 98; recovered by the Welsh, *ib.*; re-occupied by the Normans, 100; ravaged by Magnus III. of Norway, 101.
- James Annesley, earl of, 484.
- Anglo-Danes, the, 47.
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1, 79.
- hierarchy, 78.
- laws and government, 72.
- Anjou, Francis, duke of, 338, 353, 354.
- Geoffrey of, brother of Henry II., 118.
- Philip, duke of, 521.
- Anlaf Cuaran, 53, 54, 55, 56.
- king of Norway, 57.
- son of Godfrey, 53.
- the White, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45.
- Tryggveson, 37.
- Anna, of East Anglia, 32.
- Annapolis, foundation of, 538.
- Anne (Boleyn), queen of Henry VIII., 284, 296, 301.
- queen of James I., 370.
- queen of Richard III., 234, 253, 261, 264.
- queen, reign of, 524—542.
- of Bohemia, wife of Richard II., 201.
- of Cleves, queen of Henry VIII., 284, 306, 325.
- daughter of Richard, duke of York, 245.
- daughter of Edward IV., 248.
- daughter of Charles I., 395.
- daughter of James II., 484, 490, 502, 523: see *Annæ, queen*.
- Anselm, archbishop of Can-
- terbury, 97, 98, 100, 103, 104.
- son of William Marshal, 152.
- Anstruther, Mr., 451.
- Antigone, natural daughter of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 215.
- Antioch, capture of, 100.
- Antoninus, emperor, 14, 15.
- Antonio, heir to the crown of Portugal, 352, 361.
- Antrim, Randal McDonald, earl of, 428.
- Antwerp, defence of, 354.
- Apollinaris, Sidonius, his account of the Saxons, 26.
- Apprentices, barbarous condemnation of some London, 364.
- Arbogastes, 21.
- Arcadius, the emperor, 21.
- Archæologia, list of historical papers in the, 576.
- Archæological Journal, list of historical papers in the, 577.
- Archdale, John, a quaker, 520.
- Archil, 94.
- Arden, Edward, 354.
- Argyle, Archibald Campbell, earl and marquis of, 428, 462.
- Archibald Campbell, earl of, 478, 486.
- John Campbell, duke of, 538.
- Ariminium, council of, 20.
- Aristobulus, 8, 12.
- Aristotle, his notice of the Cassiterides, 2.
- Arles, council of, 19.
- Arlington, Henry Bennett, lord, 472.
- Armada, the Spanish, 358.
- Armagh, plunder of, 51.
- Narcissus Marsh, archbishop of, 542.
- Armagnacs, faction of the, 228.
- Armorica, 32.
- Armstrong, Sir Thomas, 480.
- Arnold, Sir Nicholas, 327.
- Arran, James Hamilton, earl of, 308.
- James Stuart, earl of, 352, 353, 356.
- Arras, congress at, 235.
- Arsouf, battle of, 130.
- Arteveldt, Jacob van, 193.
- Arthington, a Puritan, 361.
- Arthur, King, his presumed era, 29.
- Arthur, son of Geoffrey and Constance of Bretagne, 116, 132, 137, 138.
- son of Henry VII., 271, 277, 278.
- Articles of Religion, the Forty-two, 320.
- the Thirty-nine, 345, 349.
- Articles of the Church of Ireland, 408.
- Arundel, William, earl of, 141.
- Henry Fitzalan, earl of, 325, 338.
- John Fitzalan, earl of, 158.
- Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of, 202.
- Philip Howard, earl of, 356.
- Thomas Howard, earl of, 397, 416.
- Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 208, 210, 217.
- Humphrey, a leader of the Cornish insurgents, 318.
- Sir Thomas, 320.
- Lord, 476, 480.
- Arviragus, 14.
- Asaph, St., early foundation of the see of, 8.
- Ascham, an envoy, 444.
- Ascough, William, bishop of Salisbury, 238.
- Ashdown, Berks., battle of, 44.
- Ashley, Lord: see *Shaftesbury*.
- Ashton, Mr., 504.
- Aske, Robert, 302, 303.
- Assassination Plot, the, 515.
- Asser, 46.
- Assingdon, battle of, 61.
- Associated counties, the, 425.
- Association for the protection of Elizabeth, 355; for the protection of William III., 516.
- Astwode, Thomas, 280.
- Atheling, meaning of, 35.
- Athelney, the monastery of, founded, 48.
- Athelstan, reign of, 52, 53.
- brother of Ethelwulf, 41, 42.
- Athelswith, sister of Alfred, 42, 48.
- Athenree, battle of, 184.
- Athlone, capture of, 504.
- Athol, the earl of, 176.

- Atrebrates, a British tribe, 5, 9.  
 — a Gaulish tribe, 9.  
 Attainder, without trial, under Henry VII., 274; under Henry VIII., 305; under William III., 517.  
 — proceeding by, without trial, forbidden, 330.  
 Atterbury, Francis, bishop of Rochester, 529.  
 Aubin, St., battle of, 274.  
 Audley, James, lord, 276.  
 — Sir Thomas, lord keeper, 296.  
 Aufrica, heiress of the Isle of Man, 193.  
 Augmentations, court of, established, 301.  
 Augsburg, the league of, 487.  
 Augustine, 30.  
 Augustus, 10, 11.  
 Auldearn, battle of, 429.  
 Aulus Didius, 12.  
 — Platorius Nepos, 14.  
 — Plantius, 11.  
 Aurelian, emperor, 18.  
 Austen, Colonel Robert, 503.  
 Auverquerque, Henry Nassau d', 496.  
 Avennes, James of, 130.  
 Axholme, isle of, 123.  
 Aylesbury, Thomas Bruce, earl of, 514.  
 Aylmer, Sir Lawrence, 278.  
 Aymar, half-brother of Henry III., 152, 153, 154.  
 Ayscue, an admiral, 446, 448.  
 Azores, fruitless expedition to the, 364.  
 Babyngton's conspiracy, 357.  
 Baccancelde, council of, 35.  
 Bacon, Sir Francis, 372, 381.  
 — Sir Nicholas, 341, 342.  
 Badajoz, siege of, 533.  
 Badby, Thomas, a Lollard, 223.  
 Badlesmere, lord, 185.  
 Baldock, Ralph, bishop of London, 182.  
 — Robert, lord chancellor, 186.  
 Baldred of Kent, 40.  
 Baldwin IV., king of Jerusalem, 124.  
 — V., king of Jerusalem, 124.  
 Baldwin V., count of Flanders, 63, 69.  
 — son of Stephen, 108.  
 — a Norman, 87.  
 Baldwin's Castle, 88, 98, 99.  
 Bale, John, bishop of Os-sory, 319, 326.  
 Bales, Christopher, a priest, 361.  
 Balfour, Sir William, 416.  
 Balliol, Edward, 191, 193, 195.  
 — John, 155, 158.  
 — John, king, 172, 173, 174.  
 Bamborough Castle, 99, 183.  
 Bancroft, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, 373.  
 Bangor, early foundation of the see of, 8.  
 Bank of England, origin of the, 512.  
 Bannatyne Club, historical publications of the, 577.  
 Bannockburn, battle of, 183.  
 Bantry bay, battle in, 500.  
 Barbadoes, 446, 451.  
 Barbary States, 378, 406.  
 Barcelona, capture of, 533, 541.  
 Barclay, Sir George, 517.  
 Bardolf, Thomas, lord, 222.  
 Barebones Parliament, 449.  
 Barham down, camp on, 159.  
 Barnardiston, Sir Samuel, 480, 503.  
 Barne, George, lord mayor, 325.  
 Barnet, battle of, 252.  
 Barnewell, Robert, 357.  
 Baronets, order of, established, 379.  
 Barrow, Henry, 362.  
 Barry, lord, 275.  
 Bartholomew Confessors, 463.  
 — Massacre, the, 350.  
 Barton, Elizabeth, styled the Holy Maid of Kent, 300.  
 Bartons, the, Scottish naval adventurers, 278, 287.  
 Bastwick, Robert, 409, 410.  
 — Susanna, 415.  
 Bates, Charles, 512.  
 — Thomas, a gunpowder plotter, 374, 377.  
 Bath, a Roman colony, 6; made a bishop's see, 91; capture of, 429.  
 Battle Abbey, foundation of, 82, 87; the Roll of, 82.  
 Baugé, battle of, 229.  
 Baxter, Richard, 462, 486.  
 Bayneham, Sir Edmund, 366.  
 Beachy Head, battle of, 503.  
 Bearn, Gaston de, 155.  
 Beaton, Cardinal, 308, 310.  
 Beatrice, daughter of Henry III., 145.  
 Beauchamp Tower, the, 311.  
 Beaufort, Henry, cardinal, 215, 230, 233, 235, 237.  
 Beauforts, the, 212.  
 Beaulieu Abbey, 142, 277, 306.  
 Beaumont, John de, 186.  
 Beck, Anthony, bishop of Durham, 179.  
 Becket, Thomas, chancellor, 119; archbishop of Canterbury, 119, 120, 122, 147, 305.  
 Bede, 1, 28, 35.  
 Bedford, John, duke of, 215, 232, 235.  
 — Jacquetta, duchess of, 215, 225.  
 — Jasper Tudor, duke of, 225, 269.  
 — George, duke of, son of Edward IV., 248.  
 — George Neville, duke of, 240.  
 — John Russell, earl of, 318.  
 — William Russell, earl of, 423.  
 Bedingfield, Sir Henry, 329, 335.  
 Bedloe, 476.  
 Beggars, merciless statute against, 350.  
 Belasyze, lord, 476, 480.  
 Belesme, Robert, earl of Shrewsbury, 104, 105.  
 Belgæ, a British tribe, 5.  
 Belknap, Robert, a judge, 207, 208.  
 Bellamy, Elizabeth, Jerome, Katherine, 357.  
 Bellarmine, Cardinal, 377.  
 Bellingham, Sir Edward, 319.  
 Benbow, Commodore John, 511, 523, 528.  
 Benedict Biscop, 34.  
 Benevolences, 253, 263, 264, 274, 380.  
 Benson, Samuel, 505.  
 Bentinck: see *Portland*.  
 Beorht, 35.  
 Beorhtwulf of Mercia, 41, 42.  
 Beorn, 65.

- Beornred, the usurper, 36.  
 Beornwulf of Mercia, 40.  
 Berengaria, queen of Richard I., 127, 129.  
 ——— daughter of Edward I., 166.  
 Berhtwald, archbishop, 35.  
 Bericus, a British fugitive, 11.  
 Berkeley, Sir Maurice, 328.  
 Berkley, Sir Robert, a judge, 416.  
 Berknolles, Roger, 89.  
 Bermudas, resort of Puritans to, 408.  
 Bernard, bishop of Bayonne, 128.  
 ——— of Clairvaux, 111.  
 ——— the falconer, 94.  
 Bernardi, John, 516.  
 Bernicia, kingdom of, 27.  
 Bertha, queen of Ethelbert, 30.  
 Berwick, capture of, 191; surrendered by Henry VI. to the Scots, 250; recaptured by Richard duke of Gloucester, 255; privileges granted, *ib.*  
 ——— James, duke of, natural son of James II., 484, 503, 534, 535.  
 Bible, in English, set up in each church, 305; the Geneva, its peculiarities, 344; new translation, 351.  
 Bibroci, a British tribe, 10.  
 Biddle, John, 451.  
 Bieda, 29.  
*Bieng*, what, 304.  
 Bifort, Lewis, a bishop, 221.  
 Bigod, Roger, earl marshal, 152.  
 Bigot, Sir Francis, 303.  
 Bingham, Sir Richard, 356.  
 Birchall, Thomas, 329.  
 Birinus, 31.  
 Biron, Sir John, 424.  
 Biscop, Benedict, 34.  
 Bishoprics, foundation of six new, 298.  
 Bishops, twelve, sent to the Tower, 420; seven sent there, 489.  
 Bishops' Book, the, 299.  
 Blackburne, Nicholas, an admiral, 217.  
 Blackheath, battle of, 276.  
 Black mail, payment of, prohibited, 366.  
*Black men, Black money, Black rent*, what, 304.  
 Blackwater, battle of, 365.  
 Blair, Brice, 516.  
 Blake, Robert, 428.  
 ——— Thomas, charged with magic, 254.  
 Blanche, daughter of Edward III., 189.  
 ——— daughter of Henry IV., 215.  
 ——— wife of John of Gaunt, 189.  
 Blenheim, battle of, 531.  
 Blethgent, brother of Griffin, 68.  
 Blethin of North Wales, 51, 90.  
 Bloet, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, 106.  
 Blois, Stephen of, 86.  
 ——— Stephen of, son of the above: see *Stephen, king*.  
 Blome, John, 8.  
 Blood, Colonel, 473.  
 Bloreheath, battle of, 241.  
 Blount, Sir Thomas, 218.  
 Bluet, Walter, 280.  
 Blunt, Sir Christopher, 366.  
 Boadicea: see *Boudicca*.  
 Bodley, an admiral, 449.  
 Bohun, Humphrey de, earls of Hereford and Essex, 174, 185.  
 ——— Mary de, 215.  
 Boleyn, Anne, 284, 296, 301.  
 Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, viscount, 530, 536, 537, 539.  
 ——— Robert, apriest, 237.  
 Bolland, Jean, 585.  
 Bombay, acquisition of, 466; granted to the East India Company, 473.  
 Boniface VIII., pope, 174.  
 ——— IX., pope, 209.  
 ——— of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury, 150.  
 Bonner, Edmund, bishop of London, 295, 316, 317, 318, 327, 330, 333, 346.  
 Book of Sports, King James's, 381; statute directed against it, 396.  
 Books set forth by Henry VIII., 299.  
 Booth, Sir George, 454.  
 Bora, Catherine, 292.  
 Boroughbridge, battle of, 185.  
 Bosworth, battle of, 264.  
*Botc*, what, 78.  
 Bothwell-bridge, battle of, 477.  
 Bothwell, James Hepburn, earl of, 346.  
 Bothwell, John Ramsay, lord, 274.  
 ——— Patrick Hepburn, earl of, 274.  
 Boudicca, 12.  
 Boufflers, Marshal, 470.  
 Boulogne, 309, 310, 318, 319.  
 Bouquet, Dom Martin, 585.  
 Bourbon, Charles, duke of, 291.  
 Bouchier, Sir Robert, 192.  
 ——— Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 250.  
 ——— Elizabeth, wife of Cromwell, 440.  
 Bourn, Bonner's chaplain, 326.  
 ——— an admiral, 448.  
 Bouvines, battle of, 140.  
 Bowes, Sir George, 347.  
 ——— Sir Robert, 307.  
 Boyd, lord, and his brother Alexander, 251, 252.  
 Boyle, Mr., 468.  
 Boyne, battle of the, 503.  
 Bradford, John, a martyr, 326, 331.  
 Bradshaw, John, a regicide, 437, 438, 443.  
 Braiose, Philip, 104.  
 Brakenbury, Sir Robert, 260.  
 Bramhall, John, bishop of Derry, 462.  
 Bramham moor, battle of, 223.  
 Bran, father of Caractacus, 12.  
 Brandon, Charles, duke of Suffolk, 287, 291.  
 ——— Thomas, 264, 265.  
 Braose, William de, 139.  
 Braybroke, Henry de, 146, 148.  
 Breaute, Fulk de, 141, 142, 148.  
 ——— William de, 148.  
 Breda, declaration from, 359.  
 Brehon law, upheld by the Anglo-Irish lords, 304.  
 Brembre, Sir Nicholas, 206, 207.  
 Brentford, battle at, 425.  
 Brereton, William, 301.  
 Brett, Alexander, 328.  
 Bretwaldas, the, 28.  
 Brian, Sir Edward, 296.  
 Bridges, Simon, 535.  
 Bridget, daughter of Edward IV., 248.  
 ——— daughter of Oliver Cromwell, 440.  
 Bridgewater, capture of, 429.

- Brien Boru, of Munster, 57, 60.  
 Brigantes, a British tribe, 5, 12, 15.  
 Brihtnoth, the ealdorman, 56.  
 Brihuega, battle of, 538.  
 Bristol, see of, founded, 298.  
 — capture of, 429.  
 — John Digby, earl of, 382, 397.  
 Britain described, 1; legend of its first peopling, *ib.*; classical notices of, 2; strange fable of Procopius, 23.  
 Britannia Prima, 4, 27.  
 — Secunda, 5, 27.  
 Britannicus, title assumed by Claudius, 11; by Commodus, 15; by Severus, 16.  
 Britanny, Arthur of, 227.  
 Brithric of Wessex, 37, 39.  
 British Church, the, probably founded by St. Paul, 8; story of King Lucius, 15; the Diocletian persecution, 19; the Welsh sees, 8.  
 Brito, Richard, 122.  
 Britons, the, incorrectly described by Cæsar, 2; other descriptions, 3, 4.  
 Broc, Ranulf and Robert de, 122.  
 Brocas, Sir Bernard, 218.  
 Brocmail, 30.  
 Broghill, lord, 455.  
 Bromley, Sir Thomas, lord chancellor, 357, 358.  
 — Mr., chosen Speaker, 538.  
 Bronholme, a priest, 306.  
 Brooke, George, 372.  
 Brookesby, Bartholomew, 372.  
 Brown, Thomas, 505.  
 Browne, Sir George, an insurgent, 263.  
 — George, archbishop of Dublin, 319, 326.  
 — Robert, a sectary, 354.  
 Brownists, or Barrowists, 362.  
 Bruce, Alexander, 176.  
 — Edward, 183, 184.  
 — Nigel, 176.  
 — Robert, 158.  
 — Robert, earl of Annandale, 171, 174.  
 — Robert, son of the above, 174, 175.  
 — Robert, grandson, 175, 176: see *Robert I. of Scotland*.  
 Bruce, Thomas, 176.  
 Brunanburg, battle of, 52.  
 Buccaneers, the, 406.  
 Bucer, Martin, 317.  
 Buchan, the countess of, 176.  
 Buckhurst, lord, 366.  
 Buckingham, earl of: see *Thomas of Woodstock*.  
 — Edmund Stafford, earl of, 221.  
 — Humphrey Stafford, earl and duke of, 238.  
 — Henry Stafford, duke of, 248, 257, 263.  
 — Henry, his son, 291.  
 — George Villiers, duke of, 370, 382, 397, 399.  
 — George, his son, 472.  
 — John Sheffield, duke of, 484.  
 Buckingham College, Cambridge, foundation of, 291.  
 Buckinghamshire, freeholders, their resort to the king (Charles I.), 421.  
 Bueles, William de, 152.  
 Bulmer, Sir John, 303.  
 Bunduica: see *Boudicca*.  
 Burchet, Peter, 350.  
 Burdett, Thomas, 254.  
 Bures, of the Domesday Book, 94.  
 Burgesses mentioned in the Domesday Book, their condition, 94.  
 Burgh castle, 5.  
 — Hubert de, 141, 144, 149.  
 — a judge, 207, 208.  
 Burghersh, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, 186.  
 Burghley, William Cecil, lord, 335, 341.  
 Burgred of Mercia, 42, 45.  
 Burgundy, John sans Peur, duke of, 222, 229.  
 — Philip the Good, duke of, 229, 235.  
 — Philip, duke of, 276, 278.  
 Burley, Sir Simon, 206, 207.  
 — Captain, 433.  
 Burnell, Robert, chancellor, 167.  
 Burnet, Gilbert, bishop of Salisbury, 477, 492, 532.  
 Burntisland, attack on, 471.  
 Burton, Henry, 409.  
 Bury, an insurgent, 318.  
 Bushbridge, John, 307.  
 Butler, Lady Eleanor, 248.  
 — Sir Pierce, 291.  
 Byerahe, what, 304.  
 Byng, Sir George, 535.  
 Cade, John, 238.  
 Cadel, 42, 49.  
 Cadiz captured by the English and Dutch, 364; fruitless expeditions against, 397, 528.  
 Cadwalader, a British chief, 31.  
 — brother of Owen Gwynneth, 118.  
 Cæleon, a Roman colony, 6; an early British see, 8.  
 Cæsar, Julius, 1, 3, 9, 10.  
 Caius Volusenus, 9.  
 Calais taken by Edward III., 193; capture of, by the duke of Guise, 333; taken by the Spaniards, 364.  
 Calamy, Edmund, 464.  
 Caligula, the emperor, 11.  
 Calixtus, pope, 105.  
 Calphurnius Agricola, 15.  
 Cambay, peace of, 294; conferences at, 334.  
 Cambridge, said to be a Roman colony, 6; Puritan visitation of the University, 431.  
 — Richard, earl of, 227.  
 Cambuskenneth, battle of, 174.  
 Camden, William, 585.  
 — Society, historical publications of the, 579.  
 Cameleac, bishop of Llandaff, 45, 51.  
 Cameron, Richard, a rebel, 478.  
 Campbell of Glenlyon, 509.  
 Campegius, Laurence, cardinal, 290, 293.  
 Campion, Edward, 337, 352, 353.  
 Camville, Richard de, 128, 129.  
 Canada, expedition against, 538.  
 Cangii, a British tribe, 12.  
 Canne, what, 304.  
 Canons of 1604, 373.  
 — Scottish, of 1637, 412.  
 — of 1640, 414, 415.  
 Canterbury, a stipendiary town, 6; desecration of the cathedral, 390.  
 — and York contest the primacy, 89.

- Cantii, a British tribe, 5.  
 Canute, son of Sweyn, reign of, 60—63.  
 — II., of Denmark, 91, 92.  
 Capel, lord, 443.  
 — Henry, lord, lord-deputy of Ireland, 515.  
 — Sir William, 278.  
 Caracalla, son of Severus, 16, 17.  
 Caractacus, king of the Silures, 12.  
 Caradoc of Llancarvan, 29.  
 — son of Griffin, 68.  
 — lord of Morganwg, 88.  
 — Owen ap, 105.  
 Carausius, 18, 19.  
 Carbry Riada, 1, 27.  
 Cardinal College, Oxford, 310.  
 Cardonel, 536, 539.  
 Carew, Sir Nicholas, 305.  
 — Sir Peter, 327.  
 — a regicide, 461.  
 Cargill, a rebel, 478.  
 Carinus, emperor, 18.  
 Carisbrooke castle, Charles I. imprisoned at, 434.  
 Carlaverock, siege of, 174, 177.  
 Carlisle, a Latian city, 6 ; capture of, 429.  
 — the see of, founded, 107.  
 Carr, Robert, 370.  
 Carter, William, a printer, 354.  
 Carthage, capture of, 533.  
 Carthusians executed for denying the king's supremacy, 300.  
 Cartwright, Thomas, 348.  
 — Thomas, bishop of Chester, 482.  
 Carus, emperor, 18.  
 Case, Thomas, 392.  
 Cassi, a British tribe, 10.  
 Cassilis, John Kennedy, earl of, 453.  
 Cassiterides (Scilly Isles), mention of, in classical writers, 2, 3.  
 Cassivellaunus (or Casso-lanus), 9, 10.  
 Castlemaine, Robert Palmer, lord, 477, 500, 502.  
 Catesby, Robert, 366, 374, 375, 376.  
 — William, 260.  
 Catherine, daughter of Henry III., 145.  
 — daughter of John of Gaunt, 189.  
 Catherine Hall, Cambridge, founded, 253.  
 Catus Decianus, the procurator, 12.  
 Catyeuchlani, a British tribe, 5.  
 Cautionary towns, in the Netherlands, 356, 373, 380.  
 Cavaliers and Roundheads, rise of the appellations, 420.  
 Caxton, William, 550.  
 Ceadwalla, 34.  
 Ceawlin (Bretwalda), 29, 30.  
 Cecil, William, 320, 341 : see *Burghley*.  
 Cecilia, daughter of William I., 86.  
 Celestine III., pope, 132.  
 Cenimagni, a British tribe, 10.  
 Cenred of Northumbria, 35.  
 Centwine of Wessex, 34.  
 Cenwalch of Wessex, 32, 33.  
 Cenwulf of Mercia, 40.  
 Ceol, brother of Ceawlin, 30.  
 Ceolred of Mercia, 35.  
 Ceolwulf of Mercia, 40.  
 — usurper in Mercia, 45.  
 — of Northumbria, 35, 36.  
 — of Wessex, 30.  
 Cerdic, 29.  
 Cerdic's ford, battle of, 29.  
 Ceremonies, several accustomed, prohibited by proclamation, 317.  
 Chacepore, Peter, 153.  
 Chalgrove, skirmish at, 426.  
 Chamberlain, or Constable, William, an impostor, 332.  
 Chamberlain, Sir Ralph, 342.  
 Chamberleyn, Sir Robert, 274.  
 Chambers, Alderman, 399, 415.  
 Chambres, John, 274.  
 Champagne, Henry II., count of, 129, 131, 132.  
 Champneys, Justinian, 523.  
 Chancellor, Richard, 330, 333.  
 Charke, a Puritan, 350.  
 Charlemagne, 39, 40.  
 Charles V., the emperor, 290, 291, 292, 294.  
 — VI., emperor, 539, 540.  
 Charles, son of James I., 371, 382, 383 : see *Charles I.*  
 — I., reign of, 384—437.  
 — II., reign of, 438—480.  
 — the Bald, of France, 42.  
 — the Simple, of France, 49, 52.  
 — IV. of France, 185, 190.  
 — V. of France, 203.  
 — VI. of France, 203, 221, 222, 229.  
 — VII. of France, 232, 234, 236.  
 — the Bad, of Navarre, 194, 195, 202.  
 — II. of Spain, 522.  
 — III. of Spain, 529, 533, 534, 538, 539 : see *Charles VI., emperor*.  
 — XII. of Sweden, 522.  
 — of Blois, 192, 193, 196.  
 — Louis, the elector palatine, 424, 436.  
 Charnock, John, 357.  
 — Robert, 514, 516.  
 Charolois, Philip, count of, 228.  
 Charter Rolls, notice of the, 551.  
 Chatham, ships burnt at, 472.  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 205.  
 Cheke, Sir John, 315.  
 Chelsea College, 371, 479.  
 Chester, a Roman colony, 6 ; a bishop's see, 91 ; diocese of, 307.  
 — Hugh, earl of, 98, 101.  
 — Ralph de Gernon, earl of, 110.  
 — Ralph, earl of, 148.  
 Chester-le-Street, a bishop's see, 45.  
 Chicheley, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, 226.  
 Chichester made a bishop's see, 91.  
 Child, Sir Josiah, 511.  
 China, attempt to open a trade with, 364.  
 Chlorus, Constantius, 18, 19.  
 Christ Church College, Oxford, founded, 310.  
 Christ's College, Cambridge, founded, 278.



- Christian, William, 447.  
 Christiern, a Danish bi-shop, 89.  
 Christina, sister of Edgar Atheling, 94, 95.  
 Chrysanthus, 21.  
 Church, care of the Anglo-Saxon legislators for the, 75.  
 — its deplorable state in Ireland in the time of Henry VIII., 289.  
 Churches, desecration of, 389.  
 Churchill, Charles, 540.  
 — George, 540.  
 — John, 475, 483 : see *Marlborough*.  
 — Miss, 484, 540.  
 Churl-king, meaning of, 61.  
 Cicely, daughter of Edward IV., 248.  
 Cinobellinus, king of Britain, 11.  
 Cinque Ports, probably of Roman origin, 112 ; their fleet, *ib.* ; present state, 113.  
 Cirencester, a Latian city, 6 ; skirmish at, 218.  
 Clapa, Osgod, 65, 67.  
 Clare, Gilbert de, 146.  
 — Richard de, 121, 122.  
 — Roger de, 119.  
 Clarence, George, duke of, 244, 252, 254.  
 — Thomas, duke of, 215, 229.  
 Clarendon, Constitutions of, 119.  
 — Edward Hyde, earl of, 396, 409, 441, 445, 452, 464, 472.  
 — Henry Hyde, earl of, 485, 488.  
 — Sir Roger, 220.  
 — Press at Oxford, established, 541.  
 Clarges, Sir Thomas, 503.  
 Clarke, William, a priest, 372.  
 Claudius, emperor, 11, 12.  
 — II., emperor, 17, 18.  
 — Paulinus, 17.  
 Clement VI., pope, 192.  
 — VII., anti-pope, 203.  
 — VII., pope, 293.  
 — VIII., pope, 365.  
 Clergy, their high consideration in Saxon times, 75 ; sufferings under the Puritans, 391.  
 Cleymound, Robert, 280, 281.  
 Clifford, John, lord, 241.  
 — Henry, lord, 241.  
 — Thomas, lord, 241.  
 — Sir Robert, 241, 275, 281.  
 — Sir Thomas, 472.  
 Clinton, lord, 319, 334.  
 Clodius Albinus, 15.  
 Clontarf, battle of, 60.  
 Close Rolls, notice of the, 551.  
 Cloveshoo, synod of, 36.  
 Clubmen, the, 429.  
 Clyderow, Richard, an admiral, 217.  
 Cobham, George Brooke, lord, 329.  
 — Henry Brooke, lord, 372.  
 Cock, John, Lancaster herald, 313.  
 Cody, what, 304.  
 Coelestius, 21.  
 Coenred of Mercia, 35.  
 Coimbra, galleys burnt at, 366.  
 Coin, tampering with, under Edward VI., 314 ; remedied by Elizabeth, 344 ; its state in the time of William III., 516.  
 Coin and livery, what, 304.  
 Coins, British, 2, 10.  
 Coke, Sir Edward, 372, 380.  
 Colbert, Jean Baptist, 469.  
 Colchester said to be a Roman colony, 6 ; siege of, 435.  
 — William de, abbot of Westminster, 218.  
 Coleman, secretary to James, duke of York, 476.  
 Colepeper, colonel, 488.  
 — Thomas and William, 523, 524.  
 Coligny, the admiral, 350.  
 Colleges, chantries, and hospitals granted to the crown, 310, 316.  
 — plate of the Oxford, voted to the king, (Charles I.), 425.  
 Colleton, Sir Peter, 503.  
 Collier, Jeremy, a nonjuring divine, 506, 516.  
 Collins, a priest, 305.  
 Colman, 33.  
 Colonies, Roman, 6.  
 Columba, 30.  
 Comin, a Norman, made earl of Northumberland, 87, 88.  
 Committees, the parliamentary, their constitution and proceedings, 388.  
 Commius, king of the Atrebates, 9, 10.  
 Commodus, the emperor, 15.  
 Compton, Henry, bishop of London, 482, 488, 490.  
 Compurgators, 77.  
 Comyn, John, earl of Badenoch, 171, 174, 175, 176.  
 Conan, 97.  
 Congregation of the Lord, 308.  
 — lords of the, 343.  
 Coningsby, Sir Thomas, 514.  
 Conrad, emperor of Germany, 111.  
 Consilt, battles at, 111, 118.  
 Constable, Sir Robert, 303.  
 Constance, council of, 227.  
 Constance, daughter of William I., 86.  
 — natural daughter of Henry I., 103.  
 — wife of Prince Geoffrey, 116.  
 — daughter of Edmund, earl of Cambridge, 189, 221.  
 Constans, the emperor, 20.  
 — son of the usurper Constantine, 21.  
 Constantia, wife of John of Gaunt, 189.  
 Constantine the Great, 18, 19, 20.  
 — the younger, 20.  
 — the usurper, 21.  
 — II., of Scotland, 45, 47.  
 — III. of Scotland, 52.  
 — the leader of the Londoners, 147.  
 Constantius, emperor, 20.  
 — a general of Honorius, 21.  
 — Chlorus, 18, 19.  
 Consuls first appointed by Richard III., 262.  
 Convocation relieved from the jurisdiction of the secular courts, 264.  
 — of 1640, proceedings of the, 414.  
 Conway, lord, 414.  
 Cook, Laurence, prior of Doncaster, 306.  
 — a regicide, 461.

- Cook, a plotter, 514, 516.  
 — a nonjuror, 516.  
 Cooke, Sir Thomas, 511, 512, 513.  
 Cooper, Sir Anthony Ashley, 452: see *Shaftesbury*.  
 Coote, colonel, 455.  
 Copping, John, 354.  
 Coppinger, a Puritan, 361.  
 Copsi, a partisan of the Normans, 87.  
 Coritavi, a British tribe, 5.  
 Cornavii, a British tribe, 5.  
 Cornbury, lord, 483.  
 Cornish, Henry, 478, 487.  
 Cornish insurrections, 276, 277, 318.  
 Cornwall, a bishop's see founded in, 50.  
 — and Devon, insurrection in, 318.  
 — Richard, earl of, son of John, 136, 148, 150, 151, 155: see *Richard, King of the Romans*.  
 Coscets, of the Domesday Book, 94.  
 Cosher, what, 304.  
 Cosin, bishop, 460.  
 — John, constable of Cirencester, 218.  
 Cospatric, earl of Northumberland, 87.  
 Cottingham, lord, 396, 409.  
 Cotton, Sir Robert, his library, 522.  
 Council of the North established, 303; abolished, 417.  
 — of State under the Commonwealth, 438; remodelled, 449.  
 Counter, James, 527.  
 Courtney, Peter, bishop of Exeter, 263.  
 Covenant, the, drawn up, 413; accepted with some modifications by the English parliament, 426.  
 Coventry, Sir John, 473.  
 — Sir William, 472.  
 Coverdale, Miles, 320.  
 Cowell's "Interpreter," 379.  
 Cowper, William, earl, 533, 538.  
 Craggs, James, 512, 513.  
 Cranbourn, a plotter, 516.  
 Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop, 294, 296, 307, 314, 315, 317, 321, 323, 326, 327, 329, 332.  
 Crecy, battle of, 193.  
 Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, 355.  
 Cressingham, Hugh, 173, 174.  
 Creton, 201.  
 Crewe, Nathaniel, bishop of Durham, 482, 502.  
 Crida, 30.  
 Crispin, William, 105.  
 Croft, Elizabeth, an impostor, 327.  
 Crofton, Zachary, 464.  
 Crofts, Sir James, 327, 330.  
 — a priest, 305.  
 Cromlechs, 4.  
 Cromwell, Edward, lord, 366.  
 — Oliver, 399, 429, 436; his Protectorship, 438—453.  
 — Richard, 440, 453, 454.  
 — Thomas, 286, 294, 302, 305, 306.  
 Cropredy-bridge, battle of, 428.  
 Cross, Godfrey, 503.  
 Crowbrough, Samuel, 505.  
 Crusades, the, 99.  
 Cuffe, Henry, 366.  
 Cuinac, Philip, lord of, natural son of Richard I., 127.  
 Culmer, Richard, 464, 465.  
 Culpeper, 307.  
 Cumberland, George Clifford, earl of, 361, 364.  
 — Richard, bishop of Peterborough, 504.  
 Cunobelin, 10, 11.  
 Curle, a secretary, 357.  
 Cutha, 30.  
 Cuthbert, St., 34, 57.  
 Cuthred of Kent, 40.  
 — of Mercia, 36.  
 — of Wessex, 31.  
 — II. of Wessex, 36.  
 Cwichelm, 30.  
 — son of Cynegils of Wessex, 31.  
 Cwichelm's hlæw, 58.  
 Cynegils of Wessex, 30, 31.  
 Cyneheard of Wessex, 37.  
 Cynewulf of Wessex, 36, 37.  
 — the atheling, 35.  
 Cynric, king of Wessex, 29.  
 — the atheling of Wessex, 35, 36.  
 Cynulf of Mercia, 39.  
 Cyprus, conquest of, 129.  
 Daacre, Leonard, 348.  
 — of the South, Thomas Fiennes, lord, 307.  
 D'Adda, Francisco, papal nuncio, 489.  
 Dalreodi, 1.  
 Dalrymples, the, 491.  
 Damietta, capture of, 147.  
 Damii, a British tribe, 5.  
 Danby, Thomas Osborne, earl of, 474, 476, 480, 485: see *Leeds*.  
 Danegeld, the, 87.  
 Danelagh, the, 47.  
 Danes in England, 72.  
 Dangerfield, 477, 486.  
 Danvers, Sir Charles, 366.  
 Darcy, lord, 303.  
 Darien settlement, the, 518.  
 Darney, Henry, lord, 345, 346.  
 Dartmouth, George Legge, earl of, 490, 504.  
 Dathi, an Irish king, 28.  
 Daubeney, lord, 277.  
 — William, 275.  
 David, St., early foundation of the see of, 91.  
 David I. of Scotland, 106, 109, 111.  
 — II. of Scotland, 190.  
 — prince of Scotland, 123; another, 219.  
 — prince of North Wales, 122, 132.  
 — prince of Wales, 150, 151, 152.  
 — brother of Llewelyn, of Wales, 167, 169.  
 — bishop of Bangor, 106.  
 Davison, a secretary, 358.  
 Day, George, bishop of Chichester, 320.  
 Deal castle, built, 298; occupied by the royalists, 408.  
 Dean forest, riots in, 401.  
 Dean, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, 282.  
 — Colonel, named an admiral, 443, 449.  
 Debenham, Sir Giles, 275.  
 Decius, emperor, 17.  
 Defoe, Daniel, 533.  
 Deira, kingdom of, 27.  
 Delamere, George Booth, lord, 487.  
 Delvin, Richard Nugent, lord, 291.  
 Demetæ, a British tribe, 5.  
 Denbigh, William Feilding, earl of, 398.  
 — Basil Feilding earl of, 429, 438.  
 Derby, Robert Ferrers, earl of, 160.  
 — Henry, earl of, 213.

- Derby, James Stanley, earl of, 446.  
 — the countess of, 427, 447.  
 Derby House, London, 388.  
 Dereham, 307.  
 Dering, Edward, a Puritan, 350.  
 — Sir Edward, 421, 427.  
 Dermot, king of Leinster, 120, 121.  
 Desborough, brother-in-law of Cromwell, 439, 440, 449, 453, 454.  
 Desmond, Maurice Fitzgerald, earl of, 275; another, 292.  
 — Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of, 346, 354.  
 Despenser, Hugh, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186.  
 — Thomas, lord, 208, 209, 218.  
 D'Este, Mary, wife of James II., 484.  
 Desticius Juba, 17.  
 Devon, a bishop's see founded in, 50.  
 — Edward Courteney, earl of, 325, 329.  
 Devonshire, William Cavendish, earl of, 488, 490, 500.  
 Dhu, Philip, 223.  
 Dicalidonæ, the, 20.  
 Didius, 15.  
 Digby, lord, 416.  
 — Sir Everard, a gunpowder plotter, 375, 376, 377.  
 — Sir Simon, 277.  
 Digges, Sir Dudley, 382, 397.  
 Dighton, an alleged murderer, 275.  
 Dio Cassius, on Britain, 2, 11.  
 Diocletian, emperor, 18, 19.  
 Diodorus Siculus, on Britain, 2.  
 Divines, the Assembly of, 426.  
 Divitiacus, a Gaulish king, 1, 9.  
 Dobuni, a British tribe, 5.  
 Dodwell, Henry, 505.  
 Dolben, Mr., 537.  
 Dolfín, a Northman, 98.  
 Domesday Book, notice of the, 92.  
 Dominis, Mark Antony de, 380.  
 Domitian, emperor, 13.  
 Domnoc, the see of, founded, 33.  
 Donald, lord of the isles, 240, 254.  
 — Bane, 98, 99.  
 Dorchester, a stipendiary town, 6.  
 — in Oxfordshire, see of, founded, 31; re-founded, 48.  
 Dorislaus, Dr., 444.  
 Dorset, Edmund Beaufort, marquis of, 231.  
 — Thomas Beaufort, earl of, 227, 228.  
 — Thomas Grey, marquis of, 248, 273.  
 Dort, synod of, 381.  
 Douay, seminary at, founded, 337, 347; its protomartyr, 352.  
 Douglas, Archibald, earl of, regent of Scotland, 191.  
 — Archibald, earl of, 221.  
 — James, earl of, 207.  
 — lady Margaret, 302, 309.  
 Dover, affray at, 65; attack on, 87; a Cinque Port, 112; sieges of, 142, 159; battle off, 448.  
 Downing, Sir George, 461.  
 Downs, battles in the, 414, 471.  
 Dowsing's Journal, 389.  
 Drake, Sir Francis, 352, 356, 358, 361, 364.  
 Dreux, battle of, 344.  
 — John de, earl of Richmond, 182.  
 Drogheda, storming of, 444.  
 Drogo, count of Mantes, 56.  
 Druids, the, 3, 4.  
 Drumclog, skirmish at, 477.  
 Drury, Sir Drew, 348.  
 Dubhgalls, the, 38.  
 Dublin, possessed by the Northmen, 41, 51; regained by the Irish, 53, 57; seized by the Normans, 122; made a staple town, 194; Trinity College founded, 362.  
 Dubritius, 29.  
 Dudley, Edmund, 270, 278, 286.  
 — Sir Ambrose, 327, 344.  
 — Sir Andrew, 326, 330.  
 — Sir Henry, 327.  
 Dudley, John, 313: see *Northumberland*, *John Dudley, duke of*.  
 — lord Guilford, 314, 327.  
 — Sir Robert, 327.  
 Duffus, Kenneth Sutherland, lord, 539.  
 Dumnonii, a British tribe, 9.  
 Dunbar, battle of, 445.  
 — Patrick, a claimant of the Scottish crown, 172.  
 Dunbarton, a Latian city, 6.  
 — George Douglas, lord, 488.  
 Duncan obtains the crown of Scotland, 98; killed, 99.  
 Duncanson, Major, 508.  
 Dundee, storming of, 447.  
 — John Graham, viscount, 491, 499, 501.  
 Dunne, Henry, 357.  
 Dun-Seatas, Ordinance of the, 76.  
 Dunstan, 53, 54, 55, 56.  
 Durand, a Knight Hospitaller, 139.  
 Durham, see of, established, 57; suppressed, 321; re-established, 326.  
 Durotriges, a British tribe, 9.  
 Dursley, lord, 536.  
 Dynwal Moelmud, 32, 50.  
 Eadbald of Kent, 31.  
 Eadbert of Kent, 35, 36.  
 — of Northumbria, 36.  
 Eadsige, archbishop, 64.  
 Eadulf, earl of Northumbria, 64.  
 Eadulf's ness, 67.  
 Ealdorman, the, 76.  
 Ealdred, 52.  
 Eadulf of Bamborough, 52.  
 Ealhere, ealdorman of Kent, 42.  
 Ealstan, bishop of Sherborne, 42.  
 Eanfleda, 31, 32.  
 Eanfrith of Bernicia, 31.  
 Eardwulf of Northumbria, 39, 40.  
 Earl Marshal's court abolished, 418.  
 East Anglia, kingdom of, 27.  
 East India Company, origin of the, 365.  
 Eboracum, 16, 19.  
 Edbert (Præn) of Kent, 39.  
 Edburga, queen, 37, 39.

- Edgar, reign of, 54, 55.  
 — king of Scotland,  
 101, 104.  
 — Atheling, 64, 69,  
 71, 87, 88, 90, 95, 104.  
 Edgecote, battle of, 251.  
 Edgehill, battle of, 424.  
 Edgith, daughter of Ethel-  
 red II., 56.  
 Edgitha, wife of Edward  
 the Confessor, 64, 91.  
 Edgiva, daughter of Ed-  
 ward the Elder, 49.  
 Edinburgh captured by  
 Henry IV., 219; by the  
 earl of Hertford and lord  
 Lisle, 316.  
 — treaty of, its pro-  
 visions, 344.  
 — bishopric of,  
 founded, 402.  
 Edith, daughter of Edward  
 the Elder, 49.  
 — daughter of Edgar,  
 54.  
 Edmund of East Anglia,  
 43.  
 — son of Ethelred II.,  
 56, 62.  
 — I., reign of, 53.  
 — II. (styled Iron-  
 side), reign of, 61.  
 — son of Harold II.,  
 70.  
 — of Woodstock, son  
 of Edward I., 166, 185,  
 190.  
 — duke of York, 189,  
 209.  
 — earl of Rutland,  
 241, 244.  
 — son of Henry VII.,  
 271.  
 Ednoth, bishop, 59.  
 — the stallere, 88.  
 Edred, son of Edward the  
 Elder, reign of, 53, 54.  
 Edric, of Kent, 34.  
 — ealdorman of Mercia,  
 58, 59, 60, 61, 62.  
 — the Forester, 87, 90.  
 Edward I. (the Elder), reign  
 of, 49, 52.  
 — II., the Martyr,  
 reign of, 55.  
 — the Confessor, reign  
 of, 64—69.  
 — I., reign of, 164—  
 179.  
 — II., reign of, 180—  
 186.  
 — III., reign of, 187  
 —198.  
 — IV., reign of, 247  
 —255.  
 Edward V., nominal reign  
 of, 256—258.  
 — VI., reign of, 312  
 —321.  
 — son of Ethelred II.,  
 56, 60, 63, 64 : see *Ed-  
 ward the Confessor*.  
 — son of Edmund Iron-  
 side, 61, 68.  
 — son of Henry III.,  
 145, 150, 155, 157, 158,  
 159, 160, 161 : see *Ed-  
 ward I., king*.  
 — of Caernarvon, son  
 of Edward I., 166, 173,  
 174, 175, 176 : see *Ed-  
 ward II.*  
 — son of Edward II.,  
 181, 185, 186 : see *Ed-  
 ward III.*  
 — the Black Prince,  
 son of Edward III., 188,  
 193, 195, 196, 198.  
 — earl of Rutland, 189,  
 208.  
 — son of Henry VI.,  
 232, 241, 252, 253.  
 — son of Richard III.,  
 261, 264.  
 — son of Malcolm of  
 Scotland, 98.  
 — son of John Balliol,  
 173, 191, 193, 195.  
 Edwin of Northumbria, 30,  
 31.  
 — son of Edward the  
 Elder, 49, 52.  
 — brother of Leofric,  
 63.  
 — brother of Morcar,  
 earl of Northumbria, 69,  
 70, 71, 90.  
 Edwy, reign of, 54.  
 — son of Ethelred II.,  
 56, 62.  
 — the Churl king, 61,  
 62.  
 Effingham, Charles Howard,  
 earl of, 359 : see *Not-  
 tingham*.  
 Egbert of Kent, 33.  
 — of Wessex, 37, 39,  
 40, 41.  
 — a priest of Iona,  
 35.  
 — of York, his Peni-  
 tential, 78.  
 Egerton, Sir Thomas, 365.  
 Egferth of Mercia, 39.  
 Egfrid of Northumbria, 33,  
 34.  
 Egremont, Sir John, 274.  
 Egyptians (or Gipsies), 295,  
 351.  
 Einion of Dyved, 97, 98.  
 Ela, heiress of William Fitz-  
 Patrick, earl of Salisbury,  
 116.  
 Elba, battle off, 449.  
 Elbot, 36.  
 Eleanor of Guienne, wife of  
 Louis VII. of France,  
 111; divorced, and mar-  
 ried to Henry II., 115;  
 123, 129, 138, 399.  
 — of Provence, queen  
 of Henry III., 144, 150,  
 155, 159, 171.  
 — of Castile, queen of  
 Edward I., 155, 166,  
 167.  
 — daughter of Henry  
 II., 116.  
 — daughter of Geoffrey  
 of Bretagne, 116, 138.  
 — daughter of John,  
 136, 149, 150, 153.  
 — daughter of Edward  
 I., 166.  
 — daughter of Edward  
 II., 181.  
 — co-heiress of the earl  
 of Gloucester, 183, 184.  
 — duchess of Glou-  
 cester, 189.  
 — (Cobham), duchess  
 of Gloucester, 215, 233,  
 236, 237.  
 Elfgar, son of Elfric, 57.  
 — son of Leofric of Mer-  
 cia, 67, 68.  
 Elfget, 63.  
 Elfgina, daughter of Ethel-  
 red II., 56.  
 Elfhere, the ealdorman, 56.  
 Elfhun, bishop, 59.  
 Elfnoth, the shire-reeve, 68.  
 Elfric, ealdorman of Mercia,  
 56, 57.  
 — of Wiltshire, arch-  
 bishop of Canterbury, 57.  
 Elfrida, daughter of Alfred  
 the Great, 45.  
 Elfritha, wife of Edgar, 54,  
 55.  
 Elfwine, 34.  
 Elgiva, wife of Edwy, 54.  
 — wife of Ethelred  
 II., 56.  
 Eliot, Sir John, 397, 399,  
 400.  
 Eliza, half-sister of Henry  
 III., 152.  
 Elizabeth, queen of Edward  
 IV., 248, 251, 252, 256,  
 257, 259, 260, 263, 264,  
 273.  
 — of York, queen of  
 Henry VII., 248, 257,  
 260, 271, 272.

- Elizabeth, queen, reign of, 335—366.  
 ——— natural daughter of Henry I., 103.  
 ——— daughter of Edward I., 166.  
 ——— daughter of Richard, duke of York, 245.  
 ——— natural daughter of Edward IV., 249.  
 ——— daughter of Henry VII., 271.  
 ——— daughter of Henry VIII., 285, 317, 321, 323, 325, 329: see *Elizabeth, queen*.  
 ——— daughter of James I., 371, 380, 381.  
 ——— daughter of Charles I., 395, 445.  
 ——— wife of Lionel, duke of Clarence, 188.  
 ——— daughter of Cromwell, 440.  
 Ella, the first Bretwalda, 28.  
 ——— of Northumbria, 29, 30.  
 ——— an usurper, 43.  
 Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury, 57, 59, 62.  
 Elswitha, queen of Alfred, 44, 50.  
 Ely, the see of, founded, 104.  
 ——— House, 392.  
 Emeric, brother, master of the Temple, 141.  
 Emma, wife of Ethelred II., 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 65, 68.  
 Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 355, 410.  
 Empson, Richard, 270, 278, 286.  
 English great captains in Ireland, 289.  
 ——— Historical Society, publications of the, 580.  
 ——— Pale, the, 288.  
 ——— school at Rome, 40.  
 ——— ships lent to France, 396.  
 Eohric, a Danish king, 50.  
 Eoppa, 33.  
 Eorwald of East Anglia, 31.  
 Ercombert of Kent, 31.  
 Eric of Northumbria, 54.  
 ——— XIII., of Denmark, 215.  
 ——— king of Norway, 171.  
 ——— king of Sweden, 338.  
 ——— the caldorman, 60, 62.  
 Eric, the earl, 62.  
 Erkenwin, 29.  
 Esc, son of Hengist, 28.  
 Escwin of Wessex, 33.  
 Essex, kingdom of, founded, 27.  
 ——— Geoffrey de Magnaville, earl of, 110.  
 ——— Henry of, 119.  
 ——— Robert Devereux, earl of, 361, 364, 365, 366.  
 ——— Robert Devereux, earl of, the parliamentary general, 397, 413, 418, 423, 424, 425, 426, 428, 429.  
 ——— Arthur Capel, earl of, 479.  
 Ethandun, battle of, 47.  
 Ethelbald, reign of, 43.  
 ——— of Mercia, 35, 36.  
 Ethelbert, reign of, 43.  
 ——— I., of Kent, Bretwalda, 30, 31.  
 ——— II. of Kent, 36.  
 ——— of East Anglia, 37.  
 Ethelburga, queen, 31.  
 Ethelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, 49, 50, 51.  
 ——— wife of Edgar, 54.  
 Ethelfrith of Bernicia, 30, 31.  
 Ethelgiva, daughter of Alfred the Great, 45.  
 Ethelheard of Wessex, 36.  
 Ethelred, reign of, 43, 44.  
 ——— II., reign of, 56—60.  
 ——— of Mercia, 33, 35.  
 ——— of Northumbria, 36, 39.  
 ——— archbishop of Canterbury, 44.  
 Ethelwald (Moll) of Northumbria, 36.  
 ——— the Atheling, 50.  
 Ethelward, the caldorman, 57.  
 Ethelwerd, the historian, 43.  
 Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, 55, 56.  
 Ethelwulf, reign of, 41, 42.  
 Eton College founded, 236.  
 Evelyn, John, 459, 471, 486, 496, 502, 511.  
 Eudo, the steward, 93.  
 Eugene, Prince, 531, 535, 537, 540.  
 Eustace of Bonlogne, 56, 65.  
 ——— son of Stephen, 108, 111.  
 ——— the monk, 146.  
 Evesham, battle of, 159.  
 Evil May-day, 290.  
 Exeter, a stipendiary town, 6; sieges of, 58, 87, 109, 277, 318.  
 ——— Henry Holland, duke of, 245, 250.  
 ——— John Holland, duke of, 228, 238.  
 ——— Henry Courteney, marquis of, 305.  
 Exmew, a Carthusian, 300.  
 Exurgat money, 425.  
 Eystein, king of Norway, 111.  
 Eyton, Roger, 235.  
 Fagius, Paul, 317.  
 Fairfax, Ferdinand, lord, 425, 426, 428.  
 ——— Sir Thomas, 425, 427, 428, 429, 430, 433, 434, 435, 436, 438, 444, 445, 454, 456.  
 Falconbridge, Thomas, lord, 222.  
 ——— William Neville, lord, 242.  
 ——— the Bastard of, 242.  
 Falmouth, Charles Berkeley, earl of, 468.  
 Family of Love, fanatics so called, 351.  
 Fane, Sir Ralph, 329.  
 Farmer, Anthony, 488.  
 Faunconberg, Thomas Belasyze, earl, 440.  
 Faversham, Louis Duras, earl of, 486, 488.  
 Fawkes, Guy, 374, 375, 377.  
 Fawley Court, devastation of, 424.  
 Feakes, an Anabaptist, 450.  
 Feckenham, or Howman, John, 333.  
 Felix, a missionary, 31.  
 Fell, Dr. Samuel, 431.  
 Felton, John, 348; another, 399.  
 Fenwick, a Jesuit, 476, 477.  
 ——— Sir John, 500, 503, 516, 517.  
 Ferguson, Robert, 485, 487, 516.  
 Feriby, a chaplain, 218.  
 Feringdon, Hugh, abbot of Reading, 366.  
 Ferrar family, their establishment, 403.  
 Ferrers, Henry de, 93.  
 ——— Walter Devereux, lord, 260.  
 Ferrou, John, 204.

- Ferrybridge, skirmish at, 249.  
 Feudal burdens, attempt to redeem them, 379.  
 ——— system, notice of the, 83.  
 Finan, 32.  
 Finch, Sir John, Speaker, 399, 415.  
 Finngalls, 38.  
 Fire of London, the great, 471.  
 Firebrace, Sir Bazill, 512.  
 Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester, 283, 300.  
 Fitzgerald, Maurice, 121.  
 Fitzgeralds, power of the, in Ireland, 273; their fall, 299.  
 Fitzhamon, Robert, 88.  
 Fitzosbert, William, 132.  
 Fitz-Peter, Geoffrey, 137, 139.  
 Fitzstephen, Robert, 121.  
 Fitz-Symonds, Walter, archbishop of Dublin, 275.  
 Fitzurse, Reginald, 122.  
 Fitz-Walter, Robert, 139, 141, 147.  
 ——— John Ratcliff, lord, 249; another, 275.  
 Five Burghs, the, 53.  
 Flambard, Ralph, 84, 96, 107.  
 Flammock, Thomas, 276.  
 Flanders, William, count of, 86.  
 ——— William Clito, count of, 106, 107.  
 ——— Baldwin, V., count of, 65, 86.  
 ——— Baldwin IX., count of, 132.  
 Flavia Caesariensis, 5, 27.  
 Fleetwood, Charles, 440, 453, 454, 461.  
 ——— George, 453, 461.  
 Flemings in Wales, 89, 118.  
 Flemmyng, Richard, bishop of Lincoln, 227, 233.  
 Flodden, battle of, 287.  
 Florence, count of Holland, 171, 172.  
 Florianus, emperor, 18.  
 Flower, William, 331.  
 Floyd, a barrister, 381.  
 Fogge, Sir John, 263, 265.  
 ——— Richard, 389, 442.  
 Foley, Paul, 503, 513, 515.  
 Foliot, Gilbert, bishop of London, 120.  
*Folkmete*, 74.  
 Forbes, Alexander, lord, 274.  
 Foreign congregations in England, 320, 329, 408.  
 Forrest, an alleged murderer, 275.  
 Fortescue, Sir John, 249.  
 Fortresses and camps, Roman, 5, 7.  
 Fortz, William de, 128.  
 Foss-way, its presumed course, 6.  
 Fotheringhay Castle, the peculiar seat of the House of York, 245; Mary Queen of Scots executed at, 358.  
 Fowler, Edward, bishop of Gloucester, 504.  
 Fox, Richard, bishop of Winchester, 287.  
 Foxe, John, the Martyrologist, 349, 351.  
*Foy and pay*, what, 304.  
 Frampton, Robert, bishop of Gloucester, 499, 504, 505.  
 France, notices of the affairs of, 190, 226, 343.  
 Francis I. of France, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 309, 315.  
 ——— II., duke of Brittany, 254, 273.  
 ——— a lawyer, 486.  
 ——— Alban, 488.  
 Frankpledge, view of, 74.  
 Fraomarius, 20.  
 Fraser, Simon, 176.  
 ——— see *Loval, Simon Fraser, lord*.  
 Frederic I., emperor, 125.  
 ——— II., emperor, 149, 155.  
 ——— Elector Palatine, 371, 380, 381.  
 Frena, an Anglo-Dane, 57.  
 French Protestants, 338, 343, 344.  
 Frewen, Accepted, archbishop of York, 460.  
 Fridulfen, Sigge, 25.  
 Friend, Sir John, 514, 516.  
 Frobisher, Martin, 340, 359, 363.  
 Frost, Walter, 438.  
 Frythogith, queen, 36.  
 Fuentes, count de, 363.  
 Fulham, the Northmen at, 47.  
 Fulk of Anjou, 105, 106, 107.  
 Fullofaudes, 20.  
 Fulman, William, 586.  
 Fulthorp, a judge, 207.  
 Gadani, a British tribe, 5.  
 Gage, Sir John, 328.  
 ——— Robert, a conspirator, 357.  
 Galba, emperor, 13.  
 Gale, Thomas, 586.  
 Galerius, emperor, 19.  
 Galgacus, 14.  
 Gallienus, emperor, 17.  
*Galloglashes*, 289.  
 Galloway, Alan of, constable of Scotland, 14.  
 Gallus Hostilianus, emperor, 17.  
 Galway, capture of, 504.  
 Gam, David, 219.  
 Gama, Stephen Ferrara da, 363.  
 Game-laws, early, 73, 83.  
 Gardiner, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, 295, 317, 320, 325, 326, 328, 329, 330, 331.  
 Garnett, Henry, a Jesuit, 375, 377.  
 Gate, Sir Henry and Sir John, 326.  
 Gauden, John, bishop of Exeter, 460.  
 Gaultier, a French priest, 539.  
 Gaveston, Piers, 176, 180, 182, 183.  
 Genson, Sir David, 307.  
 Geoffrey of Anjou, 106, 107, 111, 114.  
 ——— brother of Henry II., 118.  
 ——— son of Henry II., 116, 123, 125.  
 ——— natural son of Henry II., 117, 125, 128, 138.  
 George of Denmark, Prince, 490, 521, 525, 536.  
 ——— Louis, Elector of Hanover, 525, 542.  
 Gerard, archbishop of Aix, 128.  
 ——— Colonel, 451.  
 ——— of Brandon, Charles, lord, 487.  
 Gerberoi, siege of, 91.  
 Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, 23.  
 Gerontius, 21.  
 Gerrard, John, a Jesuit, 375.  
 ——— Sir Thomas, 357.  
*Gesiths*, what, 76.  
 Gessoriacum, 18.  
 Geta, son of Severus, 16, 17.  
 Geynsburg, William de, bishop of Worcester, 175.

- Chinucci, Jerome, bishop of Worcester, 296.  
 Gibbons, Mr., 446.  
 Gibraltar, capture of, 531.  
 Gidding, establishment of the Ferrars at, 403.  
 Giffard, Walter, archbishop of York, 167.  
 — William, bishop of Winchester, 104.  
 Gilbert, natural son of Henry I., 102.  
 — bishop of St. Asaph, 111.  
 — father of Thomas Becket, 119.  
 — of Gand, 88, 93.  
 Gildas, 8, 22.  
 Ginkell, Godert de, earl of Athlone, 496, 503, 504, 505.  
 Gipsies, 295, 351.  
 Githa, mother of Harold, 70, 87.  
 — daughter of Harold II., 70.  
 Glamorgan, conquest of, by the Normans, 88.  
 — Edward Somerset, earl of, 420.  
 Glasgow, University of, founded, 239.  
 Glass and pottery, Roman, 7.  
 Glencoe, massacre of, 506.  
 Gloucester, a Roman colony, 6; see of, founded, 298; suppressed, but re-established under Mary, 321.  
 — Robert of Caen, earl of, 102, 106, 109, 110, 111.  
 — Gilbert de Clare, earl of, 159, 160, 161, 167.  
 — Richard de Clare, earl of, 156, 159.  
 — Humphrey, duke of, 215, 233, 235, 237.  
 — Richard, duke of, 244, 255, 257: see *Richard III.*  
 — Henry, duke of, 395, 448.  
 — William, duke of, 522, 526.  
 — Eleanor, duchess of, 215, 233, 236, 237.  
 Glyn, one of Cromwell's peers, 453.  
 Glyndwr, Owen, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223.  
 Gn. Lucilianus, 17.  
 Goda, a Devonshire thane, 56.  
 — daughter of Ethelred II., 56.  
 Godfrey of Bouillon, 99, 100.  
 — Sir Edmund Berry, 476.  
 — Colonel, 540.  
 Godolphin, Sidney, lord, 528, 540.  
 Godred, king of the Isle of Man, 110, 111, 118.  
 — Cronan, king of the Isle of Man, 87, 89, 97.  
 Godwin the earl, 57, 65, 66, 67.  
 — son of Harold II., 70.  
 Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, 380, 382.  
 Goodenough, an insurgent, 487.  
 Goodman, a plotter, 514, 517.  
 Gordian the Younger, emperor, 17.  
 Gordon, George Gordon, duke of, 499.  
 — lady Katherine, 276, 277, 280.  
 — lord Lewis, 499.  
 Goring, Charles, 421, 425, 429.  
 Gormo III. of Denmark, 49.  
 Gower, John, 206.  
 Gowrie, Alexander Ruthven, earl of, 353, 354.  
 — plot, the, 365.  
 Grafton, Henry Fitzroy, duke of, 503.  
 Graham of Claverhouse, 477, 485: see *Dundee*.  
 Grant, John, a gunpowder plotter, 374, 377.  
 Gratian, emperor, 20.  
 — usurper, 21.  
 Gravelines, battle of, 334.  
 Gray, Walter, archbishop of York, 151.  
 Green, 476.  
 Greenfield, Richard, 89.  
 Greenwich Hospital, 516.  
 Greenwood, John, 362.  
 Gregg, William, 535.  
 Gregory the Great, pope, 30.  
 — IX., pope, 148.  
 — XIII., pope, 350, 352.  
 Grenville, Sir Bevil, 426.  
 — Sir John, 455.  
 — Denis, 505.  
 Gresham, Sir Thomas, 359.  
 Grey, lord, an envoy to France, 226.  
 — lord Leonard, 299, 303, 307.  
 — lord Thomas, 327, 328.  
 — of Groby, Henry Grey, lord, (also earl of Stamford), 426, 435, 438.  
 — of Werke, William Grey, lord, 425, 438.  
 — Forde Grey, lord, 487.  
 — Sir John, 248.  
 — Sir Thomas, 227; another, 248.  
 — John de, bishop of Norwich, 138.  
 — Walter de, the chancellor, 139.  
 — Lady Jane, 314, 321, 323, 327, 328.  
 — Lady Katherine, 341.  
 — Lady Mary, 341.  
 Griffin, the Welsh king, 51, 67, 68.  
 — son of Rhys ap Tudor, 105.  
 — ap Conan, of North Wales, 90, 91, 105, 109.  
 — of Wales, 150, 151, 152.  
 Grimston, Edward, 342.  
 Grimstone, Sir Harbottle, 452.  
 Grindal, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, 351, 354.  
*Grith*, what, 75.  
 Grossteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, 153, 154, 155.  
 Grotius, Hugo, 405.  
 Groyne, siege of the, 361.  
 Guader, Ralph de, 90.  
 Guai, du, Trouin, 470, 537.  
 Gualo, the papal legate, 143, 147.  
 Guesclin, Bertrand du, 195, 196, 197.  
 Guiscard, the marquis de, 534, 538.  
 Guise, the family of, 343, 361.  
 Guisnes, capture of, 334.  
 Guitmond, the monk, 84.  
 Gundred, alleged daughter of William I., 86.  
 Gunhilda, sister of Sweyn, 58.  
 — daughter of Canute, 62.  
 — widow of Hacon and niece of Canute, 62, 65.

- Gunhilda, sister of Harold II., 70.  
 — daughter of Harold II., 70.  
 Gunpowder Plot, the, 374.  
 — plots in foreign history, 374.  
 Guorthemir, 22.  
 Guorthigirn, 22.  
 Guthferth, son of Sihtric of Northumbria, 52.  
 Guthrie, a preacher, 462.  
 Guthrum, 47, 48.  
 Gwynneth, a Welsh state, 42.  
 — Owen, 109, 111, 118, 119, 122.  
 Gwythian, St., an Irish missionary, 8.  
 Gyrth, brother of Harold II., 71.  
 Habeas Corpus Act, 476.  
 Hacker, Colonel, a regicide, 461.  
 Hacket, William, 361.  
 Haco V. of Norway, 158.  
 — the earl, 91.  
 Hacon, a Christian Northman, 37.  
 — the earl, 62.  
 Hadrian, emperor, 14.  
 Hakluyt Society, historical publications of the, 581.  
 Hales, Sir Edward, 487, 501, 502.  
 — Sir Robert, 204.  
 Halfane, a Northman, 45, 46.  
 Halidon-hill, battle of, 191.  
 Halifax, George Savile, marquis of, 478, 480, 487, 492, 495, 522.  
 — William, marquis of, 522.  
 — Charles Montagu, earl of, 522.  
 Hall, John, 209, 217.  
 — Joseph, bishop of Norwich, 390, 420.  
 — Timothy, 483.  
 Halloway, a traitor, 480.  
 Hamilton, James Hamilton, marquis and duke of, 402, 435, 443.  
 — William Hamilton, duke of, 402.  
 — Lieut.-Col., 509.  
 — William, 523.  
 Hammond, Colonel, 434.  
 Hamond, Matthew, 352.  
 Hampden, John, 407, 409, 421, 426.  
 — Mr., 480, 487.  
 Hampton Court, residence of Charles I. at, 434.  
 — Conferences, the, 373.  
 Hance, Edward, 353.  
 Harcla, Sir Andrew, 185.  
 Harcourt, Simon, lord, 38.  
 Hardicanute : see *Harthacnut*.  
 Harfleur, siege of, 227.  
 Harington, Sir James, 463.  
 Harleston, John, 342.  
 — Sir Richard, 275.  
 Harley, Robert, 503, 521, 523, 529, 535, 537, 538 : see *Oxford*, *Robert Harley*, earl of.  
 Harman, Sir John, 471.  
 Harold I., reign of, 63.  
 — II., reign of, 69—71.  
 — king of the Isle of Man, 150.  
 — son of earl Godwin, 65, 66, 67, 68 : see *Harold II*.  
 — son of Harold II., 70.  
 — Hardrada, 70.  
 Harper, Sir George, 330.  
 — William, a priest, 317.  
 Harrington, a priest, 363.  
 Harrison, the Anabaptist, 439, 449, 450, 461.  
 Harthacnut, reign of, 63, 64.  
 Haslrigge, Sir Arthur, 388, 421, 438, 452, 453.  
 Hasting, a Northman, 48.  
 Hastings, John, lord of Abergavenny, 171.  
 — lord, 222.  
 — William, lord, 257.  
 — Colonel, 513.  
 Hatton, Sir Christopher, 350, 358.  
 Haute, an attendant on Edward V., 257.  
 Hawes, Christopher, an alderman, 278.  
 Hawise : see *Isabel*.  
 Hawkins, Sir John, 340, 350, 361, 364.  
 — Peter, 382.  
 Haydock, Richard, a Puritan impostor, 374.  
 Hayes, John, attainted without trial, 274.  
 Heahmund, bishop of Sherborne, 44.  
 Hearda-Cnut : see *Harthacnut*.  
 Heath, Nicholas, bishop of Worcester, 319, 320, 326.  
 Heathfield, synod at, 34.  
 Hebrides, conquest of, by the Northmen, 49.  
 Hedgley-moor, battle at, 250.  
 Heemskerck, Laurence van, 471.  
 Helena, a British princess, 18.  
 Heliogabalus, emperor, 17.  
 Hengist, 24.  
 Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I., 395, 396, 402, 422, 426, 428.  
 — daughter of Charles I., 395.  
 Henrietta, natural daughter of James II., 484.  
 Henry III., emperor, 65.  
 — V., emperor, 104, 106.  
 — VI., emperor, 131, 132.  
 — I., reign of, 102—107.  
 — II., reign of, 115—125.  
 — III., reign of, 143—161.  
 — IV., reign of, 213—223.  
 — V., reign of, 224—229.  
 — VI., reign of, 230—242.  
 — VII., reign of, 269—281.  
 — VIII., reign of, 282—311.  
 — III. of France, 361.  
 — IV. of France, 361, 362, 363, 364.  
 — son of William I., 86, 97, 98, 99 : see *Henry I*.  
 — grandson of William I., 86.  
 — natural son of Henry I., 103.  
 — prince, son of Maud, 111 : see *Henry II*.  
 — son of Henry II., 116, 122, 123, 125.  
 — son of John, 136 : see *Henry III*.  
 — son of Henry III., 145.  
 — son of Richard, earl of Cornwall, 136, 158, 159, 161.  
 — son of Edward I., 166.



- Henry, son of the king of Castile, 207.  
 — son of Henry IV., 215, 221, 223 : see *Henry V.*  
 — son of Richard, duke of York, 245.  
 — son of Henry VII., 271, 278 : see *Henry VIII.*  
 — natural son of Henry VIII., 285.  
 — son of James I., 371, 380.  
 — son of Charles I., 395, 448.  
 — of Blois, bishop of Winchester, 107, 110, 111, 118.  
 Heptarchy, the, 27, 40.  
 Herbert the chamberlain, 94.  
 — Arthur, 489 : see *Torrington.*  
 — Sir Edward, 420, 421.  
 Hereford, the see of, 33.  
 Hereward, 89, 90.  
 Herick, what, 304.  
 Hermin Street, the, 6.  
 Herodian, 3, 15.  
 Herodotus, 2.  
 Hertford, synod of, 33.  
 Hervey, first bishop of Ely, 104.  
 Hewitt, Dr., 453.  
 Hexham, battle of, 250.  
 Heyron, John, 275.  
 Hickeys, Dean, 505.  
 Hierarchy of the Civil War, 610.  
 — of the Reformation, 607.  
 — the ejected, of Scotland, 611.  
 High Commission, court of, 341, 401, 414, 417.  
 — Court of Justice, 436.  
 Hii (Iona), a monastery built in, 30.  
 Hill, 476.  
 — general, 538.  
 Hogg, Stephen, 456.  
 Holland, Sir John, 188, 205.  
 — Sir Thomas, 188.  
 — a mariner, 305.  
 — Henry Rich, earl of, 435, 443.  
 Holles, Denzil, 421.  
 Holm, battle at the, in Kent, 50.  
 Holmby, residence of Charles I. at, 433 ; he is seized there by Joyce, *ib.*  
 Holmes, Sir Robert, 468.  
 Holt, a judge, 207, 208.  
 — Sir John, 498.  
 Holy Island, 250.  
 Holy Land : see *Crusades.*  
 Homildon-hill, battle of, 221.  
 Homilies, book of, set forth, 316.  
 Honorius, emperor, 21.  
 — III., pope, 148.  
 — archbishop of Canterbury, 32.  
 Hood, Paul, 432.  
 Hooker, Richard, 339.  
 Hooper, John, bishop of Worcester, 319, 321, 329, 331.  
 Hopkins, Nicholas, a Carthusian, 291.  
 Hops, John, abbot of Woburn, 303.  
 Hopton-heath, battle of, 426.  
 Horesti, a British tribe, 14.  
 Horne, a lay brother of the Charterhouse, 306.  
 Horsa, 22.  
 Horsey, Dr., 297.  
 Hotham, Sir John, 407, 421, 422, 428.  
 Hotspur : see *Percy, Henry.*  
 Hough, John, bishop of Worcester, 488, 533.  
 Houghton, a Carthusian prior, 300.  
 Hounslow-heath, camp at, 488.  
*Housecarles*, what, 76.  
 Howard, John : see *Norfolk, Surrey.*  
 — Sir Edward, 287.  
 — Lord Thomas, 302.  
 — Lord William, 307, 328.  
 — Sir Robert, 415.  
 — viscount, one of Cromwell's peers, 453.  
 — of Eskrick, Edward Howard, lord, 418, 444.  
 — William Howard, lord, 479.  
 Howe, John, 530.  
 Howel Dda, 32, 42, 50.  
 Howman, or Feckenham, John, 333.  
 Hris, brother of the Welsh king, 67.  
 Hubba, the Dane, 46.  
 Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, 132, 137, 138.  
 Huda, ealdorman, 42.  
 Hugh of the Temple, 107.  
 Hugo, a traitor, 58.  
 — abbot of Clugny, 96.  
 Hull, gates of, shut, 422.  
 Humfreville, Gilbert, 88.  
 Humphrey, dean of Winchester, 345.  
 Hunfrid the cook, 94.  
 Hungerford, Edward Hastings, lord, 257.  
 Hunne, Richard, 297.  
 Huntingdon, John Holland, earl of, 205, 208, 217, 218.  
 — John Holland, earl of, afterwards duke of Exeter, 228.  
 — William Herbert, earl of, 261.  
 Huntington, Major, 430.  
 Huntley, George Gordon, marquis of, 428, 444.  
 — a Kentish clergyman, 401, 402.  
 Hulton, Philip, 441.  
 Hurst Castle, Charles I. imprisoned at, 435.  
 Huss, John, 227.  
 Hussey, lord, 303.  
*Husting*, what, 74.  
 Hutchins, Sir George, 502.  
 Hutchinson, Colonel, 437, 438, 460, 467.  
 Huwal, king of the West-Welsh, 52.  
 Hwiccians, the, 40.  
 Hyde, Edward, 423, 445, 452 : see *Clarendon, Edward Hyde, earl of.*  
 — Anne, wife of James II., 484.  
 — Henry : see *Clarendon.*  
 — Lawrence : see *Rochester.*  
 Ia, St., an Irish missionary, 8.  
 Iago, of Gwynneth, 51.  
 Ibernia : see *Ireland.*  
 Icen, a British tribe, 5.  
 Ictis, described by Strabo, 3.  
 Ida, 29.  
 Ikenild Street, its presumed course, 6.  
 Imanuantius, king of the Trinobantes, 10.  
 Improprations, feoffees for, censured in the Star-chamber, 402.  
 Ina of Wessex, 34, 35.  
 Indulf, of Scotland, 55.  
 Ingwair, a Danish chief, 44.

- Inniskillen, or Enniskillen, 492.  
 ——— lord, 419.  
 Innocent III., pope, 138, 139, 140, 142.  
 ——— IV., pope, 152.  
 ——— VIII., pope, 297.  
 ——— XI., pope, 485.  
 Ireland, notices of the affairs of, 38, 121, 195, 220, 272, 288, 303, 307, 319, 363, 365, 378, 418, 444, 448, 466, 490, 492, 499, 501, 507, 514, 541.  
 ——— title of duke of, given to Robert de Vere, 199.  
 Ireton, Henry, 440, 445, 448.  
 Irish Archaeological Society, historical publications of the, 581.  
 ——— chief captains, 288.  
 ——— chieftains made peers of parliament, 307.  
 Irishman, Cornelius, a priest, 348.  
 "Irish massacre," the, 419.  
 Irish money forbidden to be circulated in England, 254.  
 ——— names adopted by the English, 289.  
 ——— scholars at the Universities, 232.  
 Isaac, ruler of Cyprus, 129.  
 Isabel of Angouleme, 136, 137.  
 ——— natural daughter of Richard I., 127.  
 ——— daughter of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, 136.  
 ——— daughter of John, 136, 149.  
 ——— daughter of Edward III., 189.  
 ——— daughter of Richard, earl of Cambridge, 227.  
 ——— (or Hawise), wife of John, 136, 137.  
 Isabella, wife of Edward II., 181, 182, 185, 186, 191.  
 ——— wife of Richard II., 201, 208, 214.  
 ——— duchess of Clarence, 251, 253, 254.  
 Itinerary of Antoninus, 2.  
 Itius Portus, 9.  
 Jamaica, conquest of, 452.  
 James I. of Scotland, 221, 229, 232, 233, 236.  
 James II. of Scotland, 236, 238, 241.  
 ——— III. of Scotland, 241, 251, 274.  
 ——— IV. of Scotland, 274, 276, 277, 280, 287.  
 ——— V. of Scotland, 301, 307.  
 ——— VI. of Scotland, 346, 353, 356, 365.  
 ——— I. (James VI. of Scotland), reign of, 369—383.  
 ——— II., reign of, 481—490.  
 ——— Francis Edward, son of James II., 484, 489, 490, 523, 524, 527, 540.  
 ——— prince of Scotland, 264.  
 James-town, in Virginia, founded, 378.  
 Jane, queen of Henry VIII., 284, 301, 303.  
 ——— Dr., 502.  
 Jaqueline of Holland, 215, 233.  
 "Jasper, Perkin's tailor," 277.  
 Jefferies, George, lord, 473.  
 Jehmarc, a Scottish chief, 62.  
 Jenkins, Judge, 391.  
 Jennings, Sarah, 483, 525 : see *Marlborough, Sarah, duchess of*.  
 Jerusalem, Latin kingdom of, established, 100 ; subverted, 125.  
 Jestyn, lord of Glamorgan, 97.  
 Jesus College, Cambridge, founded, 276.  
 ——— Oxford, founded, 349.  
 Jewel, John, bishop of Salisbury, 359.  
 Jews, the, in England, 162.  
 Joan, daughter of John, 136, 147.  
 ——— natural daughter of John, 136, 139.  
 ——— of Acre, daughter of Edward I., 166.  
 ——— daughter of Edward II., 181, 190.  
 ——— daughter of Edward III., 189.  
 ——— of Kent, wife of the Black Prince, 188.  
 ——— (Beaufort), queen of Scotland, 232, 236.  
 ——— Darc, 234, 235.  
 Joanna, daughter of Henry II., 116, 129, 131.  
 ——— of France, 173.  
 John, reign of, 135—142.  
 ——— II. of France, 194, 195, 196.  
 ——— I. of Portugal, 206.  
 ——— son of Henry II., 116, 124, 125 : see *John, king*.  
 ——— son of Henry III., 145.  
 ——— son of Edward I., 166.  
 ——— of Eltham, son of Edward II., 181.  
 ——— of Gaunt, son of Edward III., 189, 193, 197, 198, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209.  
 ——— son of Richard, duke of York, 245.  
 ——— XVI., pope, 57.  
 ——— lord of the Isles, 250.  
 ——— John, St., lord, 173, 177.  
 ——— Oliver, 88 ; another, 380.  
 ——— Henry, a lawyer, 438, 446, 447.  
 ——— 530, 536 : see *Bolingbroke*.  
 John's College, St., Cambridge, founded, 287.  
 ——— Oxford, founded, 338.  
 Johnson, John, name assumed by Guy Fawkes, 375.  
 ——— Rev. Samuel, 480.  
 Jones, Edward, a conspirator, 357.  
 ——— Walter, 375.  
 ——— a regicide, 461.  
 Jorwerth, prince of South Wales, 104.  
 Joseph, St., of Arimathea, 8.  
 ——— Michael, a rebel, 276.  
 Jourdain, Margaret, 237.  
 Jovian, emperor, 20.  
 Jovinus, prefect, 20.  
 Joyce, a cornet, 433.  
 Judith, queen, 41, 42, 43.  
 ——— wife of Tostig, 68, 70.  
 ——— niece of William I., 89, 91.  
 Julian, emperor, 20.  
 ——— son of Constantine, 21.  
 Juliana, natural daughter of Henry I., 103.  
 Julius Frontinus, proprætor, 13.  
 Junius, M. D., proprætor, 17.  
 Justice-seat, courts of, 402.

- Juxon, Bishop, 403, 436 ;  
abp., 460, 467.
- Katherine, queen of Henry  
V., 225.  
— of Aragon, queen  
of Henry VIII., 277,  
278, 285, 293, 294, 295,  
296, 301.  
— (Howard), queen  
of Henry VIII., 284,  
306, 307.  
— (Parr), queen of  
Henry VIII., 285, 309,  
317.  
— daughter of Ed-  
ward IV., 249.  
— natural daughter  
of Richard III., 261.  
— daughter of Henry  
VII., 271.  
— de Medicis,  
queen-mother of France,  
344.  
— of Portugal, queen  
of Charles II., 458, 499.
- Keck, Anthony, a lawyer,  
498.
- Keeble, Richard, a lawyer,  
443.
- Kelsey, major-general, 432,  
452.
- Kempe, Cardinal John,  
233, 235.
- Ken, Thomas, bishop of  
Bath and Wells, 489,  
499, 505.
- Kenilworth, siege of, 160 ;  
Dictum de, *ib.*
- Kenneth II., of Scotland,  
42.
- Kent, kingdom of, 27, 40.  
— Thomas, earl of, 208,  
209, 217, 218.  
— Edmund Holland,  
earl of, 221.  
— William Neville, earl  
of, 242.  
— Henry Grey, earl of,  
357, 358.
- Kentigern, 29.
- Kentish rising, the, 435.
- Petition, the, 523.
- Kernes, 289.
- Ket (or Knight), a Norfolk  
insurgent, 318.
- Ketil, son of Tostig, 70.
- Keting, James, prior of Kil-  
mainham, 275.
- Kett, Francis, 361.
- Keys, Robert, a gunpowder  
plotter, 374, 376, 377.  
— Thomas, 341 ; an-  
other, 516.
- Kidd, William, a pirate,  
521, 523, 533.
- Kilder, Richard, bishop of  
Bath and Wells, 504.
- Kildare, Gerald Fitzgerald,  
earl of, 272.  
— Gerald, son of the  
above, 299 ; his son,  
"Silken Thomas," *ib.* ;  
his grandson, Gerald,  
299, 329.
- Kilkenny, Assembly of, 424.
- Killiecrankie, battle of, 501.
- Kilsyth, battle of, 429.
- Kimbolton, lord, 421, 439 ;  
see *Manchester, earl of*.
- King among the Anglo-  
Saxons, 75.  
— of Ireland, the title  
assumed, 307.  
— a plotter, 516.
- King's College, Cambridge,  
founded, 237.
- King Henry's College, 310.
- Kingston, Sir Anthony,  
331.
- Kinsale fortified by the  
Spaniards, 366.
- Kirk, Colonel Percy, 486,  
501.
- Knesworth, Sir Thomas,  
278.
- Knight, various meanings  
of the term, 94.
- Kighthood, fines for de-  
clining, 401.
- Knightly, convicted of trea-  
son, 516.
- Knights' fees, their nature  
and number, 83.
- of St. John of Jeru-  
salem, 106, 182, 306,  
333, 342.
- Templars, the order  
of, 105, 182.
- Knollys, Sir Robert, 204.  
— Sir William, 366.
- Knox, John, notice of, 308.
- Kyntroisk*, what, 304.
- Laberius, 9.
- Lacy, Hugh, governor of  
Ireland, 123, 124.  
— Hugh and Walter de,  
139.
- Lact*, a class so termed, 74.
- La Hogue, battle of, 506.
- Lake, John, bishop of Chi-  
chester, 489, 499.
- Lamb, Dr., 398, 402.
- Lambert, John, 305.  
— General, 435, 439,  
440, 449, 453, 454, 455,  
460, 466.
- Lambeth Articles, 364.
- Lamplugh, Thomas, bishop  
of Exeter, and archbishop  
of York, 490, 502.
- Lancaster, House of, 210.  
— Edmund, earl of,  
son of Henry III., 145,  
155, 156, 161, 173.  
— Thomas, earl of,  
145, 178, 182, 183, 184,  
185.  
— Henry, earl of,  
178, 186, 190.  
— Henry, duke of,  
209, 210 : see *Henry IV.*  
— James, his voyage  
to India, 365.
- Landen, battle of, 511.
- Landois, minister of the  
duke of Brittany, 270.
- Landrecy, siege of, 540.
- Lanfranc, archbishop of  
Canterbury, 89, 91, 97.
- Langdale, Sir Marmaduke,  
435.
- Langley, Geoffrey, 155.
- Langside, battle of, 346.
- Langton, Stephen, arch-  
bishop of Canterbury,  
138, 140, 147.
- Lansdown, battle of, 426.
- La Rochelle, siege and cap-  
ture of, 398, 399.
- Latham House, siege of,  
427, 428.
- Latian cities, 6.
- Latimer, Hugh, bishop of  
Worcester, 298, 305, 306,  
326, 331.
- Laud, William, archbishop  
of Canterbury, 385, 399,  
401, 403, 408, 409, 414,  
415, 416, 427, 428, 429.
- Lauderdale, John Maitland,  
earl of, 462, 472.
- Laurentius, archbishop, 31.
- Lauzun, the duke of, 502.
- Lawrens, a Carthusian prior,  
300.
- Lawson, Sir John, 468.
- Layfield, Dr., 393.
- Leake, Sir John, 532.
- Learning, patronized by the  
House of York, 245.
- Lee, Edward, archbishop of  
York, 302.
- Leeds, Thomas Osborne,  
duke of, 513.
- Legate, Bartholomew, 380.
- Leger, St., Sir Anthony,  
303, 319.  
— Sir Thomas,  
245, 263.
- Legras, John, 157.
- Leicester, a stipendiary  
town, 6.

- Leicester, Robert de Bello-  
 mont, earl of, 123.  
 — Simon de Mont-  
 ford, earl of: see *Mont-  
 fort*.  
 — Robert Dudley,  
 earl of, 327, 337, 356,  
 357, 358.  
 — Robert Sydney,  
 earl of, 423.  
 Lenox, John Stuart, earl of,  
 274.  
 — Matthew Stuart,  
 earl of, 309, 345, 348,  
 349.  
 Lenthall, William, the  
 Speaker, 414, 434, 455,  
 461.  
 Leofgar, bishop of Here-  
 ford, 67.  
 Leofric of Mercia, 66, 68.  
 Leofwin, brother of Ha-  
 rold II., 66, 71.  
 Leopold I., emperor, 522.  
 — V., duke of Austria,  
 131, 132.  
 Levellers, the, 434, 443,  
 444.  
 Leven, Alexander Lesley,  
 earl of, 418, 427.  
 Levenmaur: see *Lucius*.  
 Leverous, Thomas, bishop  
 of Kildare, 299.  
 Levison, Sir Richard, 366.  
 Lewes, battle of, 158.  
 Lewis, John, 354.  
 Libellers, the, and the Star-  
 chamber, 409.  
 Licinius, emperor, 19.  
 — Italicus, 14.  
 Lilburne, John, 411, 443,  
 448, 449.  
 — Colonel Robert,  
 446.  
 Limerick, siege of, 505.  
 Lincoln, a Roman colony,  
 6; made a bishop's see,  
 91; battle of, 146.  
 — Henry de Lacy,  
 earl of, 172.  
 — John de la Pole,  
 earl of, 245, 264, 273.  
 — John, a rioter, 290.  
 — College, Oxford,  
 founded, 233.  
 Lincolnshire, insurrection  
 in, 302.  
 Lindisfarne, the see of,  
 founded, 31.  
 Liofa, an outlaw, 53.  
 Lionel, son of Edward III.,  
 188, 196.  
 Lisle, Alicia, 443.  
 — Arthur Plantagenet,  
 viscount, 249.  
 Lisle, Sir George, 435.  
 — John, a lawyer, 443.  
 — viscount, one of  
 Cromwell's peers, 453.  
 Litster, John, a rioter, 204.  
 Littleton, Sir Edward, 415.  
 — Sir Thomas,  
 Speaker, 518.  
 Liturgy, the new, intro-  
 duced into Ireland, 319;  
 attempt to introduce in  
 Scotland, 412.  
 Llandaff, foundation of the  
 see of, ascribed to Lucius,  
 8.  
 Llewelyn Bren, 183.  
 — ap Iorwerth, king  
 of North Wales, 132,  
 139, 148, 149, 150.  
 — of Wales, 152,  
 157, 158, 159, 160, 165,  
 167, 168, 169.  
 — ap Sitsyllt, 51.  
 Lloyd, William, bishop of  
 St. Asaph, 489.  
 — William, bishop of  
 Norwich, 499, 504, 505.  
 Lollards, the, 205, 219,  
 226.  
 Lollius Urbicus, 15.  
 London (Londinium) Ro-  
 man colony, 6; see of,  
 founded, 30; the plague  
 in, 468; the great fire,  
 470.  
 "London Gazette," the,  
 established, 468.  
 Londonderry, siege of, 492,  
 501.  
 Longchamp, William de,  
 bishop of Ely, 128, 132.  
 Longespee, William, earl  
 of Salisbury, natural son  
 of Henry II., 116, 139,  
 140, 141.  
 — William, earl of  
 Salisbury, 153.  
 Longrother, John, 233.  
 Loppez, Roger, 363.  
 Lothaire of Kent, 34, 72.  
 Lothen, a Danish chief, 65.  
 Loudoun, lord, a Scottish  
 commissioner, 414, 418.  
 Louis VI. of France, 105,  
 106.  
 — VII. of France, 111,  
 119, 120, 124.  
 — VIII. of France, 147,  
 148.  
 — IX. of France, 151,  
 153, 157, 158, 161.  
 — X. of France, 183.  
 — XI. of France, 254,  
 255.  
 — XII. of France, 288.  
 Louis XIII. of France,  
 398.  
 — XIV. of France, 468,  
 469, 472, 474, 475.  
 — son of Charles the  
 Simple, 52.  
 — the dauphin, 142, 146:  
 see *Louis VIII.*  
 Louisa of Savoy, queen-  
 mother of France, 292,  
 293.  
 Louvois, the minister, 469.  
 Lovat, Simon Fraser, lord,  
 529.  
 Love, Christopher, 446.  
 Lovel, lord, 260, 272, 273.  
 Lovelace, lord, 490.  
 Lowick, 516.  
 Lucas, Sir Charles, 435.  
 Lucilianus, Gn., proprætor,  
 17.  
 Lucius, king, 15.  
 — Verus, emperor, 15.  
 Ludeca of Mercia, 40.  
 Ludlow, Edmund, 438,  
 440.  
 Lugdunum, battle of, 15.  
 Luidhard, a bishop, 30.  
 Lumley, Sir Ralph, 218.  
 — Richard Lumley,  
 viscount, 489, 490.  
 Lundy, colonel, 492.  
 — Island, 186, 317,  
 406.  
 Lunsford, colonel, 420, 421.  
 Lupicinus, a Roman gene-  
 ral, 20.  
 Lupus Virius, proprætor,  
 15, 16.  
 Lusignan, Guy de, king of  
 Jerusalem, 125, 128, 130.  
 — half-bro-  
 ther of Henry III., 152.  
 Luther, Martin, 292.  
 Luxembourg, Marshal,  
 469.  
 Lypne, a Roman for-  
 tress, 5.  
 Lyttelton, Stephen, a gun-  
 powder plotter, 376.  
 Mabel, wife of Robert, earl  
 of Gloucester, 102.  
 Macaulay, Lord, 508.  
 Macbeth, a Scottish chief,  
 62, 67.  
 Macdonald, Duncan, an  
 English partisan, 176.  
 — of Glencoe, 507.  
 M'Donough, dynast of  
 Leinster, 220.  
 Mackay, General, 500, 501,  
 507.  
 Mackerell, Matthew, abbot  
 of Barlings, 303.

- Macrinus, emperor, 17.  
 Madoc, prince of Powys, 111.  
 — a Welsh prince, alleged voyage of, to America, 122.  
 — an insurgent, 172, 173.  
 Mæatæ and Caledonians, 3, 6.  
 Mægla, 29.  
 Mænius Agrippa, 14.  
 Magdalen College, Oxford, founded, 240; attack on its rights, 488.  
 Magna Charta, 140.  
 Magnentius, 20.  
 Magnus I. of Norway, 65.  
 — III. of Norway, 101, 104.  
 — V. of Norway, 110.  
 — VII. of Norway, 158.  
 — son of Harold II., 70.  
 Maidstone, storming of, 435.  
 Maitland Club, historical publications of the, 581.  
 Malcolm of Scotland, 53.  
 — II., 62.  
 — III., 88, 90, 91, 98.  
 — IV., 118, 123, 276.  
 Maldon, a Roman colony, 6.  
 Mallet, William, 104.  
 — Dr., a chaplain, 320.  
 Malplaquet, battle of, 537.  
 Man and the Isles, notices of, 31, 87, 101, 147, 160, 171, 193, 217, 447.  
 Manchester, Edward Montague, earl of, 428, 453.  
 Manfred, king of Sicily, 154.  
 Manning, a spy, 452.  
 Manny, Sir Walter, 192.  
 Mansel, John, 153, 157, 158.  
 — Sir Robert, 366.  
 Mansfeldt, count, 383.  
 Manwaring, Dr. Roger, 384, 399.  
 Mar, earl of, 254.  
 — John Erskine, earl of, 349, 369.  
 March, Roger Mortimer, earl of, 190; another, 206, 209.  
 — Edmund Mortimer, earl of, 206; another, 221, 243.  
 March, George Dunbar, earl of, 235.  
 Marche, Hugh Lusignan, count de la, 136, 137, 138, 151.  
 Marchmont, Patrick Home, earl of, 521.  
 Marcianus Hieracleota, 2.  
 Marcus, 21.  
 Marcus Aurelius, emperor, 15.  
 Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, 90, 98.  
 — queen of Edward I., 165, 166, 181.  
 — of Norway, 170, 171.  
 — of Anjou, queen of Henry VI., 231, 237, 240, 241, 242, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254.  
 — queen of Scotland, 251.  
 — daughter of Louis VII., 116, 119.  
 — daughter of Henry III., 145, 154, 155.  
 — daughter of Edward I., 166.  
 — daughter of Edward III., 189.  
 — daughter of Richard, duke of York, 245, 251, 273, 275.  
 — daughter of Edward IV., 248.  
 — daughter of Henry VII., 271, 277, 288, 290.  
 — daughter of James I., 371.  
 — II., countess of Flanders, 167.  
 Maria, the infanta, 382, 384.  
 Marian persecution, the, 330.  
 Marius Valerianus, 17.  
 Mark, bishop of Sodor, 174.  
 Markham, Sir Griffin, 372.  
 Marlborough, James Ley, earl of, 468.  
 — John Churchill, earl and duke of, 499, 503, 504, 506, 523, 525, 528, 529, 531, 532, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540.  
 — Sarah, duchess of, 525, 540.  
 Mar-Prelate tracts, the, 359.  
 Marsh, Geoffrey, 149.  
 — Stephen, 450.  
 — William, 151.  
 Marshal, William, 137.  
 — Richard, earl: see *Pembroke*.  
 Marston-moor, battle of, 428.  
 Marten, Sir Henry, 402.  
 Martin IV., pope, 168.  
 — Master, 152.  
 Martinus, præfect, 20.  
 Martyr, Peter, 317, 326.  
 "Martyrdom" of Charles I., the commemorative service, 395.  
 Mary Magdalene College, St., Cambridge, founded, 291.  
 Mary I., reign of, 322—334.  
 — II., reign of, 494—512.  
 — of Guise, queen-mother of Scotland, 308, 343.  
 — queen of Scots, 308, 309, 344, 345, 346, 349, 357, 358, 368.  
 — daughter of Stephen, 109.  
 — daughter of Edward I., 166.  
 — daughter of Edward III., 189.  
 — daughter of Edward IV., 248.  
 — daughter of Henry VII., 271, 288, 290.  
 — daughter of Henry VIII., 285, 302, 316, 318, 320, 321: see *Mary I.*  
 — daughter of James I., 371.  
 — daughter of Charles I., 395, 422.  
 — daughter of James, duke of York, 475, 484, 496: see *Mary II., queen*.  
 Masham, Mrs., favourite of Queen Anne, 534, 538, 539.  
 — Stephen, 539.  
 Massey, John, 487, 488.  
 Mathraval, kings of, 42.  
 Matilda of Flanders, wife of William I., 85, 87, 92.  
 — wife of Stephen, 108, 110.  
 — daughter of William I., 86.  
 — daughter of Fulk, earl of Anjou, 105.  
 — daughter of Henry II., 117.  
 Matueof, Andrew Artemo-

- nowitz, an ambassador, 537.  
Maud, wife of Henry I., 102, 103, 105.  
— daughter of Henry I., 102, 104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111.  
— two natural daughters of Henry I., 103.  
— daughter of Stephen, 108.  
— wife of David of Scotland, 106.  
Maudelyn, a chaplain, 200, 218.  
Maurice, bishop of London, 103.  
— the justiciary, 149.  
— prince, 424, 445.  
Maxentius, emperor, 19.  
Maxima Caesariensis, 27.  
Maximian, 18, 19.  
Maximilian, the emperor, 287.  
Maximinus I., emperor, 17.  
— II., emperor, 18.  
Maximus, emperor, 20, 21.  
— Clemens, 20.  
Maychell, John, 251.  
Maynard, Sir John, 496.  
Mayne, Cuthbert, a semi-nary priest, 352.  
Mayo, colonel, 451.  
Mazarin, Julius, cardinal, 439.  
Mead, a quaker, 473.  
Meatæ, a British tribe, 16.  
Medeshamstede, the abbey of, founded, 32.  
Medina, Sir Solomon, 539.  
— Sidonia, Alfonso Peresius, duke of, 359.  
Meesters, a Dutch engineer, 512.  
Melaghlín, king of Ireland, 56.  
Melbethe, a Scottish chief, 62.  
Mellitus, archbishop, 31.  
Menapii, the, 18.  
Mercia, the kingdom of, founded, 30.  
Meredith of Dynevor, 51.  
Merefield, George, 402.  
Merks, Thomas, bishop of Carlisle, 210, 218.  
Merlesuain, 87.  
Merrick, Sir Gellis, 366.  
Merton, Walter de, 167.  
*Mertyeght*, what, 304.  
Mervin, prince of Powys, 42, 49.  
Michael's Mount, St., 253, 271.  
Middle class, rise of the, in England, 267.  
Middlemore, a Carthusian, 300.  
Middlesex, Lionel Cranfeild, earl of, 382.  
Middleton, general, 450; made an earl, 462.  
— Sir Thomas, 429, 454.  
Mid Saxon kingdom, founded, 27.  
Mildmay, Sir Henry, 463.  
— Sir Walter, 355.  
Millenary Petition, the, 372.  
Milo the porter, 94.  
Milton, John, 426, 440, 441.  
Minocynobellinus, a fugitive Briton, 11.  
Mitchell, Sir Francis, 381.  
Mochnud, Dynwal, laws ascribed to, 32.  
Mohun, Charles, lord, 504.  
Moleyne, Adam, bishop of Chichester, 238.  
Mompesson, Sir Giles, 381.  
Mona, 4, 12, 13.  
Monasteries, suppression of the, 298, 301, 305; some few refounded, 325; again suppressed, 342.  
Monastics, treatment of the expelled, 298, 303, 316.  
Money, Saxon, 76.  
Monk, George, 427, 440, 446, 447, 451, 455: see *Albemarle*.  
Monmouth, Geoffrey of, 29.  
— James, duke of, natural son of Charles II., 459, 473, 479, 480, 481, 486.  
Monson, William, lord, 463.  
— Sir Richard, 366.  
— Sir William, 361, 408.  
Montacute, Anthony Browne, lord, 331.  
— Henry Pole, lord, 283, 305.  
Montague, lord, 374.  
— Charles, 522, 524.  
— Christopher, 523.  
— Edward, 455, 456: see *Sandwich*, earl of.  
— John Neville, lord, 250, 252.  
— Dr. Richard, 385, 396, 397.  
Monteagle, William Parker, lord, 374, 375.  
Montferrat, Conrad of, 125, 130, 131.  
Montferrat, William of, 125.  
Montfort, Simon de, 144, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159.  
— Simon de, the younger, 158.  
— Almeric de, 168.  
— Eleanor de, 168, 169.  
— Sir Simon, 275.  
— John III. de, duke of Brittany, 192, 193.  
— John IV., 196, 197, 203.  
— Jane de, 192.  
Montgomery, castle of, 87, 88, 99, 147.  
— Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, 97.  
— Lord, 514.  
Montrose, James Graham, earl and marquis of, 428, 429, 430, 444, 445.  
*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 571.  
Moore, John, bishop of Norwich, 504.  
Morcar, the thane, 60.  
— earl of Northumbria, 68, 70, 71, 87, 90, 97.  
Mordaunt, lord, 374.  
— General, 537.  
More, Sir Thomas, 283, 294, 296, 300, 301.  
— Roger, 419.  
Moreville, Hugh de, 122.  
Morgan, bishop of St. David's, 57.  
— natural son of Henry II., 117.  
— a Welsh chieftain, 172.  
Morland, Samuel, 452.  
Morley, bishop, 460.  
Mortimer, Ralph de, 90.  
— Hugh, lord of Wigmore, 118.  
— Roger, lord of Wigmore, 156.  
— Roger, 185, 186, 187: see *March*, earl of.  
Mortimer's Cross, battle of, 241.  
Morton, James Douglas, earl of, 346, 350, 352, 353.  
— John, bishop of Ely, 257, 265; archbishop of Canterbury, 274, 297.  
Morton, Dr. Nicholas, 347.  
— Thomas, a laceman, 537.  
Mountjoy, Charles Blount, lord, 365, 372.

Mountsorrel, siege of, 146.  
Mowbray, Roger de, 123.  
—— John, Thomas :  
    see *Nottingham*.  
Mul of Wessex, 34.  
Mulgrave, Edmund Sheff-  
field, earl of, 438, 453.  
—— John Sheffield,  
    earl of, 491.  
Mund, what, 74.  
Munden, Sir John, 528.  
Murray, James Stuart, earl  
of, 345, 346, 348.  
Muskerry, lord, 468.  
*Mustrous*, what, 304.  
Najara, battle of, 196.  
Nanfan, Sir John, 282.  
Nantwich, battles at, 427,  
    454.  
Narborough, Sir John, 475.  
Naseby, battle of, 429.  
Nau, a secretary, 357.  
Navarre, Joan of, 215, 227,  
    228.  
Naylor, James, 452.  
Nectaridus, 20.  
Neerwinden, battle of, 511.  
Nelson, John, 352.  
—— Robert, 505.  
Neot, St., 46.  
Neratius Marcellus, prefect,  
    14.  
Nero, emperor, 12, 13.  
Nerva, emperor, 14.  
Nesta, a Welsh princess,  
    102.  
Netherlands, protection of  
the, accepted by Eliza-  
beth, 356; truce with  
Spain, its consequences,  
    378.  
Neufmarché, Bernard of,  
    98.  
Nevil, Thomas, dean of  
Canterbury, 372.  
Neville, Ralph, earl of  
Westmoreland, 209, 216.  
—— George, archbishop  
of York, 251, 253.  
—— Sir George, 264,  
    275.  
Neville's cross, battle of,  
    193.  
Newburn, skirmish at, 414.  
Newbury, first battle of,  
    426; second battle of,  
    428.  
New Caledonia (Darien),  
    519.  
Newcastle, William Caven-  
dish, earl and marquis of,  
    425, 428.  
Newdygate, a Carthusian,  
    300.

New England, Puritan set-  
tlement in, 381.  
New Forest, formation of  
the, 91.  
Newfoundland, colonization  
of, 378.  
Newland, Sir Benjamin,  
    503.  
"New Model" of the army,  
    428, 429.  
Newport, treaty of, 435.  
New York, capture of,  
    468.  
Nice, Council of, 19.  
Nicholas IV., pope, 170.  
Nicholson, or Lambert,  
    John, 305.  
*Niflheim*, what, 26.  
Nigel, bishop of Ely, 110.  
Nimias, 21, 27.  
Nonjurors, the, 505.  
Norfolk, insurrection in,  
    318; attempted rising in,  
    445.  
—— Hugh Bigod, earl  
of, 118.  
—— Roger Bigod, earl  
of, 173.  
—— Thomas Mowbray,  
    duke of, 209.  
—— John Howard, duke  
of, 260, 262, 265.  
—— Thomas, duke of,  
    son of the above, 263,  
    274, 287.  
—— Thomas, duke of,  
    son of the above, 291,  
    292, 294, 310, 311, 328.  
—— Thomas, duke of,  
    grandson of the above,  
    328, 347, 348, 349.  
Norman era, the, 82.  
Norris, Sir John, 361, 365.  
—— an admi-  
ral, 537.  
—— Sir William, 263.  
—— Henry, an alleged  
    paramour of Anne Bo-  
    leyn, 301.  
North, insurrections in the,  
    302, 303, 347.  
Northampton, battle at,  
    241.  
—— John of, 205.  
—— William  
    Parr, marquis of, 309,  
    329.  
Northamptonshire, insur-  
rection in, 378.  
Northmen, the, 37.  
Northumberland, Robert  
Mowbray, earl of, 99.  
—— Henry  
Percy, earl of, 207, 214,  
    217, 221, 222, 223.

Northumberland, Henry  
Percy, earl of, grandson  
of the above, 214, 238,  
    239.  
—— Henry  
Percy, earl of, son of the  
above, 252, 264, 265,  
    274.  
—— Thomas  
Percy, earl of, grandson  
of the above, 347, 350.  
—— Henry  
Percy, earl of, brother of  
the above, 356.  
—— Henry  
Percy, earl of, 374, 380,  
    382.  
—— John Ne-  
ville, earl of, 251, 252 :  
    see *Montagu*.  
—— John Dud-  
ley, duke of, 309, 313,  
    315, 318, 319, 320, 321,  
    325, 326.  
Northumbria, kingdom of,  
founded, 29.  
Norwich, see of, founded,  
    98.  
—— George Goring,  
    earl of, 435, 443.  
Nottingham, the royal  
standard set up at, 423.  
—— Thomas Mow-  
bray, earl of, 208, 209.  
—— John Mowbray,  
    earl of, 221.  
—— Charles  
Howard, earl of, 365,  
    366, 377.  
—— Heneage Finch,  
    earl of, 472.  
—— Daniel Finch,  
    earl of, 492, 506, 528.  
Nova Scotia, 538.  
Novantæ, a British tribe, 5.  
Numerianus, emperor, 18.  
Oates, Titus, 475, 480, 485.  
O'Collun, Patrick, 363.  
O'Connor, Charles, 587.  
Odo, archbishop of Canter-  
bury, 54.  
—— of Bayeux, 87, 92,  
    94, 97.  
Odoacer, 23.  
O'Dogherty, rising of, 378.  
Offa of East Anglia, 35.  
—— II. of Mercia, 36, 37,  
    39.  
Oglethorpe, Owen, bishop  
of Carlisle, 341.  
Olaf of Norway, 62, 70.  
—— III. of Norway, 92.  
—— son of Godred Cronan,  
    104, 110.

- Olaf, king of the Isles, 147, 148, 149, 150.  
 — son of Harold Hardrada, 71.  
 Oldcastle, Sir John, (styled Lord Cobham), 226, 228.  
 Old Hall green, 337.  
 Old Sarum, a Latian city, 6.  
 Oliver, natural son of King John, 136.  
 O'Neal, Con, an Irish chieftain, 307, 346.  
 — Hugh, 363: see *Tyrone*.  
 — Sir Phelim, 419.  
 Onslow, Sir Richard, Speaker, 537.  
*Open morth*, what, 77.  
 Orange, William I., prince of, 330.  
 — III., prince of, 395, 475, 489, 490, 491, 492: see *William III.*  
 Orcaes, period of their discovery by the Romans doubtful, 11.  
 Ordeal, three kinds of, 77.  
 — trial by, formally abolished, 147.  
 Ordgar, the ealdorman, 55.  
 Ordinances of the Houses of Parliament, abstract of, 387.  
 Ordovices, a British tribe, 5.  
 Orford, Edward Russell, earl of, 506, 512, 522, 523.  
 Orkney and Shetland islands surrendered to Scotland, 251.  
 — Elizabeth Villiers, countess of, 498, 521.  
 Orleans, siege of, 234.  
 — Charles, duke of, 228, 236.  
 Orleton, Adam, bishop of Hereford, 186.  
 Ormond, James Butler, duke of, 419, 423, 427, 430, 435, 467, 485.  
 — James Butler, duke of, grandson of the above, 528, 540, 542.  
 O'Rourke, Sir Bryan, 362.  
 Osbald, a usurper, 39.  
 Osbaldestone, Dr., 412.  
 Osbern, son of Siward of Northumbria, 67.  
 Osbert of Northumbria, 43.  
 Osburga, wife of Ethelwulf, 41.  
 Osep Napea, a Russian ambassador, 333.  
 Osgod Clapa, 64.  
 Oslac, 41.  
 — earl of Northumberland, 55.  
 Osred I., of Northumbria, 35.  
 — II., of Northumbria, 37.  
 Osric of Deira, 31.  
 — of Northumbria, 35.  
 — the ealdorman, 42.  
 Ostmen, the, 39, 121.  
 Ostorius Scapula, 11, 12.  
 Ostrith, queen, 35.  
 Oswald (Bretwalda), 31, 32.  
 Oswine of Deira, 32.  
 — a noble, 36.  
 Oswulf of Northumbria, 36.  
 Oswy of Northumbria, (Bretwalda), 32, 33.  
 Otho, emperor, 13.  
 — the Great, 49.  
 — cardinal, papal legate, 150.  
 Ottadeni, a British tribe, 5.  
 Otterburn, battle of, 207.  
 Oudenarde, battle of, 536.  
 Overbury, Sir Thomas, 380.  
 Owen ap Edwin, 101.  
 — Gwynneth, 89, 109, 111, 118, 119, 122.  
 — Sir John, 443.  
 Oxford, Parliaments at, 427, 478.  
 — Provisions of, 156, 157, 158.  
 — Thomas de Vere, earl of, 199.  
 — Robert de Vere, earl of, 199, 206, 207.  
 — Isabella de Vere, countess of, 221.  
 — John de Vere, earl of, 250.  
 — John de Vere, earl of, son of the above, 252, 264, 265.  
 — Margaret de Vere, countess of, 253, 265.  
*Oylegeag*, what, 304.  
 Pacatianus, proprætor, 19.  
 Palmer, Sir Thomas, 326.  
 Pandulph, a cardinal, 139, 141, 147.  
 Papianus, præfect, 17.  
 Paris places itself under English government, 229; recovered by the French, 234.  
 Parisii, a British tribe, 5.  
 Parker, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, 336, 339, 344, 351.  
 — Samuel, bishop of Oxford, 483.  
 — Colonel John, 512.  
 — Society, historical publications of the, 582.  
 Parliament, burgesses first summoned to, 157.  
 — the Long, 414, 433, 434, 443, 449, 455, 459.  
 Parma, Hercules Farnese, duke of, 359.  
 Parre, George Van, 320.  
 Parry, William, 355.  
 Parsons, Robert, 352.  
 Partridge, Sir Miles, 321.  
 Paslew, John, abbot of Whalley, 303.  
 Passelew, Simon, 156.  
 Patay, battle of, 234.  
 Patent Rolls, 551.  
 Paterson, William, notice of, 519.  
 Patrick, St., 28.  
 — Simon, bishop of Chichester, 504.  
 Pattyn: see *Waynesflete*.  
 Paul, St., 8.  
 — IV., pope, 331.  
 — M. St., 533.  
 Paulet, governor of Derry, 378.  
 Paulinus, bishop, 31, 32.  
 — Claudius, prætor, 17.  
 Paucefort, Tracy, 513.  
 Pavia, battle of, 293.  
 Peachell, John, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, 489.  
 Peacock, Reginald, bishop of Chichester, 297.  
 Peada of Mercia, 32, 33.  
 Pechy, John, 275.  
 Peckham, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 168.  
 Pedro the Cruel, of Castile, 196.  
 Pelagius, 8, 21.  
 Pembroke Castle, siege of, 434.  
 — College, Oxford, founded, 383.  
 — William Marshal, earl of, 143.  
 — William de Valence, earl of, 152, 156, 159.  
 — Aymer de Valence, earl of, 178, 182, 183.  
 — John Hastings, earl of, 189, 197.



- Pembroke, William Herbert, earl of, 251, 269.  
 — Jasper Tudor, earl of, 225, 251, 269.  
 — William Herbert, earl of, 320.  
 — Philip Herbert, earl of, 438.  
 — Thomas Herbert, lord high admiral, 537.  
 Penda of Mercia, 31, 32.  
 Pendleton, Dr., 329.  
 Penn, Admiral Sir William, 448, 449, 451, 452, 489.  
 — William, 473, 489.  
 Pennington, a member of the council of state, 438.  
 Penredd, Timothy, 340.  
 Penruddock, Colonel John, 451.  
 Penry, Henry, 359, 362.  
 Pentecost's Castle, 67.  
 Pentland hills, battle on the, 471.  
 Penzance burnt by the Spaniards, 364.  
 Perche, count of, 146.  
 Percy, Henry de, 176.  
 — Henry, called Hotspur, 207, 214, 221.  
 — Sir Thomas, 303.  
 — Thomas, a gunpowder plotter, 374, 375, 376 : see also *Northumberland*.  
 Perennis, praetorian praefect, 15.  
 Perkins, Sir William, 514, 516.  
 Perran-zabuloe : see *St. Piran*.  
 Perrers, Alice, 198, 202.  
 Perrott, Sir John, 354, 362.  
 Perth, Articles of, 381.  
 Pertinax, Helvius, 15.  
 Peter, St., 8, 12.  
 — the Hermit, 99.  
 — I., duke of Brittany, 148, 149.  
 — of Savoy, earl of Richmond, 150.  
 — of Spain, the papal legate, 176.  
 Peter the Great, czar of Russia, 517.  
 Peterborough, monastery of, burnt, 105 ; see of, founded, 298.  
 — Henry Mor-daunt, earl of, 500, 501.  
 — Charles Mor-daunt, earl of, 532.  
 Peters, Hugh, 434, 461.  
 Petilius Cerealis, 12, 13.  
 Peto, William or Peter, a Franciscan, 298, 302.  
 Petre, lord, 478, 480.  
 — Edward, a Jesuit, 482, 488, 490, 491.  
 Petronius Turpilianus, 12.  
 Peverel, William, 86.  
 Phelps, John, 463.  
 Philip, emperor, 17.  
 — I., king of France, 95.  
 — II. (Augustus) of France, 124, 125, 129, 130, 132, 133, 137, 138, 139, 140, 147.  
 — III., of France, 190.  
 — IV., of France, 172, 182.  
 — VI., of France, 190, 192, 194.  
 — II., of Spain, 323, 329, 330, 333, 334, 358, 359, 360, 363, 365.  
 — V., of Spain, 522, 534, 538, 541.  
 — son of John II. of France, 195.  
 — bishop of Beauvais, 132, 140.  
 Philiphaugh, battle of, 429.  
 Philippa of Hainault, queen of Edward III., 188, 193.  
 — daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, 188, 243.  
 — daughter of Henry IV., 215.  
 Philpot, John, 202, 203.  
 Pickering, Sir William, 338.  
 Picts, the, I, II, 34, 35, 42.  
 Pilgrimage of Grace, the, 302.  
 Pincanheale, synod at, 37.  
 Pindar, Sir Paul, 401.  
 Pinkie, battle of, 316.  
 Piran, St., 8.  
 Pirates, 350, 378, 381, 405, 418.  
 Pius V., pope, 337, 348.  
 Plantagenets, the, 114 ; House of Lancaster, 211 ; House of York, 243.  
 Poer, Lady Katherine, 304.  
 Poitiers, battle of, 195.  
 — William de, 131.  
 Pole, Michael de la, 200, 206.  
 — Anne de la, 264.  
 — Sir Geoffrey, 298, 305.  
 — Reginald, 302, 330, 331, 332, 334.  
 — Arthur and Edmund, 345.  
 — Richard de la, styled the White Rose of Eng-land, 245, 278, 287, 292, 293.  
 Pol, Waleran, count of, St., 217.  
 Polhill, David, 523.  
 Polybius, his notice of the Cassiterides, 2.  
 Pontefract, siege of, 435, 443.  
 Pooley, a spy, 357.  
 Pope, Sir Thomas, 332.  
 Popham, colonel, 443.  
 — Sir John, 366.  
 Pormorte, Thomas, 362.  
 Port, 29.  
 Porter, a plotter, 514.  
*Portion canon*, what, 305.  
 Portland, ravaged by the French, 228.  
 — Richard Weston, earl of, 396.  
 — Charles Weston, earl of, 468.  
 — William Bentinck, earl of, 495, 497, 522.  
 — Henry, duke of, 495.  
 Portsmouth, surrendered to the Parliament, 424.  
 Pottery, Roman, examples of, 7.  
 Pouch, Captain, an insurgent, 378.  
 Powell, an anabaptist, 450.  
 — Vavasour, 393.  
 Powick, William de, 152.  
 Powys, William Herbert, lord, 476, 480.  
 Poyer, colonel, 434, 435.  
 Poynings, Sir Edward, 275.  
 Prasutagus, king of the Icenii, 12.  
 Pratellis, William de, 130.  
 Prerogative under Elizabeth, 340 ; under James I., 370.  
 Preston, battle at, 435.  
 — John, a Puritan, 402.  
 — Richard Graham, viscount, 490, 504.  
 Price, Robert, 497.  
 Pride, Thomas, 435, 453.  
 Prideaux, bishop, 392.  
 Prior, Matthew, 539.  
 Probus, emperor, 18.  
 Procopius, 23.  
 Promoters, false witnesses so called, 278.  
 Propheysings, puritanical meetings so called, forbidden, 352.  
 Protestants, German, 305, 317.

- Provertuides, 20.  
 Prynn, William, 385, 402, 409, 410, 415.  
 Public Records, notice of the, 570.  
 Purbeck, viscountess, 415.  
 Puritan ascendancy, 388.  
 Puritans, the, 337, 350, 352, 359, 362, 372, 373, 402, 426.  
 Pybush, John, 366.  
 Pym, John, 415, 421.  
 Queens' College, Cambridge, founded, 237.  
 Queensberry, James Murray, marquis of, 533.  
 Quenbarga, Queen, 31.  
 Quentin, St., battle of, 333.  
 Quintin, St., Robert, 89.  
 "Rabbling the ministers," 493.  
 Radcliff, Egremont, 347.  
 — Robert, 275.  
 Radcot Bridge, battle of, 207.  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 338, 355, 359, 372, 380, 381.  
 Raleigh, William de, bishop of Winchester, 152.  
 Ralf, the earl, 67.  
 Ralph, (or Ranulph,) bishop of Durham : see *Flambard*.  
 Ramillies, battle of, 534.  
 Ramsay, John, 255.  
 Rastell, John, 564.  
 Ratcliff, Sir Richard, 260, 265.  
 Rawlinson, Sir William, a judge, 498, 502.  
 Rawson, Sir John, 306.  
 Raymond of Tripoli, 124.  
 — of Toulouse, 131.  
 — V., count of Provence, 144.  
 Rayner the carpenter, 94.  
 Read, Richard, 309.  
 Redburga, queen, 40.  
 Redwald (Bretwalda) of East Anglia, 30, 31.  
 Reformation, the, in England, 296; in Scotland, 308; in Ireland, 319.  
 Regicides, the, 460.  
 Reginald, earl of Cornwall, natural son of Henry I., 102.  
 — of Man, 147, 148.  
 — the sub-prior, elected archbishop of Canterbury, 138.  
 Regni, a British tribe, 5.  
 Regnold, a Danish king, 52, 53.  
 Relief, feudal, what, 83.  
 Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, 93.  
 Remonstrance of the Commons in 1641, 420.  
 Reoda, a leader of the Scots, 1, 27.  
 Reymund, bishop of Sodor and Man, 101.  
 Reynardson, Sir Abraham, 443.  
 Reynelm, bishop of Hereford, 104.  
 Reynolds, Dr., a Puritan, 373.  
 — John, an insurgent, 378.  
 — Edward, bishop of Norwich, 462.  
 Rhé, isle of, 398.  
 Rhys ap Owen, of South Wales, 90, 91.  
 — Tudor, of South Wales, 91, 97.  
 — Meredith, 170.  
 Ricaldi, Don Martinez de, 359.  
 Rich, Sir Robert, 503.  
 Richard II., duke of Normandy, 58.  
 — I., reign of, 126—134.  
 — II., reign of, 199—210.  
 — III., reign of, 259—264; documentary evidence in his favour, 265.  
 — king of the Romans, 156, 157, 158.  
 — son of William I., 86.  
 — natural son of Henry I., 102.  
 — son of Henry II., 116, 123, 124, 125 : see *Richard I.*  
 — natural son of John, 136, 146.  
 — son of Richard, earl of Cornwall, 136.  
 — son of Edward the Black Prince, 188, 198 : see *Richard II.*  
 — earl of Cambridge, 189, 227.  
 — duke of York, son of the above, 227, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243.  
 — duke of York, son of Edward IV., 248, 256, 257, 260.  
 Richard, alleged duke of York, 275, 276, 277, 279.  
 — son of George, duke of Clarence, 254.  
 — of Cirencester, 6.  
 — the forester, 94.  
 — prior of Dover, archbishop of Canterbury, 123.  
 — Cromwell, 440, 453, 454.  
 Richborough, a Roman fortress, 5; a colony, 6.  
 Richelieu, Cardinal, 398.  
 Richmond, Henry, earl of, 242, 254, 263, 264 : see *Henry VII.*  
 — Peter of Savoy, earl of, 150.  
 — Margaret, countess of, 212, 260, 265, 269.  
 — park, formation, of, 409.  
 Rickhill, William, a judge, 208.  
 Ridley, Nicholas, bishop of London, 316, 317, 319, 320, 325, 329.  
 Ridolfi, a Florentine, 347.  
 Right, Petition and Bill of, 399.  
 — Declaration of, 492, 498, 501.  
 Rigwatla, brother of Griffin, 68.  
 Riot act, the, 318.  
 Ripon, cessation of arms agreed on at, 414.  
 Risby, John, a Lollard, 308.  
 Rivers, Baldwin de, 109.  
 — Richard Woodville, earl, 241, 247, 251.  
 — Anthony Woodville, earl, son of the above, 245, 254, 256, 257.  
 — Richard, brother of the above, 274.  
 — Richard Savage, earl, 534.  
 Rizzio, David, 346.  
 Roads, Roman, presumed course of the great, 6.  
 Robertes, lord, 466.  
 Robert I. of Scotland, 176, 183, 184, 190.  
 — II. of Scotland, 197, 207.  
 — III. of Scotland, 207, 219, 221, 222.  
 — son of William I., 86, 91, 95, 97, 98, 99, 103, 104, 107.

- Robert, natural son of Henry I., 102 : see *Gloucester*.  
 — son of Henry III., 145.  
 — son of James I., 371.  
 — count of Flanders, 92.  
 — earl of Mortain, 93.  
 — son of the count de Dreux, 140.  
 — of Jamieges, archbishop of Canterbury, 65, 67, 87.  
 — bishop of Glasgow, 176.  
 — the steward, 94.  
 Robert's Castle, 67.  
 Robinson, John, bishop of Bristol, 539.  
 Rochelle, siege of La, 396, 398, 399.  
 Roches, Peter des, bishop of Winchester, 139, 144, 147, 148, 149.  
 Rochester, a stipendiary town, 6 ; see of, founded, 30.  
 — Castle, sieges of, 97, 158.  
 — Lawrence Hyde, earl of, 485, 522.  
 — Sir Robert, 320.  
 Rochford, George Boleyn, lord, 301.  
 — Lady, 307.  
 — William Henry Zuleistein, earl of, 496.  
 Roderic (the Great), 41, 46.  
 — king of Connaught, 123.  
 Roe, Sir Thomas, 380.  
 Roger of Bishopsbridge, archbishop of York, 122, 123.  
 — bishop of Salisbury, 104, 105, 110.  
 — the farrier, 94.  
 Rogers, John, 326, 331.  
 Rolf, or Rollo, 47, 82.  
 Rolles, a member of the Council of State, 438.  
 Roman provinces in Britain, 4 ; roads, their probable course, 6 ; cities, *ib.* ; camps, 7.  
 Romanists, severe laws against, in consequence of the gunpowder plot, 377 ; laws against, in Ireland, 515.  
 Rome, capture of, by the imperialists, 293.  
 Romilly, Sir John, 572.  
 Romish priests, banishment of, 355.  
 Rooke, Sir George, 510, 528, 531.  
 Rookwood, Ambrose, a gunpowder plotter, 375, 376, 377.  
 — a plotter, 516.  
 Ros, Robert de, 155.  
 — William de, a competitor for the crown of Scotland, 172.  
 Rose, Alexander, bishop of Edinburgh, 499.  
 Roses, War of the, estimate of the slaughter, 246.  
 Ross, Margaret, 492.  
 Rosse, Richard, 295.  
 Rotbeard : see *Robert of Jamieges*.  
 Rotherham, Thomas, archbishop of York, 233, 257.  
 Roundheads and Cavaliers, 420.  
 Roundway down, battle of, 426.  
 Rous, Francis, 449.  
 — John, of Warwick, 261.  
 Roxburgh, sieges of, 236, 316.  
 Royal household, expenses of the, 276, 345.  
 Rupert, Prince, 371, 424, 426, 428, 429, 444, 445, 468, 471, 473.  
 Russell, William, lord, 475, 479.  
 — Admiral, 489, 506 : see *Orford, earl of*.  
 Russia company incorporated, 321.  
 Rustand, a Gascon, 155.  
 Ruth, St., a French general, 504.  
 Ruthven, raid of, 353.  
 — Alexander, 365.  
 Rutland, Edmund, earl of, 241, 244, 245.  
 — Edward, earl of, 189, 208, 209, 227.  
 — Roger Manners, earl of, 366.  
 Ruigny, Henry de Massee, marquis of, (earl of Galway), 496.  
 Ruyter, De, 448, 468, 471.  
 Rye-house Plot, the, 479.  
 Ryswick, peace of, 517.  
 Rytherch, sovereign of South Wales, 51 ; another, 90.  
 Rywallon, prince of Powys, 51.  
 Sa, Don Pantaleon, 451.  
 Sabloil, Robert de, 128.  
 Sacheverell, Henry, 537.  
 Saintlo, Sir John, 265.  
 Saladin, 124, 125, 130, 131.  
 Salisbury made a bishop's see, 91.  
 — William Longespee, earl of, 116, 139, 140, 141.  
 — William Montacute, earl of, 193.  
 — John Montacute, earl of, 208, 217, 218.  
 — Thomas Montacute, earl of, 232, 334.  
 — Richard Neville, earl of, 237, 241.  
 — Margaret Pole, countess of, 245, 305, 307.  
 — Robert Cecil, earl of, 338, 365, 370, 376, 379, 380.  
 — William Cecil, earl of, 438, 444.  
 — James Cecil, earl of, 500, 502.  
 Sallee, expedition against, 407.  
 Sallustius Lucullus, 14.  
 Salmon, William, 275.  
 Saltoun, Andrew Fletcher of, 529.  
 Salysbury, Owen, 366.  
 — Thomas, 357.  
 Sampson and Humphrey, nonconformists, 345, 349.  
 Sanchia, wife of Richard, earl of Cornwall, 136.  
 Sanicroft, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 460, 475, 487, 489, 498, 504, 505.  
 Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, 460.  
 Sandwich, numerous sects in, 408.  
 — Edward Montague, earl of, 474.  
 Sandys, Edwin, archbishop of York, 325, 342.  
 — Colonel, 390, 424.  
 — William, lord, 366.  
 Saphadin, 131.  
 Sapor, 17.  
 Sarsfield, Patrick, 502, 511.  
 Sarus, 21.  
 Saunders, a papal legate, 352, 353.  
 Savage, Sir H., 275.  
 — John, a conspirator, 356.  
 Savoy, Boniface of, 150.

- Savoy, Peter of, 150.  
 — Victor Amadeus II., duke of, 507, 517.  
 Sawtre, William, 219.  
 Say and Sele, James Fienes, lord, 238.  
 — William Fiennes, viscount, 407, 409, 453.  
 Scarborough Castle, siege of, 183.  
 Searle, John, 210.  
 Schomberg, Frederic Armand de, 496, 499, 501, 503.  
 Scilly Isles, 2, 53, 363.  
 Selater, Edward, 487.  
 Scot, John le, 173.  
 Scotland, notices of the affairs of, 27, 41, 123, 171, 191, 307, 343, 412, 447, 462, 471, 491, 493, 507, 519, 534.  
 Scott, a regicide, 461.  
 Scottish bishops ejected, 611.  
 Scroop, a regicide, 461.  
 Scrope, Richard, archbishop of York, 210, 222.  
 — William, 208.  
 — of Masham, lord, 227.  
 Scudamore, Philpot, 223.  
 Sebastian, king of Portugal, 352.  
 Sedbar, or Sedlar, Adam, abbot of Jervaux, 303.  
 Sedgmoor, battle of, 486.  
 Sedley, Katherine, 484.  
 Segontiaci, a British tribe, 10.  
 Segrave, John de, 175.  
 Seius Saturninus, 15.  
 Selden, John, 399, 405.  
 Self-denying Ordinance, the, 429, 439.  
 Selgovæ, a British tribe, 5.  
 Selred of Mercia, 36.  
 Seminary priests executed, 352, 356, 363, 364, 366.  
 Seneca, 12.  
 Sepulchral urns, Roman, 7.  
 Servi, of the Domesday Book, 95.  
 Seton, brother-in-law of Robert Bruce, 176.  
 Seven bishops, the, 489.  
 Seven Burghs, the, 60.  
 Severus, emperor, 16.  
 — Alexander, emperor, 17.  
 — a general, 20.  
 Sexburga, Queen, 35.  
 Sexby, Colonel, 452, 453.  
 Seymour, Lord Thomas, 302, 317.  
 Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of, 454, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479.  
 Shales, a commissary, 501.  
 Sharp, John, afterwards archbishop of York, 487.  
 Shaw, Ralph, 257.  
 Shaxton, Nicholas, bishop of Salisbury, 310.  
 Sheerness, the fort of, 472.  
 Sheldon, Gilbert, archbishop of Canterbury, 467.  
 Shelley, Sir Benet, and Sir Thomas, 218.  
 — Richard, 355.  
 — William, 356.  
 Shepey, the Northmen in, 41, 42.  
 Sherborne, see of, founded, 43.  
 Sherley, Sir Thomas, 379.  
 Sherwood, Thomas, 352.  
 Shetland isles acquired by Scotland, 251.  
 Ship-money writs, 405.  
 Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, 475, 534, 535.  
 Shrewsbury, parliament at, 209; battle of, 221.  
 — Hugh Montgomery, earl of, 101.  
 — John Talbot, earl of, 234, 239.  
 — George Talbot, earl of, 357.  
 — Charles Talbot, duke of, 541.  
 Sibthorp, Dr., 384.  
 Sibylla, sister of Baldwin IV. of Jerusalem, 124, 125, 130.  
 Sidonius Apollinaris, 26.  
 Siferth, the thane, 60.  
 Sigebert of Wessex, 36.  
 Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, 57.  
 Sigfrid, bishop of Chichester, 111.  
 Sigge, or Woden, 25, 26.  
 Sigillo, Robert de, bishop of London, 110.  
 Sigismund, king of the Romans, 228.  
 Sihtric of Northumbria, 52.  
 "Silken Thomas," 299.  
 Silures, a British tribe, 5, 12.  
 Simcock, Robert, 500.  
 Simmel, Lambert, 273.  
 Simon, Richard, a priest, 273.  
 — Zelotes, 11.  
 Sinclair, Oliver, 307.  
 Siric of East Anglia, 39.  
 Siricius, pope, 21.  
 Sitric Silkenbeard, 63.  
 Siward of Northumbria, 66, 67.  
 — nephew of the above, 67.  
 — abbot of Abingdon, 65.  
 — Barn, 90, 97.  
 — Richard de, 89.  
 Six Articles, statute of the, 305.  
 Sixtus V., pope, 337.  
 Skeffington, Sir William, lord-deputy, 299.  
 Skippon, Philip, 387, 421, 425.  
 Skule, son of Tostig, 70.  
 Slingsby, Sir Henry, 453.  
 Smeaton, Mark, 301.  
 Smerwick, the Spaniards at, 352.  
 Smith, Aaron, 512.  
 — John, Speaker, 533, 535.  
 Snati, a nonjuring divine, 516.  
 Snelling, Laurence, 403.  
 Soe, what, 76.  
 Soemen, their state, 94.  
 Solebay, battle of, 468.  
 Solemn League and Covenant, 426.  
 Solmes, Count, 491, 507, 511.  
 Somers, John, lord, 510, 517, 521, 522, 523.  
 Somerset, John Beaufort, earl of, 212.  
 — Edmund Beaufort, duke of, 212, 231, 237, 239, 243; another, 253.  
 — Henry Beaufort, duke of, 250.  
 — Edward Seymour, duke of, 301, 309.  
 — William Seymour, duke of, 379.  
 — Robert Carr, earl of, 370.  
 Somersetshire, insurrection in, 303.  
 Somerville, John, 354.  
 Soore, Peter le, 89.  
 Sophia, daughter of James I., 371.  
 — the Electress, 523, 542.  
 Soules, Nicholas de, 172.

- Southampton, Thomas Wriothesley, earl of, 315, 318.
- Henry Wriothesley, earl of, 366.
- Southfield, Walter de, bishop of Norwich, 153.
- South Sea Company, the, 538.
- Southwell, Robert, 363.
- Southwold-bay, battle of, 474.
- Spanish Armada, the, 358.
- Spearhafoe, bishop of London, 66.
- Speke, Hugh, 486.
- Spenser, Henry, bishop of Norwich, 204, 205.
- Sports, Book of, 381, 403.
- Sprague, Sir Edward, 472, 474.
- Sprat, Thomas, bishop of Rochester, 482, 488.
- Squyer, Edward, 365.
- Srahe*, what, 304.
- Stacy, John, 254.
- Stafford, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 238.
- William, viscount, 476, 478.
- Sir Humphrey, 238.
- Humphrey, 272.
- Thomas, 272; another, 333.
- Stair, John Dalrymple, master of, 491, 508, 514.
- Stamford, Henry Grey, earl of, 426.
- Thomas Grey, earl of, 487.
- Stamford-bridge, battle of, 71.
- Standard, battle of the, 109.
- Standish, Dr., 297.
- Stanhope, Sir Michael, 321.
- Stanley, Thomas, lord, 264, 265, 269.
- Sir John, 222.
- Sir William, 275; another, 358, 360.
- Stapledon, Walter, bishop of Exeter, 186.
- Starchamber, the, and the Libellers, 409.
- Steenkirke, battle of, 507.
- Stephen, reign of, 108—111.
- Stephens, William, 521, 536.
- Sterne, Dr. Richard, 392.
- Stigand, 62, 65; archbishop of Canterbury, 67, 87, 89.
- Stilicho, 21.
- Stillingfleet, Edward, bishop of Worcester, 504.
- Stillington, Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, 273.
- Stipendiary cities, 6.
- Stirling, sieges of, 175, 183.
- Stonehenge, 4.
- Story, Dr. John, 331, 349.
- Strabo, on Britain, 2.
- Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, earl of, 386, 403, 405, 408, 414, 415, 416, 417.
- William Wentworth, earl of, 386.
- Strang, Alexander, 433.
- Strange, lord, 264, 265.
- Stratford, Robert, bishop of Chichester, 192.
- Strathearn, Malise Graham, earl of, 235.
- Strigul, Richard of, 121.
- Strode, William, 421.
- Strongbow, 121.
- Strozzi, Lorenzo, a consul, 262.
- Stuart, Lady Arabella, 372, 379, 380.
- Sir James, of Lorn, 236.
- Stuarts, the, 367.
- Stubbe, John, his "Gaping Gulf," 338.
- Stuf, 29.
- Stukeley, Thomas, an adventurer, 352.
- Suaebhard, 35.
- Submission of the clergy, 295.
- form of, for Protestant non-conformists and Romish recusants, 362.
- Succession to the throne regulated by parliament, 206, 211, 222, 241, 300, 302, 309, 492, 495, 498, 523, 524.
- Sudbury, Simon of, archbishop of Canterbury, 204.
- Suetonius, 4, 12.
- Suffolk, Michael de la Pole, earl of, 200, 206; another, 227.
- William de la Pole, earl, marquis, and duke of, 230, 237, 238.
- John de la Pole, duke of, 245.
- Edmund de la Pole, earl of, 277, 278, 287.
- Charles Brandon, duke of, 288, 292, 314.
- Suffolk, Henry Grey, duke of, 314, 327, 328.
- Suffragan bishops, 300.
- Sulby, Reginald de, 89.
- Sumerleid, lord of Argyll, 118.
- Summer oats*, what, 304.
- Sunderland, Robert Spenser, earl of, 482, 490, 510.
- Supremacy, oath of, 300, 341.
- number of executions for denying the queen's, 352.
- Supreme Head of the Church, the title of, 300.
- Surat, English factory established at, 380.
- Surrey, Thomas Howard, earl of, 263, 274, 287: see *Norfolk*.
- Henry Howard, earl of, 284, 310, 311.
- Surtees Society, historical publications of the, 583.
- Sussex, kingdom of, 27.
- Thomas Ratcliff, earl of, 326, 347.
- Sweyn, king of Denmark, 57, 58, 59, 60.
- son of earl Godwin, 65, 66, 79.
- Swinford, Catharine, wife of John of Gaunt, 189, 212.
- Sydney, Sir Henry, 346.
- Sir Philip, 356.
- Viscount, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 514.
- Algernon, 479.
- Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, founded, 364.
- Sylvester, pope, 19.
- Syndercombe, 453.
- Tacitus, 3, 13.
- emperor, 18.
- Talbot: see *Shrewsbury*.
- Peter, 485.
- Talboys, lady, wife of Sir Peter Carew, 327.
- Talmash, General, 512.
- Tancred, 129.
- Tangier, acquisition of, 466; abandoned, 479.
- Tasciovanus, 10.
- Taunton, siege of, 428, 429.
- Taylor, Jeremy, bishop of Down and Connor, 462.
- Templars, Knights, the order of, 105, 182.
- Tenison, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 488, 512.

- Tenths and first-fruits, 331, 529.  
 Terouanne, capture of, 287.  
 Ter Voort, Hendrick, 351.  
 Tesmond, Oswald, a Jesuit, 375.  
 Tetzel, a Dominican, 292.  
 Tewkesbury, battle of, 253.  
 Tezelin the cook, 94.  
 Thacker, Elias, 354.  
 Thanet, the Northmen in, 42, 43.  
 Thangbrand, 37.  
 Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, 111, 118, 119.  
 Theodore of Tarsus, 33, 34, 35.  
 Theodoric, 23.  
 Theodosius, a general, 20.  
 ——— emperor, 20.  
 ——— II., emperor, 21.  
 Thetford made a bishop's see, 91; the see removed to Norwich, 98.  
 Thieves, Anglo-Saxon laws against, 78.  
*Thingamen*, what, 76.  
 Thirlby, Thomas, bishop of Ely, 330.  
 Thomas of Brotherton, son of Edward I., 166.  
 ——— of Woodstock, (earl of Buckingham and duke of Gloucester), son of Edward III., 189, 203, 206, 207, 208, 209.  
 ——— son of Richard, duke of York, 245.  
 ——— William, 327.  
 ——— bishop of Worcester, 499.  
 Thored, a Northman, 55.  
 Thorold, abbot of Peterborough, 90.  
 Thriske, William, abbot of Fountains, 303.  
 Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas, 327, 328, 330.  
 ——— Francis, 355.  
 ——— John, 331, 332; another, 348.  
 Thurkill, earl of East Anglia, 59, 62, 63.  
 Thurkytel, the Northman, 51.  
 Thurloe, John, 450.  
 Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury, 92.  
 ——— archbishop of York, 105, 106.  
 Thyra, daughter of Edward the Elder, 49.  
 Tiberius, emperor, 11.  
 Tilbury, camp at, 359.  
 Tillotson, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 502, 504, 512.  
 Tinchebrai, battle of, 104.  
 Tindal, William, 320.  
 Tippermuir, battle of, 428.  
 Tiptoft, Robert, the justiciary, 170.  
 ——— John: see *Worcester*.  
 Tithes, probable origin of, in England, 72.  
 Titus, emperor, 13.  
 Tocotes, Sir Roger, 254, 265.  
 Todd, Sir Thomas, 274.  
 Tofi the Proud, 64.  
 Toleration Act, the, 500.  
 Tomlinson, colonel, 449, 453.  
 Tonstall, Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, 320, 326.  
 Torrington, Arthur Herbert, earl of, 500, 503.  
 Torture, 340.  
 Tostig, earl of Northumbria, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71.  
 Tournay, capture of, 287; surrendered to the French, 291.  
 Tourville, comte de, 470.  
 Towns, British, 4.  
 Towton, battle of, 249.  
 Tracy, William, 122.  
 Trafford, William, abbot of Sawley, 303.  
 Trahem, of North Wales, 90, 91.  
 Traquair, John Stuart, earl of, 413.  
 Traves, John, 357.  
 Trebellius Maximus, 12, 13.  
 Trelawney, Sir Jonathan, bishop of Bristol, 489.  
 Trenchard, John, 512.  
 Trent, battle of, 34.  
 ——— Council of, 310, 345.  
 Tresham, Sir Thomas, lord prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, 333.  
 ——— Francis, a gunpowder plotter, 366, 374, 375, 377.  
 Tresilian, Sir Robert, 207.  
 Trevor, John, bishop of St. Asaph, 221.  
 ——— Sir John, 502, 513.  
 Triennial parliaments, acts for, 416, 512.  
 Trinity College, Cambridge, founded, 310.  
 ——— Dublin, founded, 362.  
 Trinity College, Oxford, founded, 332.  
 ——— House, the, established, 287.  
 Trinobantes, a British tribe, 5, 10.  
*Trinoda necessitas*, what, 75.  
 Trollope, Sir Andrew, 241, 250.  
 Tromp, a Dutch admiral, 449.  
 Trumwine, a bishop, 34.  
 Tudor, Edmund, earl of Richmond, 225, 269.  
 ——— Henry, earl of Richmond, 251, 254, 263, 264: see *Henry VII.*  
 ——— Jasper, earl of Pembroke, 225, 242, 254, 269.  
 ——— Owen, 225, 242, 267.  
 Tudors, the, 267.  
 Tunnage and poundage, 373.  
 Turberville, Payen de, 89.  
 Turgessius, 40, 42.  
 Turner, Francis, bishop of Ely, 489, 499, 504, 505.  
 ——— Archdeacon, 505.  
 Turnham, Robert de, 129.  
 Tutt, Robert, 505.  
 Tweeddale, John Hay, marquis of, 509.  
 Tychborne, Chidick, 357.  
 Tylnay, Charles, 357.  
 Tynedale annexed to Northumberland, 276.  
 Tynoco, Emanuel Louis, barbarous execution of, 363.  
 Tyrconnel, Roderic O'Donnell, earl of, 378.  
 ——— Richard Talbot, earl of, 485, 488, 490, 492, 503.  
 Tyrell, Sir James, 275, 278.  
 Tyrone, Hugh O'Neal, earl of, 363.  
 Tyssen, Francis, 513.  
 Ubba, a Danish chief, 44.  
 Uffa, 29.  
 Uhtred, the ealdorman, 56, 60.  
 Ulf, bishop of Dorchester, 67.  
 Ulfkýtel, ealdorman of East Anglia, 58.  
 Ulpian Marcellus, 15.  
 Ulster, British colonization of, 378, 379.  
 ——— king of arms, appointed, 321.

- Uniformity, act of, 463.  
 Union of England and Scotland, 373, 378, 534.  
 Universities of Oxford and Cambridge incorporated, 349; the Puritan visitation of, 431.  
 Upnor Castle, attack on, 472.  
 Urban IV., pope, 159.  
 — V., pope, 196.  
 — VI., pope, 203.  
 Urns, Roman sepulchral, 7.  
 Ursula, daughter of Richard, duke of York, 245.  
 Usher, James, archbishop of Armagh, 441.  
 Utrecht, treaties of, 540.  
 Uvedale, Richard, 332.  
 Uwen, of Gwent, 52.  
 Uxbridge, conferences for peace at, 429.  
 Valence, Aymer de, William de: see *Pembroke*.  
 Valens, 12.  
 — emperor, 20.  
 Valentia, a Roman province, 5; its tribes, *ib*.  
 Valentinian, emperor, 20.  
 — the younger, emperor, 21.  
 — III., emperor, 23.  
 Valentinus, a conspirator, 20.  
 Valerian, emperor, 17.  
 Valerius Pansa, 15.  
 Valhalla, 26.  
 Vane, Sir Henry, 413, 416.  
 — the younger, 416, 438, 459, 460, 466.  
 Vaughan, Sir Thomas, 256, 257, 260.  
 Vavassors, 94.  
 Vecturiones, the, 20.  
 Venables, general, 451, 452.  
 Vendome, duke de, 470, 535, 538.  
 Veneti, a Gaulish tribe, 9.  
 Venner, an Anabaptist, 461.  
 Venusius, 12, 13.  
 Veranius, propraetor, 12.  
 Vere, Aubrey de, 250.  
 — Robert de: see also *Oxford*.  
 Verneuill, battle of, 233.  
 Verney, Sir Edmund, 424.  
 Verulamium, 10, 12.  
 Vescy, John, 172.  
 Vespasian, 11, 13.  
 Vettius Bolanus, lieutenant, 13.  
 Veysey, bishop of Exeter, 320, 327.  
 Victor, son of Maximus, 21.  
 — IV., anti-pope, 119.  
 Victorinus, a Moor, 18.  
 Vigo burnt by the English, 361; fleet destroyed at, 528.  
 Villa Viciosa, battle of, 538.  
 Villars, Marshal, 470, 535, 539.  
 Villeins of the Domesday Book, 95.  
 Villenage, the origin of the copyhold tenure, 95.  
 Villeroy, Marshal, 470, 515, 534.  
 Villiers, George, 370: see *Buckingham*.  
 Violante, wife of Lionel, duke of Clarence, 188.  
 Virginia, settlement of, founded, 355, 356, 378.  
 Virius Lupus, 15, 16.  
 Vitellius, emperor, 13.  
 Volusianus, emperor, 17.  
 Vortigern, 22.  
 Vowell, Mr., 451.  
 Wada, 39.  
 Wade, an insurgent, 487.  
 Wadham College, Oxford, founded, 379.  
 Wager, Commodore, 536.  
 Wagstaff, Sir Joseph, 451.  
 Wagstaffe, Thomas, 505.  
 Waird, General, 406.  
 Wakefield, battle of, 241.  
 Walcher, bishop of Durham, 92.  
 Waldegrave, Sir Henry, 484.  
 Walden, Roger, archbishop of Canterbury, 208, 218.  
 Waleran, earl, 107.  
 Wales, notices of the affairs of, 27, 32, 41, 50, 88, 97, 156, 157, 160, 167, 169, 218, 301, 309, 491.  
 Walker, George, 492, 503.  
 — Henry, 421.  
 — Obadiah, 487, 501, 502.  
 Wallace, Sir William, 165, 174, 175, 176.  
 Waller, Edmund, the poet, 426, 439.  
 Wallingford House, 447.  
 Wallington, Nehemiah, 415.  
 Wallop, Robert, 463.  
 Walls, Roman, enumerated, 5.  
 Walpole, a priest, 365.  
 — Robert, 539, 542.  
 Walsh, Sir Richard, a sheriff, 376.  
 Walsingham, Sir Francis, 336.  
 Walter, son of William Marshal, 152.  
 — the cross-bowman, 94.  
 — the Pennyless, 90.  
 Waltheof, earl, 87, 89, 91.  
 Walton, Bryan, bishop of Chester, 460.  
 Walworth, William, 202, 205.  
 Wandsworth, Puritan presbytery at, 350.  
 Warbeck, Perkin: see *Kichard*.  
 Ward, Margaret, 359.  
 — Thomas, a priest, 280.  
 — name assumed by Sir John Fenwick, 516.  
 Warham, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 287, 296.  
 Warrenne, William, 86.  
 — William, earl, 141.  
 — John, earl of, 159, 161, 173, 174, 178.  
 Warwick, Thomas Beauchamp, earl of, 207, 209.  
 — Richard Beauchamp, earl of, 230.  
 — Henry Beauchamp, duke of, 238.  
 — Richard Neville, earl of (the King-Maker), 240, 241, 242, 251, 252.  
 — Edward, earl of, 245, 272, 277.  
 — John Dudley, earl of: see *Northumberland*, *John Dudley*, duke of.  
 — Ambrose Dudley, earl of, 327, 344.  
 — Robert Rich, earl of, 427, 453.  
 Wat, the tyler, 203.  
 Water, John, 275, 280.  
 Waterford, see of, founded, 100.  
 Watling Street, its presumed course, 6.  
 Watson, William, a priest, 372.  
 Wayneflete, William, bishop of Winchester, 249.

- Wall*, or foreigners, 22, 76.  
 Webbeard of Kent, 35.  
 Webster, a Carthusian prior, 300.  
*Wed*, or pledge, 75.  
 Welch, Robert, 424.  
 Wells, Sir Robert, 252.  
 Welsh, the Bible translated into, 345.  
 Wengham, Henry de, bishop of London, 157.  
 Wenlock, John, lord, 253.  
 Wentworth, Thomas, lord, 333, 342.  
 ——— Sir Thomas, 386, 398, 400: see *Stratford*.  
*Wessex*, kingdom of, founded, 29.  
 Westmoreland, ravage of, 55.  
 Weston, Sir Francis, 301.  
 ——— Sir William, 306.  
 West Wales, 40.  
 Weyland, Thomas de, 171.  
 Wharton, Philip, lord, 453.  
 ——— Thomas, earl of, 541.  
 Whitbread, a Jesuit, 476, 477.  
 White, John, bishop of Winchester, 334.  
 ——— Thomas, bishop of Peterborough, 489, 499, 504, 505.  
 White Leaf cross, 49.  
 Whitelock, Bulstrode, 438, 443, 453, 454.  
 Whitgift, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 354, 373.  
 Whiting, Richard, abbot of Glastonbury, 306.  
 Wickliffe, John, 196.  
 Wiclmacher, John, 351.  
 Wigheard, 33.  
 Wight, Isle of, 29, 434.  
 Wightman, Edmund, 380.  
 Wiglaf of Mercia, 40, 41.  
 Wigmore, Hugh Mortimer, lord of, 118.  
 ——— Roger Mortimer, lord of, 156.  
 Wightgar, 29.  
 Whitred of Kent, 35, 72.  
 Wilde, one of the Council of State, 438.  
 Wilferth, 33.  
 Wilford, Sir Thomas, 364.  
 Wilfrid, archbishop of York, 33, 34, 35.  
 William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, 63, 66, 70, 71: see *William I.*  
 William I., reign of, 85—95.  
 ——— II., reign of, 96—101.  
 ——— III., reign of, 494—524.  
 ——— son of William I., 86.  
 ——— son of Robert of Normandy, 86, 106, 107.  
 ——— son of Henry I., 102, 105, 106.  
 ——— natural son of Henry I., 102.  
 ——— son of Stephen, 109, 118.  
 ——— natural son of Henry II., 116: see *Salisbury*.  
 ——— son of Henry III., 145.  
 ——— of Hatfield, and of Windsor, sons of Edward III., 189.  
 ——— of Ypres, 84, 110.  
 ——— son of Richard, duke of York, 245.  
 ——— count of Holland, 155.  
 ——— earl of Mortain, 104.  
 ——— prince of Orange, 474, 475, 483, 489, 499, 491: see *William III.*  
 ——— bishop of London, 66.  
 ——— the Easterling, 89.  
 ——— of London, 89.  
 Williams, John, archbishop of York, 381, 386, 397, 408, 412, 415, 420.  
 Willoughby of Parham, Charles, lord, 361.  
 ——— Francis, lord, 446, 452.  
 Wiltshire, Thomas Boleyn, earl of, 294.  
 Wimbledon, Edward Cecil, lord, 397.  
 Winchelsey, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, 173, 174, 175.  
 Winchester, 6, 35, 64.  
 ——— Book of, 93.  
 ——— William Paulet, marquis of, 320.  
 ——— Richard Neile, bishop of, 399.  
 Windelbank, Sir Francis, 396, 415.  
 Windsor, Andrew, lord, 298.  
 ——— Edward, a sea-captain, 536.  
 Winfrid, bishop of Mercia, 33.  
 Winter, William, an admiral, 344.  
 ——— Robert and Thomas, gunpowder plotters, 374, 376.  
 Wishart, George, 308.  
*Wite*, *Wite-theore*, what, 74.  
*Witenagemot*, its constitution, 75.  
 Witkind of Corbie, 25.  
 Witt, John and Cornelius de, 468, 471, 474.  
 Woden, or Sigge, 25, 26.  
 Wogan, captain, 450.  
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 282, 286, 287, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295.  
 Wood, prior of Bridlington, 303.  
 Woodcock, 366.  
 Woodville family, the, 247.  
 ——— John, 251.  
 ——— Lionel, bishop of Salisbury, 248, 263.  
 ——— Sir Richard, 248, 257, 263, 265.  
 Worcester, battle of, 447.  
 ——— Thomas Percy, earl of, 209, 214, 221.  
 ——— John Tiptoft, earl of, 252.  
 ——— William Somerset, earl of, 350.  
 Wren, Matthew, bishop of Norwich, 408, 410.  
 Wright, Christopher and John, gunpowder plotters, 366, 374, 376.  
 ——— Henry, 376.  
 ——— Sir Nathan, lord-keeper, 522.  
 ——— Sir Robert, 500.  
 Writhe, John, Garter king of arms, 264.  
 Wrotham, William of, guardian of the Cinque Ports, 139.  
 Wulfhere of Mercia, 33.  
 Wulfnoth, father of Godwin, 59.  
 ——— son of Harold II., 97.  
 Wulstan, archbishop of York, 53, 54.  
 Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 327, 328.  
 Wykeham, William of, 197.  
 Wyndsore, Edward, 357.  
 Niphilinus, 3, 16.  
 Yates, Sir John, 320.  
 Yffa, 29.  
 Yonge, Richard, bishop of Bangor, 221.



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| <p>York, a Roman municipality, 6; conferences at, 347; council of peers at, 414; siege of, 428.</p> <p>— House of, 244.</p> <p>— Edmund, duke of, 189, 209.</p> <p>— Edward, duke of, 189, 217, 227.</p> | <p>York, Richard, duke of, 227: see <i>Richard</i>.</p> <p>— James, duke of, son of Charles I., 395, 435, 471, 474, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480: see <i>James II.</i></p> <p>— Constance of, 221.</p> <p>— Cicely, duchess of, 244, 260.</p> | <p>York, Sir Edmund, 362.</p> <p>Young, Robert, 506.</p> <p>Ypres, William of, 84, 110.</p> <p>Yrling, a Danish chief, 65.</p> <p>Ytene, a forest, 91.</p> <p>Zouche, Alan de la, 154, 161; another, 179.</p> <p>Zutphen, battle of, 252.</p> |
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